GUIDE TO THE NT20 WASHO FILE

[The NT20 Washo file contains specific data on the Washo Indians of Nevada and California. Their territory specifically included the western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada mountains around Lake Tahoe. They were neighbors of the Northern Paiute and the Miwok and Maidu of California. Their culture was more closely related to the cultures of the Great Basin than to the Californian cultures, although elements of the latter were present. The Washo language belongs to the Hokan phylum. The Washo were nomadic hunters and gatherers. The basic economic and political unit was the extended family. Large gatherings occurred for cooperative food gathering expeditions and games and ceremonies. There were three loosely defined territorial groupings. There is little known directly about Washo social organization. d'Azevedo et al. attribute this to the fact that the Washo failed to unite against the white people and hence the white people, both the settlers and the scholars, failed to take notice of them as a group. The reservation system was never instituted, but the Washo did receive scattered allotments in the early 1900's.

Kroeber estimated that in pre-contact times the population of the Washo was approximately 1,500. Reports from the early 1900's gave dwindling population figures. For example, Lowie estimated that there were about 300 Washos in 1926. Others predicted eminent extinction of the Washos. Downs, however, felt that these estimates were in error due to the scattered nature of the population and the fragmentation of society that had taken place. In 1961

he estimated "impressionistically" that there were about 2,000 Indians who considered themselves to be Washos and that they formed a "viable cultural unit" (4: Downs, p. 365A).

Price estimated that aboriginally the population density was the highest of any of the Great Basin cultures -- approximately 2.7 square miles per person. The average for the Great Basin was 15 square miles per person. Price attributes the high density to the comparatively abundant environment inhabited by the Washos.

There are nine sources in the NT20 file. The basic orienting sources are 1: Lowie and 5: Kroeber. 2: Barrett is on selected items of material culture. 3: Cartwright is an article on a Washo girl's puberty ceremony. 4: Downs is on Washo religion. He also deals with the patterns of cultural change since the coming of the white people. 6: Price is a study of the function and scope of economics. He also gives a cultural summary as an introduction to his study of economics. 7: Freed is on the changes in social organization from aboriginal times to the present. 8: Merriam and d'Azevedo is on peyotism among the Washo. 9: d'Azevedo et al. is a collection of nine essays on the Washo by a number of different authors covering many different subjects.

The file is a well-rounded one considering the apparent dearth of data on many aspects of Washo life. The researcher is advised however that much of the data in the file is the result of memory ethnographies and he or she should not be mislead by the frequent use of the ethnographic present. The file was processed between 1965 and 1969.]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (waco, woco), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i''yeli ta''au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'ɲalɛ'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmɛlt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM–B 2:1–52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC–PAAE 22:391–443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE–B 78:569–573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE–B 24:199, 265, 322 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[P. 300 is blank]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

INTRODUCTION.

The Washo Indians constitute a small group forming a distinct linguistic family and occupying a very small territory in the Sierra Nevada, bordering Lake Tahoe, and on the upper courses of the Carson and Truckee rivers.

While prosecuting field work for the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, in the adjacent Paiute region of Nevada, for the special purpose of building one of its series of life-sized, groups representing the aboriginal culture areas of America, and of assembling a general collection illustrative of the Great Basin* region, an opportunity presented itself to pay a short visit to the Washo at Woodfords, California; Gardnerville and Carson City, Nevada; and on Lake Tahoe. The few days available were, of course, entirely inadequate for a thorough study of this interesting people, and therefore the information here presented is offered simply as a sketch of Washo culture with particular reference to its relation to the cultures of the two great adjacent areas: the Great Basin area on the east, and the California area on the west.

Culturally this tribe forms what might be termed a buffer between these two great western culture areas. Its situation,

*The term Great Basin as here used refers to the Great Basin region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, and comprising roughly the states of Utah and Nevada. For purposes of ethnography the term should be made to extend somewhat farther south and should include a small portion of the northern plateau region; i. e., that part lying north of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and occupied by the Paiute now living on the Moapa, Shivwits, and Kaibab reservations and vicinity.

The term Plateau culture area has been hitherto applied to this region, but in view of the fact that the term is, from a standpoint of physiography, a misnomer, and that the term Great Basin, is generally accepted as the name for this physiographic division of the continent, it seems best to adopt it for anthropology as well. Especially is this advisable since the name is so perfectly descriptive of this region and since the cultural limits of its inhabitants so closely approximate the limits of the Great Basin area when considered from a physiographic standpoint.

The accepted names of other areas of North America are generally applicable both to the physiography and the culture of the areas involved, as the Plains area, Arctic area, etc. Consequently the name Great Basin area appears equally appropriate when applied to this circumscribed region, with its great number of small, disconnected sinks and saline lakes extending from the Wasatch range on the east to the Sierra Nevada on the west, and embracing such saline bodies as the Great Salt Lake, Pyramid Lake, Lake Winnamucca, and Walker Lake, which are simply remnants of the great quaternary lakes Bonneville and Lahonton, that formerly covered much of the Great Basin.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

●101 combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

131/133 The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

133 Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II)[1]; the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[2] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part 137 of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush, various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert [262] mountains, by a particular species of pine, the pifion, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the

*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 347 and map 3, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 136, and pl. XXXVIII, 1905.

1/1 [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 116, p. 29 - An.]

2/1 [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 116, P. 29 - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the

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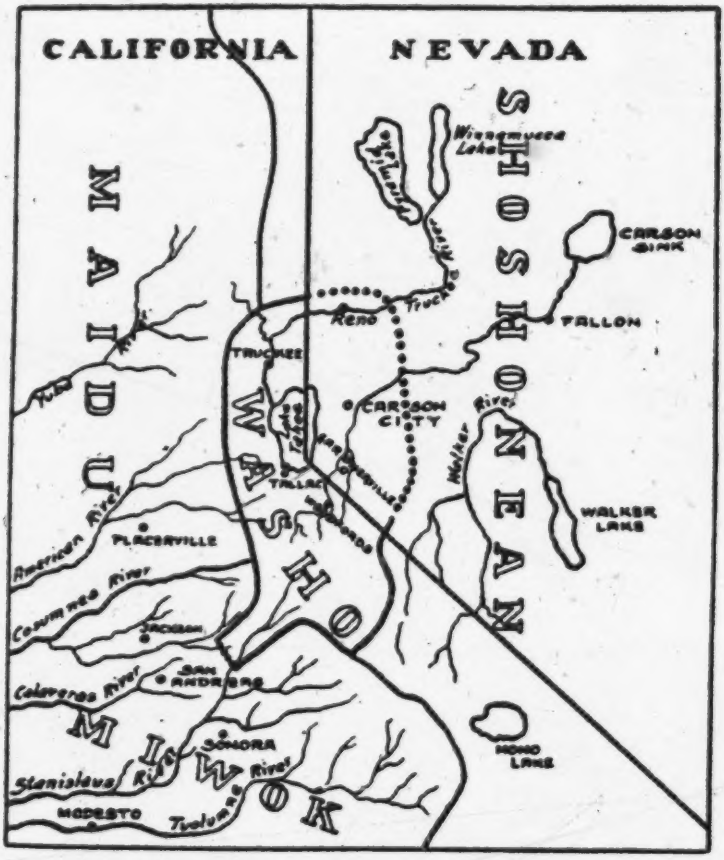

Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

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sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element.

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The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.365, A]
[Introductory, P.Vi is blank]

WASHO RELIGION

by

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobson), peyotism (Siskin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

161 Most of the statements about the Washo give the im-
114 pression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cul-
● 101 tural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to trace the patterns of change among these people since
[115] the entrance of the white man into their area. To this end I spent a great deal of time with older informants,
[178] but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography." Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

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[1] W. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on these estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1881, was somewhat over 3,000.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; basketry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

1/1 [this plate has not been processed]
--Analyst

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

[This plate has not been processed -- Analyst]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

?:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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[433]
[464]
[535]
[795]
[726]

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

115

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

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LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

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[101]

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

N 101 131 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N 115 Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother "half Pakwi, half Kutsavi" (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W 131 101 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, are the present Washo centers.

W 115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N 101 131 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuviwarai, "red-butte dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N 115 Informants.—Pete Snap, or Nino'o (PS), aged ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[1]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[2] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

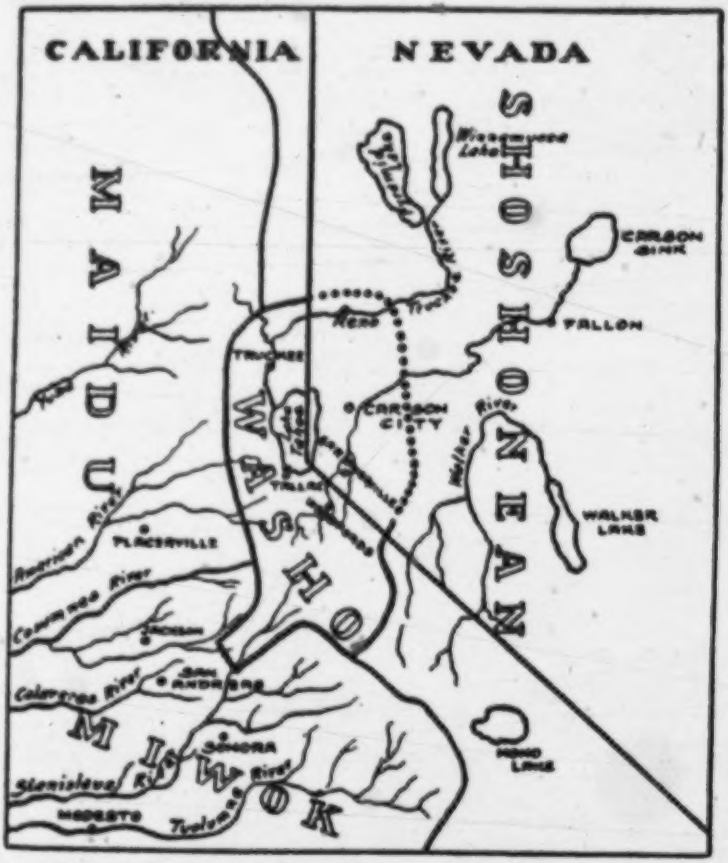
[1] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[2] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the



Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element.

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized

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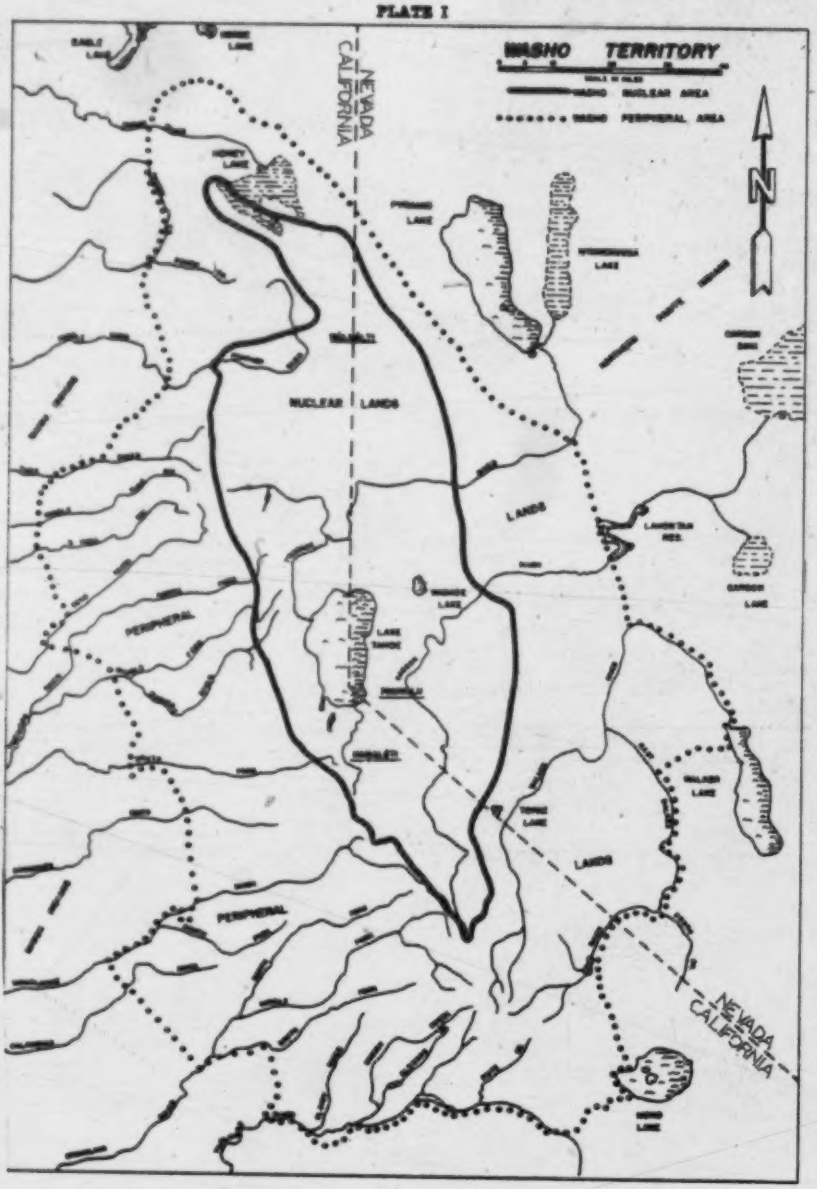
PLATE I



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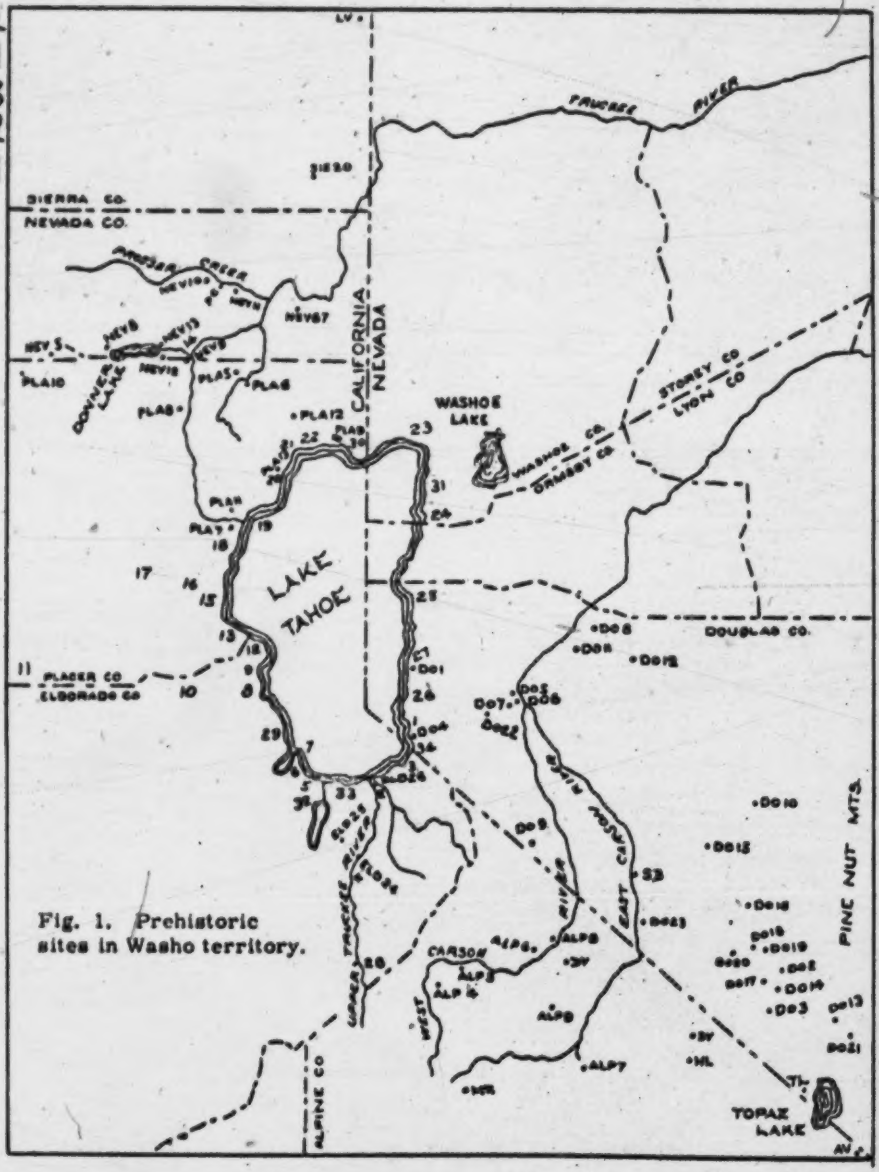

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

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4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

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174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tăsigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

● 102
172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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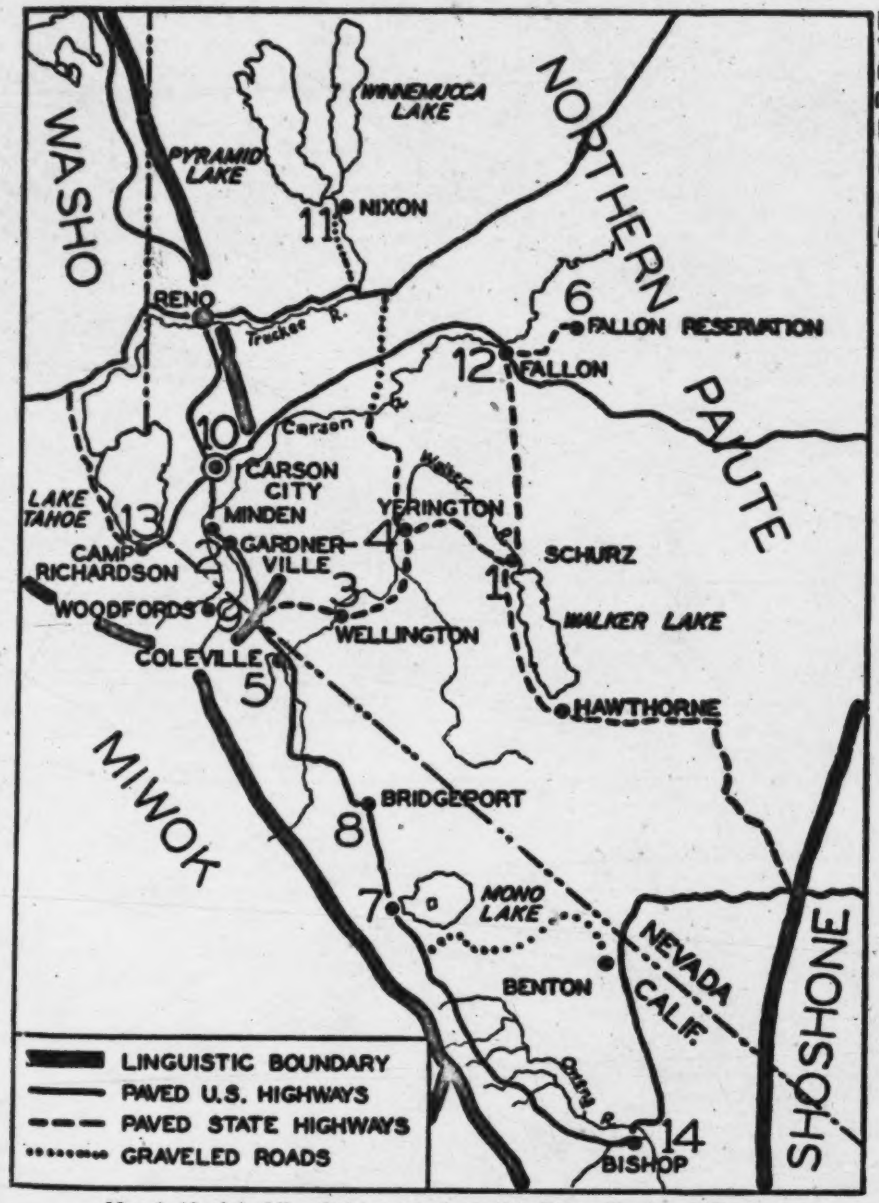
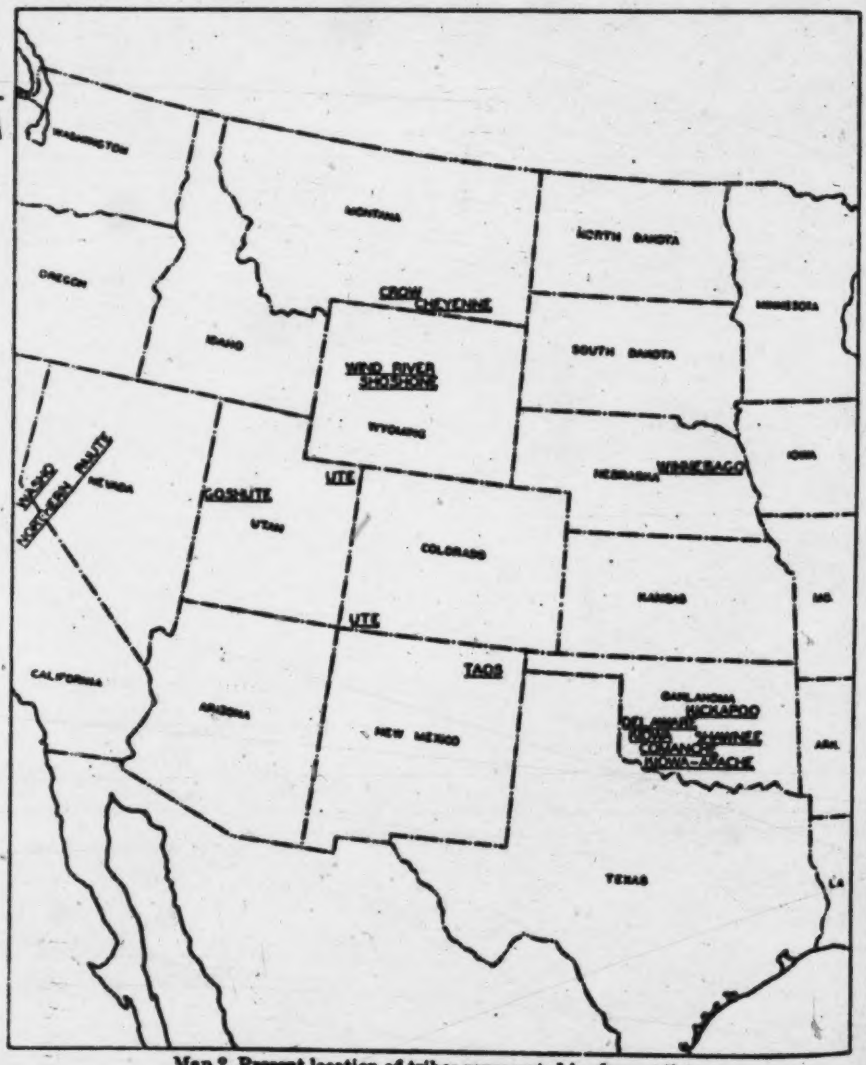


Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.



Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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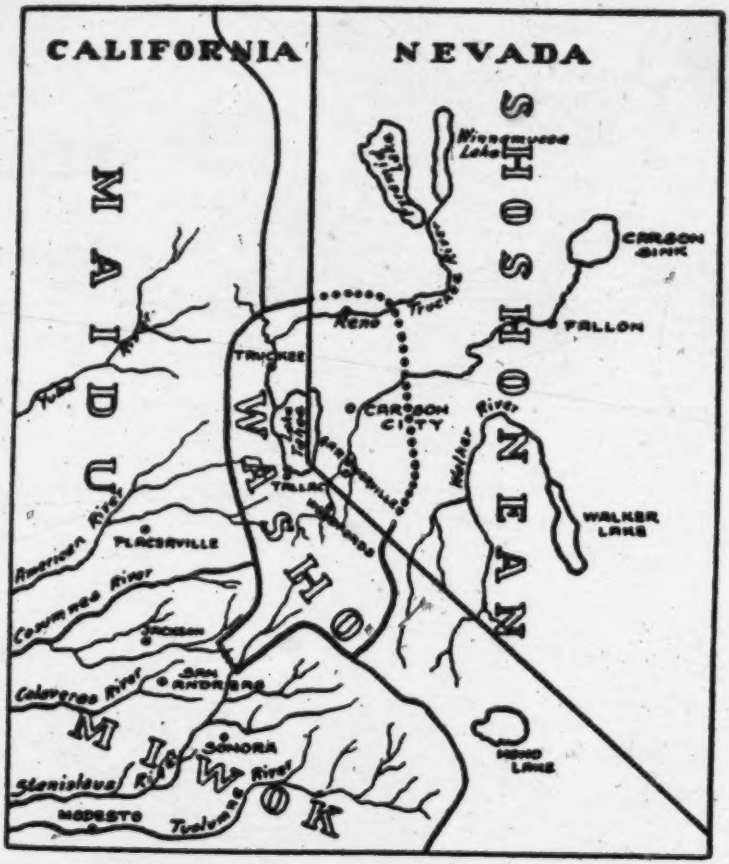

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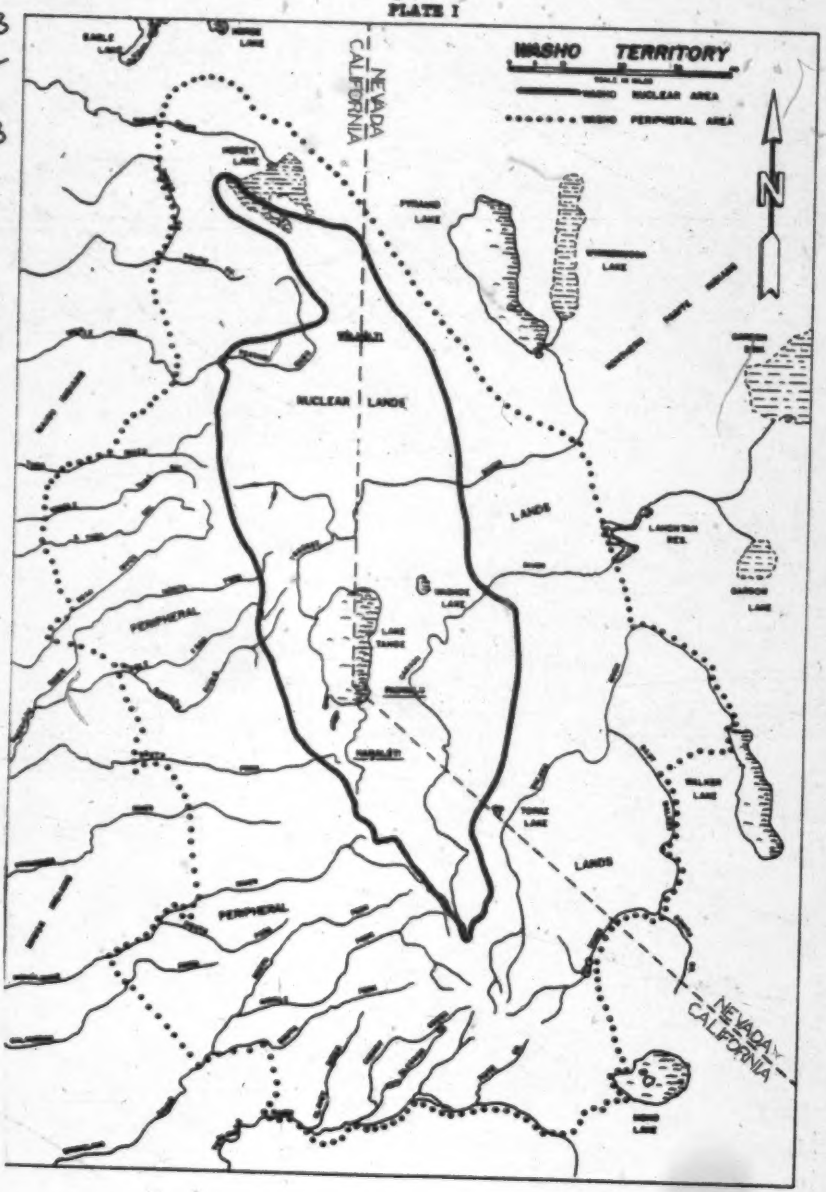
PLATE I



[End Plate I]

172
[103] D'Azevedo recorded the Washo name "hanawuywuyanal" for this site. William C. Brown excavated a portion of this site in 1960 for the Nevada State Museum.

Do-4 is a bedrock mortar site, probably the same as #1 from Freed's Survey.

Do-5, 6, and 7 are three large sites in a group, where stone chips, broken metates, bits of shell, metates, manos, hundreds of projectile points, a piece of worked bone, a charmstone and a human skull were found. A local collector has also reported finding a round blue glass bead here.

Do-8 is a campsite below a hot spring where a local collector found a boatstone at a depth of about 18 in. The boatstone was donated to the Nevada State Museum.

Workshop chips and points were found here by the University of California Archaeological Survey along with broken metates and manos. This site was excavated by S. M. Wheeler for the Nevada State Park Commission in 1939. The site yielded projectile points, bones, scrapers and a mano.

W. L. d'Azevedo's notes report that the site seems buried under sand with most of the artifacts found on the slope near the hot stream. The Schubert collection from this site contains 3 manos, 1 drill, 4 scrapers, 6 blades and the following projectile points: 4 DSN, Martis types 1b-2, 3c-2, 4c-1, and 5c-1; 3 small leaf-shaped; 1 triangular; 1 small side-notched with a convex base; 1 small barbed with a concave stem; and 2 shouldered with flat based stems.

Do-9 is a bedrock mortar site beside a small creek.

Do-10 is a campsite where several points, a basalt scraper, workshop chips and a bedrock mortar were found.

Do-11 is a campsite where approximately 50 points and numerous workshop chips were found.

Do-12 is a campsite below a hot spring. Elsasser (1960) excavated this site and found Martis complex projectile points and other artifacts to a depth of 30 in. with one point recovered from a 48-51 in. level. The excavated materials and private collections from this site include 1 obsidian crescent, 1 mortar fragment, 1 stone discoidal, 1 bone awl, 1 bone dagger, 1 incised bone fragment, 2 unshaped pestle fragments, 48 manos, 49 basin

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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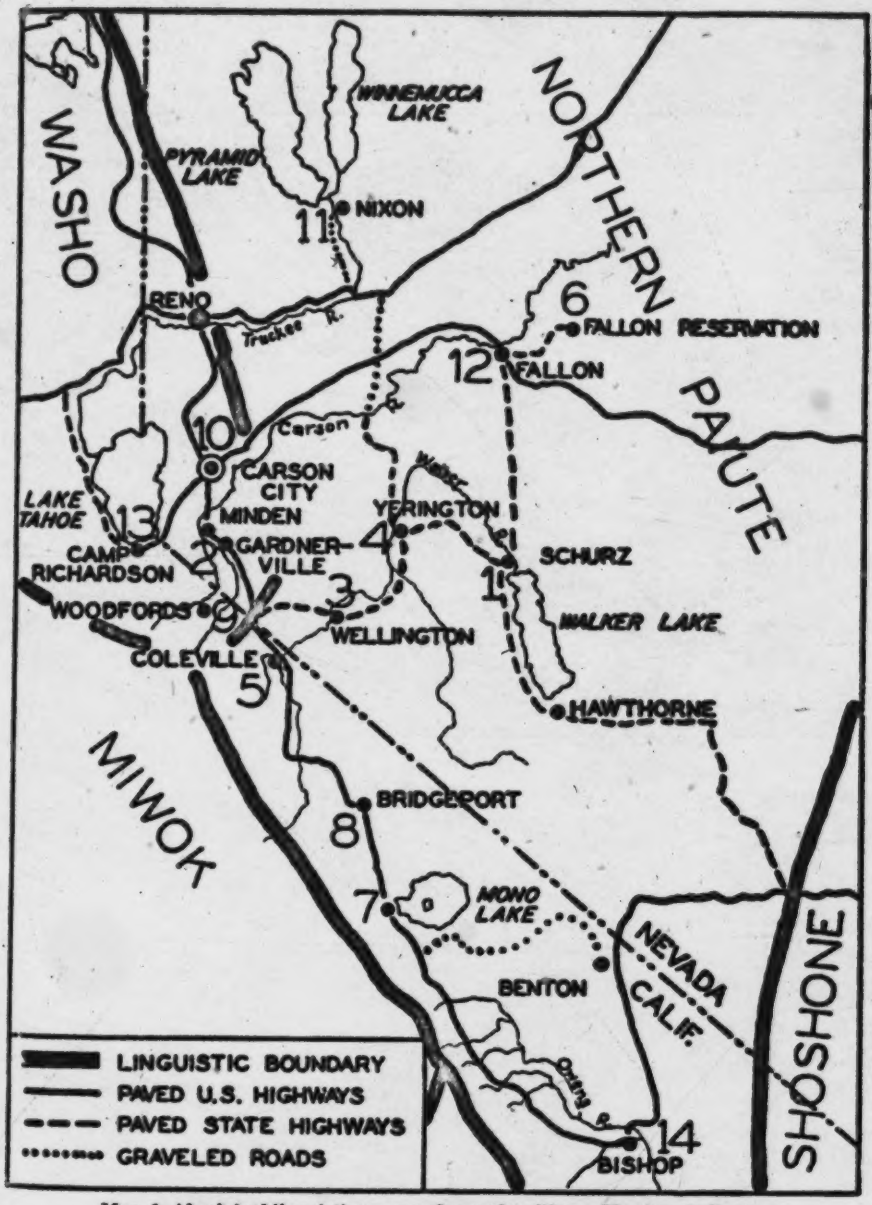

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

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Washo NT20

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on Middle of p. 123]

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33–35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Sac and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			98 Active	130 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

Washo NT20

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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PHONETIC KEY.

Vowels.

i	ɪ			
e	ɛ			
a				
o	ɔ			
u	ʊ	û	u	
ai				

Consonants

	Post-pal.	Medio-pal.	Pre-pal.	Dental.	Bi-labial.
Stop	k g		t d	f	p b
Spirant		c	s z		w
Nasal	ñ				m
Lateral			l		
Inverted			r		

y, h as in English.
kl, tl, pl, stressed.
tc as in church.
ts as in sits.
dz as in adz.
The apostrophe (') indicates a strong aspiration.

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955).

The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here.

Consonants	labial	alveolar	frontal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	?
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless fricatives		s	sh		h
voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
voiced lateral		l			
voiced semivowels	w		y		

Vowels	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	ɛ		
low		a	

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "ɛ" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

Glossary

angale atega	"houses together", a community
atabi	fish
ayas	antelope

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badakush sew¢	wooden pegs
ba du? cuhu?	elderberry staff (Jacobsen)
bakmanga	ladder
baleo	looped stirring stick
balnasung	tattooing
balogo	knotted calendar string
balohat	bow
bankush	tobacco
bankush tash¢p	tobacco bag
bayako	harpoon
bayudate	single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket
bebits¢t	needle
beyugum	pinenut gathering pole
biali	meat drying scaffold
bih¢?	pinenut gathering pole
bikus	willow basketry cradle
bilada	U. S. currency
bisha basha	starvation
bishapu	hungry
bits¢k	pestle
boko?	dice
b¢l¢shi	willow bundle used in fish drive
dabal	sagebrush
damalu	trade
damomli	shaman
damu	poncho
damyeo	storage pit
dashkapush	strip of loin sinew
dauwati dama	buck brush plant
dauyatsim buutsui	smoke hole
dayoliti	new rabbit skin blanket
demedugetiyi?	midwife (Jacobsen)
deubeyu	headman
de¢k	pipe or rock
dideu	deer sinew string
digush	net
dimasha	pinenut gathering strip
dime	water
dipek	white pigment (Jacobsen)
dipi? ngaming	child size rabbit skin robe
dishu	digging stick
diyu angal	coccoon rattle
diy[illegible] itgums¢w¢	fireplace
di?yu	fire
dumbays¢gi	plant fiber string
dum¢¢sh	diverting streams to catch fish
d¢eli¢gi d¢tki	a red berry

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d¢gikup	subglobular choke-mouth basket
d¢mg¢	metate
d¢m¢meu	deer rib
gadu	windbreak or summer shelter
galis dangal	"winter house" (Jacobsen), household
gamum	mano
gawa	gambling
gidatwadots	a person's belongings
giuleu	large coiled cooking basket
golang	cooking stones
gumgaowi	hair cut
gumisasum	menstruation
guml¢sh¢¢sh	foot race
gumyoyabuwe	breechclout
g¢liwisha tsuhua	stick for winding rabbit skin string
hang¢l¢lti	southerners
himo	willow
hinaya	handgame - women playing
hinayaugi	handgame - men playing
hiyemai yeki	giving gifts (Lowie)
hut¢tiki	stingy
ih¢pbey¢gul	headband
imbeshuk	fish dam
imboshude	apron
iombisuk	door
ipu	find
ish	skin or bark
itbayuk	flint flaker
itdamkut	spoon
itgumbeyut	seed processing brush
itgumdosha	"it is for sweating", sweat house
itkolanga	seat
itmago	course basketry pinecone bowl
itmahadas	small basketry mush bowl
itmolit	loom bars
itpakmal¢t	trap
itpasua	door opening
itwega	hairbrush
kaas	paddle stirring stick
kumyu ga	giving presents to bride's parents (Lowie)
k¢tip	basketry water bottle

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lam	bedrock mortar
lamamshawi	thief
loshmangal	dance house
maak b¢h¢sing	firewood, small sticks
ma?angal	brush blind or fishing house (Jacobsen)
maba	mat
madap	shell
magu tal sali	blanket when the hair begins to fall out
magu tsu shushi	tanned deer hide
makau	beads
malung	acorn
mamayt	open weave conical burden basket
mangumtash	dress
mashoni	arrowshaft smoother
mats¢bab¢shi	fly larvae
ma?sate	arrowpoint
ma?yodop	hood on baby basket (Jacobsen)
megodih¢p	hair net or thin basketry hat
mellu	belt
mibi?	awl
mib¢shigihi	sharing
mishu	tattoo
modal	close weave basketry tray
mogahat	footbridge
moko	moccasins
mugigush	fence
mugishua	football
m¢liuy¢k	bracelet
m¢mdewi	deer
m¢mdewi ish	deerskin
m¢mgiwa	wealth to gamble with, "a bet"
m¢skisit	arrow
nanomba	pinenut tree sugar (spring sap)
ngawngang ?eluhaya?	"she (or they) fed the baby," baby feast (Jacobsen)
ogul	mountain goat
pa	lose
pacisi¢i tayadi	east side or "moisty"
patalmi m¢gi	eagle nest
patsaga	obsidian
pauwalu	easterners
peyu	buy or pay

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p¢kishu wigas	lower leg pants, leggings
p¢kishu wigas dabal ish	"shin pants (of) sagebrush skin"
p¢lleu	rabbit
p¢lleu ush¢¢sh	rabbit drive
petsumeli?	wild rose (Jacobsen)
sawasang	red ochre (Jacobsen)
seshishi	"to drag the feet repeatedly", a social dance similar to the Shoshonean round dance (Jacobsen)
shigimba	sugarpine sugar
shumelli	snowshoes or manzanita brush
sigaya	stick game
singam	basket, also a close coiled basketry bowl
taba	bear
tada	bed
tagil	obsidian knife
tagum	pinenut
tagum gumsabay?	pinenut festival (Jacobsen)
tanglel¢l tayadi	west side or "moiety"
tang¢l¢lti	westerners
tapuli tugabul	seed beater
tashmanal	sweat house
tashukido	loin sinew
tash¢p	bag
ta?a	a summer shade
te?we?we?	"to crawl enclosing repeatedly," puberty ceremony dance (Jacobsen)
tish¢shi	buckskin
ti¢li dipi?	adult size rabbit skin robe
tsapo	ashes
tsilug¢l	skirt
tsisuapo	feathers
ts¢hit	soot
tugabul	scoop-shaped open twined tray
t¢l¢lupe	rabbit skin string wound and tied for storage
ulu ushi	fire stick
umbidu	child's blanket
umlagu' 'wa'a	a return gift (Lowie)
umlaiste	rock toss game
uml¢suk	necklace
ungabi	salt
waltsetsini	yellow or green
wanashugesha	trader
washtangam	small open weave burden basket

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w¢galeyu	supernatural power
w¢lm¢lti	northerners
w¢lyauwi	black

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

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In the summers of 1952 and 1953, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture; during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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[104]

[122]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

668* 533* 114

1) In manner of singing, the Peyote style is lacking in the tenseness frequently noted as characteristic of American Indian singing in general. The Washo songs conform to the Peyote style in this respect.

2) Peyote songs are usually sung at a brisk tempo averaging approximately 130–140 beats per minute; moreover, this tempo is maintained throughout the song with little variation. The Washo songs conform to the Peyote style.

3) The characteristics of drum and rattle accompaniment noted by McAllester cannot always be applied to the Washo Peyote songs. Thus it is not true in the Washo songs that "these instruments are played at the same speed as the vocal part of the song," and that "it is clear that the intention is for [the voice and instruments] to be at least approximately together. . . ." In these respects, the Washo songs do not concur with McAllester's Peyote style.

4) Note values in the Peyote style are restricted almost exclusively to the quarter and eighth note; the Washo songs show this characteristic.

5) In structure, there are again some differences. In the following Peyote characteristics, the Washo songs do not conform: vocal introductions present, a tendency toward restricted range, and long flattened coda-like section at the end of the song. In the following respects, the Washo songs do conform: phrase patterns of Plains type; and an incidence of a type of paired phrases.

6) The cumulative use of the tonic in finals is partially apparent in the Washo songs.

7) There is considerable textual consistency in the Washo songs, including the use of variations of what seems to be the standard Peyote phrase, *he ne ne yo wa*.

In four of seven characteristics, then, the Washo songs are close to the general Peyote style indicated by McAllester. In the remaining three characteristics there are some marked differences, such as in structure, and some partial similarities, such as the cumulative use of the tonic in finals. It seems clear that the Washo songs are basically in the Peyote style with some individual idiosyncracies apparent.

NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

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The songs notated are representative of the various cycles; each is headed with pertinent information in abbreviated form. Thus the legend for the fourth song, "Song IV,3: 2u: 144," indicates that the song is the third in the fourth cycle, that the original pitch was 2 semitones higher (2d would indicate the original pitch to be 2 semitones lower, in each case without regard for octave), and that the tempo of the vocal line is 144 beats per minute. The basis for the tempo figure is the quarter note; the songs are notated in that key in which the majority of notes falls within the limits of the regular staff lines. Special signs used are those standard in ethnomusicology.

NOTES

668* 533* [104]

[1] Abbreviations used: M—major; m—minor; dim—diminished; r—rising, f—falling. Further explanations of the various interval patterns may be found in Kolinski 1936:498–501.

[2] Duration tone refers to that tone which is most heavily weighted throughout the song as defined by actual duration count. The subjective tonic designates the subjective criterion of a key feeling, or tonality, as observed by Western musicians in respect to Western musical traditions.

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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● 105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i. e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up W [186] over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

N W 105 177 178 W [186] [668] [464]

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

N 105 177 182

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

W 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author W [122] has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

1: Lowie, Robert H. Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, pp. 301-352. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1939.

Yale: CE51 C32 36.

/This paper presents a well-rounded picture of Washo ethnography based primarily on the information obtained from three native informants, during the author's stay of several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread). The data cover the social life of the Washo, such as political structure, property, the life cycle, kinship terminology, patrilineal groups, and various forms of entertainment; religion, in particular shamanism, beliefs about the dead, and forms of ceremonialism associated with the sweat lodge and antelope charming; and the many ramifications of material culture inherent in Washo economic life. The author, a well-known professional anthropologist, concludes his work with the text of some nineteen representative examples of Washo mythology, of which at least eight are dominated by the mythological figure of Coyote, a common element in many of the tales of the various tribes occupying the Plains and Great Basin areas. A section entitled "miscellaneous notes" provides many additional bits of information on relatively minor aspects of Washo ethnography (i.e., spirits, meteorological phenomena, etc.)./

Field date: 1926
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1969

2: Barrett, Samuel A. The Washo Indians. Milwaukee, Public Museum, Bulletin, Vol. 2, No. 1. Milwaukee, 1917.

Pp. 53; 22 text figures; 1 map; 13 end plates.

Yale: S9 190 2.

/In 1917, while engaged in a special ethnographic field project for the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee to the Paiute region of Nevada, the author was able to get away for a few days' visit to the Washo at Woodsfords, California, Gardnerville and Carson City Nevada, and on Lake Tahoe. The data which he collected at that time make up the bulk of this source, which although somewhat sketchy because of the time element involved in the collecting of the information, does present some of the basic aspects of Washo ethnography. In general, coverage emphasis is on material culture, such as house construction, foods and their preparation, implements (weapons and tools) of stone and wood, and especially basketry. Brief introductory material may also be found on Washo environment, social organization, and social customs. The author indicates throughout the source the relationship of various cultural forms among the Washo to the cultures of the two great adjacent areas, the Great Basin and California areas.]

Field date: 1917
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1968

3: Cartwright, Willena D. A Washo Girl's Puberty Ceremony. Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists Held at Cambridge, 18-23 August 1952, pp. 136-142. London: The Royal Anthropological Institute, 1955.

1 table.

Yale: C2 054 30.

/This source describes the puberty ceremony of a Washo girl called Teena, as observed by the author's chief informant, a white school teacher in the Washo community of Minden, Nevada. The description of the ceremony is quite detailed and contains other related bits of ethnographic information pertinent to the Washo, such as food preparation, dances and gift giving. The paper concludes with references to ethnographic information found in other studies on the Washo, most of which have already been included as source material for this file. A table showing the distribution of certain cultural elements in the girl's puberty ceremony to the California tribes, the Paiutes, and the Shoshone, is also included in the text./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Unknown-4
Processed in 1965-1969

4: Downs, James F. Washo Religion. Anthropological Records, Vol. 18, No. 9, pp. i-vi, 365-385 /HRAF pagination i-vi, 365(A)-385(C)/. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1961.

Bibliography.

Yale: Nk10 C24 16:9.

/In addition to the author's main purpose of studying the religious life of the Washo Indians with particular reference to their mythology, shamanism, dream specialists, the interpretation of dreams, and various rituals and magical practices in relation to the life cycle of birth, puberty, marriage and death, and daily activities, a secondary goal in this work is to attempt to trace the patterns of cultural change in the society since the coming of the white men to the area. The author used as the basis of his study information provided by Washo informants living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada, as well as data found in published anthropological and historical works. In addition to the material on the religious aspects of Washo life, some incidental ethnographic information may also be found on hunting, fishing and gathering activities, funerals, birth practices and native ideas about conception and contraception. A short section is also presented on Christian influences on Washo religion./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1969

5: Kroeber, Alfred L. The Washo. In, A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California. U.S. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 78, pp. 569-573. Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 1925.

Yale: C63 148.

/This source presents a very brief "thumb-nail" sketch of certain aspects of Washo ethnography, namely cultural and linguistic affiliations, location, population figures, basketry, dress, rabbit hunting, the bow and arrow, diet, house construction, and various other short paragraphs on numerous ethnographic elements found in the society. The distribution of certain cultural elements among neighboring tribes in the area occupied by the Washo is also brought out in the text./

Field date: no date
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1969

6: Price, John Andrew. Washo Economy. Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 6. Carson City, Nevada, 1962.

Pp. ii, 74; appendix (including a glossary of native terms); bibliography; 5 end plates.

Smithsonian Institution: 572.0673 N499 Anthro.

/As the title of this source suggests, this paper is a study of the function and scope of economics in Washo culture, and was submitted originally as a master's thesis to the University of Utah. Data for this paper were collected in the field from June to September 1961, and are based upon the information provided by native informants who were representative of all major sections of Washo territory. The source is divided into four parts, the first of which gives a concise introductory picture of the Washo Indians, with special emphasis on habitat, anthropometry, social organization, household composition, and culture history; the second, on the general economy of the Washo represented in their material culture, property and inheritance, and division and specialization of labor; the third on the distributional aspects of Washo economy through family and "task group" sharing, gift and ceremonial exchange, feasts, ceremonial disposal, trade, gambling, etc.; and the fourth, a section entitled "The Washo Case in Economic Theory," deals with various socio-cultural factors in the society affecting the economy as a whole (i.e., political authority, prestige, etc.)./

Field date: 1962
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-4, 5
Processed in 1965-1969

7: Freed, Stanley A. Changing Washo Kinship. Anthropological Records, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. i-iii, 349-418 /HRAF pagination pp. i-iii, 349(A)-418(B)/. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1960.

4 statistical appendices; bibliography.

Yale: Nk10 +C24 14:6.

/This source attempts to study the changing patterns of Washo social organization from aboriginal (pre-white) times to the present day. Of primary concern in the paper is discovering why a number of alternate kinship terms have arisen which taken together seem to constitute a new emerging system of kinship terminology. In order to explain this phenomenon, the author presents the hypothesis that cultural changes arising outside the realm of social organization can affect kinship terminology without changing the basic elements of formal social structure evidenced by residence rules and rules of descent. This hypothesis hinges on the fact that the terminological system is closely correlated with specific norms of behavior which the author refers to as "roles." These "roles" in turn function within the limitations set by given types of social organization. The author's basic conclusion is that cultural change can bring about terminological changes by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure. In order to test his hypothesis that author administers a role-profile test to 47 of approximately 280 Washo Indians living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California, the results and statistical analyses of which constitute the four appendices, the major bulk of this source.

This study, which is based on six months' field work during the summers of 1952, 1953 and 1956 and the

7: Freed, Stanley A.

winter of 1956-57, also contains much incidental ethnographic data on the Washo, which may be found in pp. 350-355./

Field dates: 1952-1957
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965

8: Merriam, Alan P. and Warren L. d'Azevedo. Washo Peyote Songs. American Anthropologist, Vol. 59, pp. 615-641. Menasha: American Anthropological Association, 1957.

Yale: Nk10 Am37 II. 59.

/This paper traces the history, development and general concepts of peyotism among the Washo, from its introduction in 1936 by Ben Lancaster, its subsequent growth, final decline in 1939, and then, after 1939, its revival once again under several rival sects, chief among these being a group called "The Tipi Way," which dominated the movement at the time of Lancaster's death in 1955. After this general introduction to peyotism and the peyote movements, the authors concentrate their attention on the musical instruments, accompanying music and songs of the peyote rituals, with the greatest emphasis on the latter. The musical sample used consisted of five song cycles sung by three Washo membersof "The Tipi Way" sect collected at a single session in a cabin of one of the members in Woodfords, California. The remainder of the source is devoted to an intensive structural analysis of these songs. The general ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper was based were collected by d'Azevedo during a period of nine months in 1954-1955, while Merriam is responsible for the musical analysis and final form of the paper./

Field date: 1954-1955
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4, 5
Processed in 1967

9: d'Azevedo, Warren L., et al. The Washo Indians of California and Nevada. Utah, University, Department of Anthropology, Anthropological Papers, No. 67. Salt Lake City, Utah: University of Utah Press, 1963.

Pp. vi, 201; bibliography.

Yale: CE51 .U83 67.

/This source is composed of several papers constituting the work of all the students who have made any ethnological investigations among the Washo since 1952. The preface to this collection has been written by Samuel A. Barrett, while the introduction, compilation and editing of this volume was done by Warren L. d'Azevedo, who was also partially responsible for the extensive bibliography at the end of this source. The Freeds (Stanley A. and Ruth S.), whose work comprises the first three ethnographic papers, conducted their field research among the Washo intermittently from 1952-1957. Their field of interest lies in social organization and acculturation. In his paper on "A Reconstruction of Aboriginal Washo Social Organization," based on the joint field work of the Freeds as well as the earlier writings of other authors, Stanley A. Freed attempts to present a picture of aboriginal kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns, and other aspects of social organization, and to describe role behavior as it existed in aboriginal times. The second paper written jointly by the Freeds, describes five ceremonies (birth, girls' puberty, death, shamans' curing rites, and the pinenut dance) which have survived from aboriginal times up to the present (i.e., the 1950's), and why three of these seem capable of survival while two are on the verge of disappearance. The third paper, also by the Freeds, deals with the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture, and analyzes the functions of these two elements in all culture

9t d'Azevedo, Warren L., et al.

patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture. This analysis also helps to show how recognition of the configuration pattern--fear of supernatural power, and ghosts--contributes greatly to an understanding of various features of Washo behavior, which might not otherwise be easily perceptible. Philip E. Leis, whose paper is entitled "Washo Witchcraft: A Test of the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis" was at the time of the writing an assistant professor at Brown University, and did his work among the Washo in the summer of 1954, with special emphasis on aspects of socialization, life cycle and personality. His paper attempts to test the Dollard "frustration-aggression" hypothesis by showing that aggression may be a response to frustration and that the resulting reaction may take the form of beliefs in witchcraft. Norman Scotch, a research associate in anthropology at the Harvard School of Public Health and Director of the Cross Cultural Disease Survey, accompanied and assisted by his wife Freda, conducted an intensive program in the summer of 1955 of interviewing and testing 100 Washo informants with special concern for problems of diet, employment and health. Their paper discusses various social factors which the authors feel are contributive agents in causing hypertension in Washo society. John Price, at the time of the writing a doctoral candidate at the University of Michigan, presents a review of the various anthropological research dealing with prehistory in Washo territory. The author presents a map showing the location of various archaeological sites (by coded letters) with a description of each in the body of the text. Price's second paper in this collection deals with practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed from the information presented by elder informants after more than a century of Indian-White contacts.

9: d'Azevedo, Warren L., et al.

James Downs, an assistant professor at the University of Rochester, did his field work among the Washo in the summer of 1959. His paper, called "Differential Responses to White Contact: Paiute and Washo," attempts to analyze the markedly different effects of White contact and acculturation upon two Indian groups as a function of their individual integration into and occupation of two distinct ecological areas. Data on the Northern Paiute found in this paper have been subheaded for the NR13 Northern Paiute file. Following along in this same train of thought, Downs' second paper deals with the Washo's lack of response to a single aspect of white culture, namely animal husbandry. This author believes that by examining a negative case of acculturation such as this he can demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. The final paper in this collection by d'Azevedo and Price presents an excellent and extensive bibliography on the Washo, much of which has been annotated. This bibliography has been organized into five categories, anthropology (ethnology, language, archaeology, and anthropometry), unpublished materials, history, ecology, and general materials. In additions to this extensive bibliography, each paper in the collection has its own short bibliography following the body of the text in each case./

Field dates: 1952-1961
Analyst: John Beierle

Evaluation: Ethnologists-4, 5
Processed in 1967-1969

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (wasə, wəsə), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i"yeli ta"au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'yale'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a"walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmelt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa"le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'mue), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 1:1-52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:361-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 295, 322 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[P. 300 is blank]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Terms of Relationship

601 [193]

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;[1] but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained.

Parent and Child Class

tikol'	my father
tila·'	my mother
tiṣa'm	my son
tiṣa'mu	my daughter

Sibling Class

ti.a·'t'u	my elder brother *or* e. male cousin
tii·'su	my elder sister *or* e. female cousin
tipe·'yu	my younger brother *or* y. male cousin
tiwi'tsuk	my younger sister *or* y. female cousin

Grandparent and Grandchild Class

tipa'pa	my father's father
lapa·'pa	my son's child (m. sp.)
ti.e·'lel	my mother's father
le.e·'leli	my daughter's child (m. sp.)
ti.'a'ma	my father's mother
la'a·'ama (also recorded la.a·'·ama)	my son's child (w. sp.)
tiku·'u	my mother's mother
lebu'k'u.l	my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term)
leku·'l	my daughter's child (w. sp.)
tisa'ma	my father's father's sister
lase·'·ama	my brother's son's child (w. sp.)
lasa'tsagi	my brother's son's son (m. sp.)
tisa'tsuk	my father's father's brother

Uncle and Nephew Class

ti.e·.'uel	my father's brother; mother's sister's husband
tima·'aca	my brother's child (m. sp.)
tita·'a	my mother's brother
tima·'gu	my sister's child;[2] my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.)
tiya'	my father's sister
tie·'muk	my brother's child (w. sp.)
tica'ca	my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother

[1] California Kinship Systems, UC-PAAE 12:362, 1917. [113]

[2] For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be e·'muk. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magudakoi, which phrase supports my definition of magu.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Ceremonialism

Sweat Lodge

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating 515 (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to 224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain 789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No [343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pehe'"tsiy t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[a] who records—though as a [177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

Antelope Charming

624 The Antelope chief (al'yɔa kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and 224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got 756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was 787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] [a] Kroeber, Handbook, 573.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ABBREVIATIONS USED

113

AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology—Bulletins
BAE-R	Bureau of American Ethnology—(Annual) Reports
JAFL	Journal of American Folk-Lore
PMM-B	Public Museum (of the City of) Milwaukee—Bulletins
UC-PAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

[1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

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4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.385, A]

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist
BAE	Bureau of American Ethnology
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
UC	University of California Publications
-AR	Anthropological Records
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.385, B]

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UC-ASR University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
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UU-AP University of Utah Anthropological Papers.

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AA	American Anthropologist
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
FMNH-PAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
SWJA	Southwest Journal of Anthropology
UC	University of California Publications
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology
-AR	Anthropological Records
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

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central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an amateur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

and anticipated Kroeber's formal analysis of Washo in 1907, The Washo Language of East Central California. S. A. Barrett worked among the Miwok, the immediate western neighbors of the Washo, during the first decade of the 1900's. In 1917 he published the first ethnographic monograph on Washo culture, The Washo Indians. About the same time Edward Sapir published two definitive articles, The Status of Washo, and Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. In 1926 Lowie turned his attention briefly from the Shoshone, Ute and Southern Paiute to study the Washo. His Ethnographic Notes on the Washo appeared in 1939. An extensive collection of Washo myths has not yet been published. Grace Dangberg's Washo Texts appeared in 1927, and her field notes gathered over the many years of her residence in Carson Valley are a major ethnographic resource. 113

Though the published materials listed above constitute a valuable accumulation of data about the Washo people and their culture, no part of it represents the result of intensive field work or continuous interest in a particular group in the same sense that many other tribes in California or the Great Basin have been studied. In the 1930's two ethnologists worked for extended periods among the Washo directing special attention to the newly introduced Peyote Cult and to problems of acculturation. Omer Stewart's monograph, Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation, is an important contribution to studies of the diffusion of this cult, and is a classic description of its introduction among the Washo while the investigator was in the field. His culture element lists for Northern Paiute, Washo, and Achomawi were completed about this time and, along with his excellent survey, The Northern Paiute Bands, provide some of the best and most complete data available for the area. Edgar Siskin's dissertation, The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians, has been widely appealed to by recent students of the Washo for its detailed data concerning the last of the Washo shamans and its cogent analysis of the role of the Peyotists in the dramatic period of culture change in the late 1930's. [114]

No further field work or publication was carried out with regard to the Washo until the 1950's. During the past decade, important archeologic investigations have been undertaken in the region by Robert F. Heizer, Albert B. Elsasser, Martin A. Baumhoff, and others. Francis A. Riddell's archeologic and ethnologic work in the Honey Lake region has provided numerous data concerning the relations of the northern Washo and adjacent Paiute bands. During the same period William H. Jacobsen, Jr., gathered extensive linguistic materials toward a new analysis of the Washo language.

The collection of papers in the present volume represents all of the students who have made any ethnologic investigation among the Washo since 1952. Though some of the authors have published elsewhere on the group, 119 128

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1955-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 363-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

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These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

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1. This paper is based on materials appearing in the doctoral dissertation of the senior author (An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies, Northwestern University, 1957). The authors wish to thank the Graduate School, Northwestern University and the Cardiovascular Research Department of the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, for generous financial support which made the field work on which this paper is based possible. Thanks are due for the advice and support of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Professor M. J. Herskovits and Professor William Bascom.

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Payen, L. Arthur
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Stewart, Omer C.
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Notes

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1. Grace Dangberg's informants were Agnes Pete, Susie Dick, Manta, and Dave Cheney. The author's principal informants were Bertha Holbrook, Clara Frank, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Roy James from Woodfords, California.

2. From Indian Balsam, Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., personal communication.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes," Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication.)

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1950 Indians in Overalls. Hudson Review, Vol. 3, No. 3, pp. 327-77.

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Riddell, Francis A.
1952 The Recent Occurrence of Bison in Northeastern California. American Antiquity, Vol. 18, No. 2, pp. 178-9.

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● 113 Numerous incidents reported in the Press have been cited. These are drawn from editions of the following newspapers: Carson Valley Courier-Record, Genoa Courier and the Genoa Record. Copies of these newspapers published from 1858 to date are on file in the office of the County Clerk, Minden, Douglas County, Nevada. A domestic accident destroyed the notes, making it impossible to supply more precise bibliographic information.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

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The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Anonymous

1948 The Basketry of Dat-So-La-Lee. The Nevada Magazine, Vol. 3, No. 9, pp. 8-9. Minden, Nevada.

Contains photographs and a short text concerning the famous Washo basket maker. Also includes a Lovelock Cave basket detail.

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A collection of about 350 myths, and historical anecdotes, some Washo.

Atwater, Jane

1954 Washo Indians. Nevada State Journal, January 31, 1954.

Avery, B. P.

1873 Chips from an Indian Workshop. Overland Monthly, Vol. 2, No. 6, pp. 489-93. Reprinted in Heizer and Elsasser, 1953 (q.v.), UCAS-R, No. 21, pp. 33-6.

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Bancroft, Hubert Howe

1883 The Native Races. The Wild Tribes. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 1. The History Co., San Francisco.

See pp. 423, 469 for location of Washo; p. 466 for location of Paiute.

1883 The Native Races. Myths and Languages. The Works of Hubert Howe Bancroft, Vol. 3. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

See pp. 89-90 for a Washo flood myth; p. 170 for "Nevada" idea of a great Spirit; pp. 524-5 for "Nevada" ideas on life after death; p. 568 lists Washo as "Utah"-speaking members of the "Shoshones."

A3 Barrett, Samuel Alfred

1908 The Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians. UCPAAE, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 333-68.

See pp. 347-9 for information on "Washo territory" on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada in the vicinity of Big Trees.

1917 The Washo Indians. Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1, pp. 1-52.

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Barrett, Samuel A., and Edward W. Gifford

1933 Miwok Material Culture. Publications of the Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bull. 2, No. 4.

Includes notes on trade with the Washo.

Baumhoff, M. A., R. F. Heizer and A. B. Elsasser

1958 The Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group (Site 26-St-1) Near Virginia City, Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 43, Pt. 2, pp. 1-17.

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Beals, Ralph L.

1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. UCPAAE, Vol. 31, No. 6, pp. 335-414.

P. 336 contains a map of Nisenan territory. Mentions wars caused by Washo trespass in acorn gathering grounds.

Bennyhoff, James A.

1958 A Trial Correlation of Culture and Chronology. In "Current Views on Great Basin Archaeology," UCAS-R, No. 42, pp. 1-112.

Includes a tentative chronology for Martis (2500 B.C. -- A.D. 500) and Kings Beach (A.D. 1000 -- Washo and Maidu).

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1951 The Problem of the Early Peopling of the Americas as Viewed from Asia. In The Physical Anthropology of the American Indian, William S. Laughlin (Ed.), pp. 1-68.

On pp. 48-9 Washo are included with Pomo, Karok, Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Yana and other peoples tentatively classified as Hokan-speaking who are "notable for absence of Ainu-like traits" among Great Basin and California groups.

Bright, William
1960 Animals of Acculturation in the California Indian Languages. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 215-46.

Contains numerous Washo terms taken from published and unpublished sources.

Cartwright, William D.
1952 A Washo Girl's Puberty Ceremony. Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists, pp. 136-42. London.

(See also "Peyote," pp. 143-8 of the same volume.)

Cohn, C. Amy
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P. 77 includes war with the Paiutes and the technique of basket making used by Dat-So-La-Lee.

Cook, Sherborne F.
1941 The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians. Ibero-Americana, Vol. 18, pp. 1-58.

Washo food preferences and practice of "begging" for food.

Culin, Stewart
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1927 Washo Texts. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 391-443.

Daugherty, Richard D.
1954 Notes and News: Pacific Coast. American Antiquity, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 310.

Passing reference to UCAS ethnographic work with Washo and the connection between Kings Beach complex and Washo.

Davis, James T.
1961 Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the Indians of California. UCAS-R, No. 54.

Washo trade items in exchange with neighboring groups, p. 42; two maps of trade routes, p. 71 ff.

DeWitt-Warr, Vermille
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Includes a list of names of Washo people prior to 1913 and the places they lived. Quotes from an 1861 report by the Indian Agent, Warren Wasson, to Governor Nye.

Dixon, Roland B.
1902 Maidu Myths. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 11, pp. 33-118.

See pp. 33-4 for information on Washo-Maidu contact.

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1905 The Northern Maidu. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 3, pp. 119-346. (The Huntington California Expedition.)

Pp. 124-5 give location of Washo, Washo land use and location of Maidu (with map); Washo-Maidu trade, p. 301.

Dixon, Roland B., and Alfred L. Kroeber

1903 The Native Languages of California. AA, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

Includes Washo in a survey of linguistic characteristics.

1907 Numeral Systems of the Languages of California. AA, Vol. 9, No. 4, pp. 663-90.

Includes Washo in a survey of numeral systems.

1919 Linguistic Families of California. UCPAAE, Vol. 16, No. 3, pp. 47-118.

Pp. 104-12 present evidence for including Washo in the Hokan family.

Downs, James F.

1961 Washo Religion. UC-AR, Vol. 16, No. 9.

A valuable recent study of Washo religious beliefs and ritual.

1961 Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho. Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

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Driver, Harold E.

1941 Culture Element Distributions: XVI, Girl's Puberty Rites in Western North America. UC-AR, Vol. 6, No. 2, pp. 21-90.

Includes Washo form of this rite from Stewart's (1941) data in a general statistical study.

113 Driver, Harold E., and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., Vol. 47, Pt. 3, pp. 165-456.

Brief comparison of Washo "moieties" with those of the Pomo, Mono and Eastern Yokuts, p. 411.

DuBois, Cora
1939 The 1870 Ghost Dance. UC-AR, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-151.

See p. 1.

Eichler, Lillian
1924 The Customs of Mankind. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, N. Y.

Description of Washo girl's puberty dance, pp. 172-73.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada in California and Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 51, pp. 1-93.

A major work on archeology in the Washo area; reviews the Martis-Kings Beach sequence and describes three excavated Martis complex sites. Includes photographs of 171 artifacts (mostly stone points) from Washo territory; extensive bibliography.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

A detailed study of Washo kinship behavior and changing terminology. An outstanding study of Washo social organization and of the ethnology of the western Great Basin.

Gatschet, A. S.
1882 Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories. Magazine of American History, Vol. 8, pp. 254-63.

One of the earlier statements about the Washo language. Location of the Washo and discussion of local Indian-white relations, p. 259.

1890 Ethnographic Sketch of the Klamath People. Contributions to North American Ethnography, Vol. 2, Pt. 1. 113 ●

Location of Washo boundary, p. xlv.

Gifford, Edward W.

1922 California Kinship Terminologies. UCPAAE, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 1-285.

Mono kinship terminologies, pp. 45-52; grandparent and cousin terms of Washo and Paviotso, pp. 130, 163.

1926 Californian Anthropometry. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 217-390.

Includes the measurement and description of 16 living individuals of purported Washo descent and several others of mixed Washo descent, in a general survey and classification of California anthropometric types.

1951 California Indian Physical Types. In The California Indian: A Source Book, R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple (Eds.), pp. 82-7. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Gordon, G. B.

1919 The Richard Wain Meirs Collection. The Museum Journal, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 28-8.

Illustrates Washo baskets with comments on their raw materials and designs. Also states the location and population of Washo.

Haglund, E. A., et al.

1961 The Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Nevada, Nevada Department of Education, Carson City, Nevada.

A summary of the history, education, and health of the Nevada Indians.

Heizer, Robert F.

1958 Aboriginal California and Great Basin Cartography. UCAS-R, No. 41, Paper 63, pp. 1-9.

● 113 Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 21, pp. 1-42.

An important archeological statement on Washo territory. Describes pre-Washo (Martis) and Washo (Kings Beach) archeological complexes from a brief survey in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Appendices: Boatstones in California; High Altitude Occupation in the Yosemite Region, by J. A. Bennyhoff; Chips from an Indian Workshop, by B. P. Avery; Ethnographic Notes on Washo Culture, S. L. Lee.

Hinkle, George, and Bliss Hinkle
1949 Sierra-Nevada Lakes. The American Lake Series. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

See pp. 48, 114, 134-7, 256-62, 270-1 for references to Washo.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (Ed.)
1910 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. BAE-B, No. 30, Vol. 2.

Location of Washo and Washo "war" with the Paiutes, p. 920.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
1958 Washo and Karok: An Approach to Comparative Hokan. IJAL, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 195-212.

James, George Wharton
1902 Indian Basketry. 2nd ed., Henry Malkan, New York, N. Y.

Brief mention of Paiute and Washo basketry, especially that of Dat-So-La-Lee.

1903 Basket Makers of California at Work. The Basket, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 2-16. Pasadena, California.

Intrusion of Paiutes into California, Washo basketry, pp. 6-8. Includes a few illustrations of Washo baskets.

1921 The Lake of the Sky, Lake Tahoe. 2nd ed., Radiant Life Press, Pasadena, California. Reprinted in 1956 by Powner Co., Chicago, Ill.

Pp. 26-71 claims the use of rock "inscriptions" as boundary markers by the Washo and Paiute; supposed Paiute prohibition of Washo use of horses; also see pp. 111-12 and pp. 191-2 for mention of Washo. 113

Kennedy, K. A. R.

1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. UCAS-R, No. 45, pp. 1-84.

A survey of Great Basin anthropometry and a comparison with peripheral areas; includes Gifford's Washo sample.

Klimek, Stanislaw

1935 Culture Element Distributions: I, The Structure of California Indian Culture. UCPAAE, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 1-70.

Includes Washo in a survey of languages, coefficients of cultural similarity, and historical depth.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis

1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UCPAAE, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 251-318.

A morphological sketch of Washo language. Location of Washo, pp. 252-3; location of neighbors, p. 253; narrative of a Washo-Paiute battle while hunting deer, pp. 302-3.

1908 On the Evidences of the Occupation of Certain Regions by the Miwok Indians. UCPAAE, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 369-80.

Miwok-Washo boundary problem, p. 376.

1916 California Place Names of Indian Origin. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 31-69.

Lake Tahoe, p. 60, and Tallac, p. 61, mentioned as Washo.

1917 California Kinship Systems. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 9, pp. 339-96.

Washo discussed, pp. 382-5.

1920 Games of the California Indians. AA, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 272-7.

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Mentions Washo double ball game, and the regular and four stick hand game.

1922 Elements of Culture in Native California. UCPAAE, Vol. 13, No. 8, pp. 259-328.

Washo noted as having the Plains form of sweat house, cremation, counting by 5's and 10's, the Ghost Dance of 1890, and the girl's ceremony at adolescence with singing and dancing.

1947 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UCPAAE, Vol. 38, pp. 1-242.

Washo placement in areas, territory size, population density, pp. 53, 101, 207, 137.

1953 Handbook of the Indians of California. California Book Company, Berkeley. (Photolithographic facsimile of the work published in 1925 as BAE-B, No. 78.)

Brief summary of Washo ethnology (affiliations, habitat, numbers, culture, basketry, dress and implements, buildings, religion and society) pp. 569-73; comparison of girls' puberty ceremony among Washo and California Indians, pp. 864-5; ritual numbers and numerical system, p. 877; Washo population in California, pp. 883, 886.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. IJAL, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 91-104.

Includes an evaluation of the glottochronology of the Hokan superstock which shows Washo as off the Pacific axis of Hokan languages and "split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45 C or more."

1957 Ethnographic Interpretations 1-6. UCPAAE, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 191-234.

See pp. 218-25 for "California Indian Population About 1910."

Lee, Simeon Lemuel

1934 Dr. S. L. Lee Collection. Nevada State Printing Office, Carson City, Nevada.

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Includes some notes and anecdotes from the Washo, Shoshoni and Southern and Northern Paiute from Lee's articles and diary, along with an anonymous biography of Dr. Lee, a list of his collections, and a section entitled "Indian Stories and Legends."

Littlejohn, Hugh W.
1929 A Northeastern Californian Dug-Out Canoe. AA, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 777-9.

Warfare between Northeastern Maidu and Washo, p. 778.

Lowie, Robert H.
1923 The Cultural Connection of Californian and Plateau Shoshonean Tribes. UCPAAE, Vol. 20, pp. 143-56.

See pp. 154-5 for brief note on Washo kinship terms, and a tale of the Weasel brothers with a Shoshoni-Washo parallel.

1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UCPAAE, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

A brief but major ethnographic source on the Washo. Particularly useful for material culture, myths, and general social and religious practices.

Macdonald, Claire
1929 Lake Tahoe, California. William E. Rudge, Mt. Vernon, New York. (privately printed)

Photograph of Washo basketmaker, Susie, and seven baskets, p. 24.

MacGregor, Gordon
1936 Washo Indians of the Sacramento Jurisdiction. Office of Indian Affairs, Applied Anthropology Unit, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. (8 pp. mimeographed)

Problems of and recommendations concerning the Woodfords, Alpine County, California, community of the Washo in 1936.

Mallery, Garrick
1893 Picture-Writing of the American Indians. BAE-AR, No. 10, 1888-1889, pp. 1-822.

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Includes a number of petroglyph sites in western Nevada; Pyramid Lake, Reno, Truckee River, Carson River, Hopkins Soda Springs, Fallon, Virginia City, etc. P. 93 reads "This region has been roamed over by the Washo Indians from a remote period, but none of them know anything of these works."

Mason, Otis T.

1904 Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery. United States National Museum, Annual Report for 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 171-784; Vol. 2, Pls. 1-248.

Washo basketry, Vol. 1, pp. 466-7; Vol. 2, plates.

McAllester, David P.

1949 Peyote Music. Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, No. 13, pp. 1-104.

Discussion of Washo Peyote songs, pp. 54-6; text and scores of Washo Peyote songs, Appendix, pp. 31-40.

Merriam, Alam P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo

1957 Washo Peyote Songs. AA, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Washo Peyotism, the instruments and criteria of musical performance, and an analysis of the Peyote song-cycles.

Merriam, C. Hart

1905 The Indian Population of California. AA, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 594-606.

Washo mentioned in population estimate for 1834.

1907 Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock. AA, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 338-57.

Map on p. 338 shows North Miwok at Grizzley Flats; Washo boundary, p. 334.

1955 Studies of California Indians. Department of Anthropology, University of California (Ed.). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

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Brief mentions of Washo basketry, trade, and territory, pp. 50, 62, 122, 154. See pp. 71-6 for "The Mono Paiute," pp. 66-70 for "The Mewuk."

Mooney, James

1896 The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. BAE-AR, No. 14, 1892-1893, Pt. 2.

Brief mentions of Washo and Northern Paiute throughout. Western Nevada origin of Ghost Dance, pp. 701-4, 764-76; Washo population and distribution, p. 804; contradictory population and distribution figures, pp. 1031-2. Also Washo-Paiute relations, Washo subsistence activity, impact of whites.

1928 The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7.

Washo population for 1845 and 1907, p. 20. Mentions extensive epidemics, wars, and large-scale murders and massacres decimating the Indian population between 1845 and 1869.

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1865-1867 Agent F. Campbell.

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302
[412]
[881]
[765]
[824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

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Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gui). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

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[756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

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[237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

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The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

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Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

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The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 384

The yellow (waltsetsinî) and black (wɬlyesuwî) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadî) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (peolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is na?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, 423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wʔgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

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CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibɛ shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutɛ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

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6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household. 592 596

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek. 592 596 361 221 222

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor 592 596 433

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

1 [see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and [262] good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [431] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art [431] in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people [583] were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [834] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift 584 to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the [535] custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 433

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlɬshɬɬsh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibᵉshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (stabi), rabbits (p¢lieu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

439 [114]

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

222

The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

Payment for Services

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A payment for services was given to midwives (damedugetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure. If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

[476]

The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

43 [443] [556]

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

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The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

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A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovlves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

433 [454]

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values. [183]

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees [171]

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

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[171]

Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc.

[577]

Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

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"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units,

[171]

consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

621 433 22 171

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

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This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

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The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

[161]

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [033]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

1 [cc cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

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513
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Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

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The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

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Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft. [463]

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Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

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Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. [161]
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. [439]
The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. [423]
Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. [251]
Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

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There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aborigfnal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago. [174]

We need data on the intimate, day-to-day activities within the household and community. This could still be derived from life histories on several of the oldest living Washo people. The literature is full of broad generalizations. What we need and can collect for a few more years is something of what B. Malinowski called the "imponderabilia of actual life."

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APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955).

The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here.

Consonants	labial	alveolar	frontal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	?
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless fricatives		s	sh		h
voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
voiced lateral		l			
voiced semivowels	w		y		

Vowels	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	¢		
low		a	

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "¢" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

Glossary

angale atega	"houses together", a community
atabi	fish
ayas	antelope

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badakush sew¢	wooden pegs
ba du? cuhu?	elderberry staff (Jacobsen)
bakmanga	ladder
baleo	looped stirring stick
balnasung	tattooing
balogo	knotted calendar string
balohat	bow
bankush	tobacco
bankush tash¢p	tobacco bag
bayako	harpoon
bayudate	single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket
bebits¢t	needle
beyugum	pinenut gathering pole
biali	meat drying scaffold
bih¢?	pinenut gathering pole
bikus	willow basketry cradle
bilada	U. S. currency
bisha basha	starvation
bishapu	hungry
bits¢k	pestle
boko?	dice
b¢l¢shi	willow bundle used in fish drive
dabal	sagebrush
damalu	trade
damomli	shaman
damu	poncho
damyeo	storage pit
dashkapush	strip of loin sinew
dauwatl dama	buck brush plant
dauyatsim buutsui	smoke hole
dayoliti	new rabbit skin blanket
demedugetiyi?	midwife (Jacobsen)
deubeyu	headman
de¢k	pipe or rock
dideu	deer sinew string
digush	net
dimasha	pinenut gathering strip
dime	water
dipek	white pigment (Jacobsen)
dipi? ngaming	child size rabbit skin robe
dishu	digging stick
diyu angal	coccoon rattle
diyu itgums¢w¢	fireplace
di?yu	fire
dumbays¢gi	plant fiber string
dum¢¢sh	diverting streams to catch fish
d¢ell¢gi d¢tki	a red berry

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d¢gikup	subglobular choke-mouth basket
d¢mg¢	metate
d¢m¢meu	deer rib
gadu	windbreak or summer shelter
galis dangal	"winter house" (Jacobsen), household
gamum	mano
gawa	gambling
gidatwadota	a person's belongings
giuleu	large coiled cooking basket
golang	cooking stones
gumgaowi	hair cut
gumisasum	menstruation
guml¢sh¢¢sh	foot race
gumyoyabuwe	breechclout
g¢liwisha tsuhua	stick for winding rabbit skin string
hang¢l¢lti	southerners
himo	willow
hinaya	handgame - women playing
hinayaugi	handgame - men playing
hiyemai yeki	giving gifts (Lowie)
hut¢tiki	stingy
ih¢pbey¢gul	headband
imbeshuk	fish dam
imboshude	apron
iombisuk	door
ipu	find
ish	skin or bark
itbayuk	flint flaker
itdamkut	spoon
itgumbeyut	seed processing brush
itgumdosha	"it is for sweating", sweat house
itkolanga	seat
itmago	course basketry pinecone bowl
itmahadas	small basketry mush bowl
itmolit	loom bars
itpakmal¢t	trap
itpasua	door opening
itwega	hairbrush
kaas	paddle stirring stick
kumyu ga	giving presents to bride's parents (Lowie)
k¢tip	basketry water bottle

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lam	bedrock mortar
lamamshawi	thief
loshmangal	dance house
maak b¢h¢sing	firewood, small sticks
ma?angal	brush blind or fishing house (Jacobsen)
maba	mat
madap	shell
magu tal sali	blanket when the hair begins to fall out
magu tsu shushi	tanned deer hide
makau	beads
malung	acorn
mamayt	open weave conical burden basket
mangumtash	dress
mashoni	arrowshaft smoother
mats¢bab¢shi	fly larvae
ma?sate	arrowpoint
ma?yodop	hood on baby basket (Jacobsen)
megodih¢p	hair net or thin basketry hat
melliu	belt
mibi?	awl
mib¢shigihi	sharing
mishu	tattoo
modal	close weave basketry tray
mogahat	footbridge
moko	moccasins
mugigush	fence
mugishua	football
m¢liuy¢k	bracelet
m¢mdewi	deer
m¢mdewi ish	deerskin
m¢mgiwa	wealth to gamble with, "a bet"
m¢skisit	arrow
nanomba	pinenut tree sugar (spring sap)
ngawngang ?eluhaya?	"she (or they) fed the baby," baby feast (Jacobsen)
ogul	mountain goat
pa	lose
paolel¢l tayadi	east side or "moiety"
patalmi m¢gi	eagle nest
patsaga	obsidian
pauwalu	easterners
peyu	buy or pay

p¢kishu wigas	lower leg pants, leggings
p¢kishu wigas dabal ish	"shin pants (of) sagebrush skin"
p¢lleu	rabbit
p¢lleu ush¢¢sh	rabbit drive
petsumeli?	wild rose (Jacobsen)
sawasang	red ochre (Jacobsen)
seshishi	"to drag the feet repeatedly", a social dance similar to the Shoshonean round dance (Jacobsen)
shigimba	sugarpine sugar
shumelli	snowshoes or manzanita brush
sigaya	stick game
singam	basket, also a close coiled basketry bowl
taba	bear
tada	bed
tagil	obsidian knife
tagum	pinenut
tagum gumsabay?	pinenut festival (Jacobsen)
tanglel¢l tayadi	west side or "moiety"
tang¢l¢lti	westerners
tapuli tugabul	seed beater
tashmanal	sweat house
tashukido	loin sinew
tash¢p	bag
ta?a	a summer shade
te?we?we?	"to crawl enclosing repeatedly," puberty ceremony dance (Jacobsen)
tish¢shi	buckskin
ti¢li dipi?	adult size rabbit skin robe
tsapo	ashes
tsilug¢l	skirt
tsisuapo	feathers
ts¢hit	soot
tugabul	scoop-shaped open twined tray
t¢l¢lupa	rabbit skin string wound and tied for storage
ulu ushi	fire stick
umbidu	child's blanket
umlagu' 'wa'a	a return gift (Lowie)
umlalate	rock toss game
uml¢suk	necklace
ungabi	salt
waltsatsini	yellow or green
wanashugeshe	trader
washtangam	small open weave burden basket

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w¢galeyu	supernatural power
w¢lm¢lti	northerners
w¢lyauwi	black

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UU-AP University of Utah Anthropological Papers.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate I. Map of Washo territory.

Plate II. These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden, between 1917 and 1920. a, Roasting pinenuts (tagum). b, Susie Dick breaking out pinenuts (tagum) in front of a pinenut cache. This illustrates the great size of these caches.

Plate III. a,b,c, Winnie Pete and her daughter Flossie Bennett processing acorns (malung) using a bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k). d, Bertha Holbrook illustrates the use of the bedrock mortar (lam) and pestle (bits¢k). The photograph was taken at Dresslerville, Nevada in 1961.

Plate IV. a, Rabbit drive (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh). b, Captain Pete at the rabbit drive. c, Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket. These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden between 1917 and 1920.

Plate V. a, Winter house (galis dangal) and baskets. b, Summer shelter (gadu). c, Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces. d, The carrying position of the cradleboard (bikus). These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden, between 1917 and 1920.

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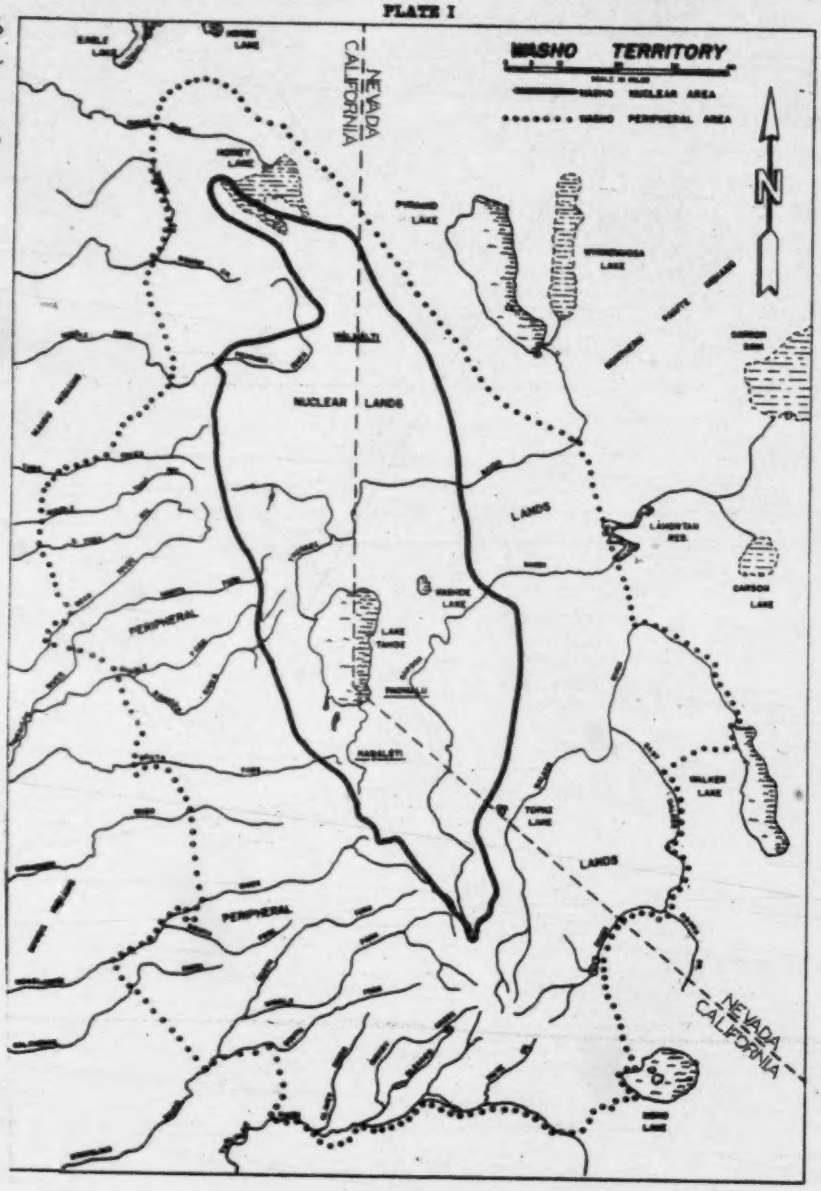
PLATE I



[End Plate I]

PLATE II 1/1

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a. Roasting pinenuts.

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b. Susie Dick breaking out pinenuts in front of a pinenut cache. This illustrates the great size of these caches.

1/1 [Legend appears on p. 74, Cat. 116—Au.]

[End Plate II]

PLATE III

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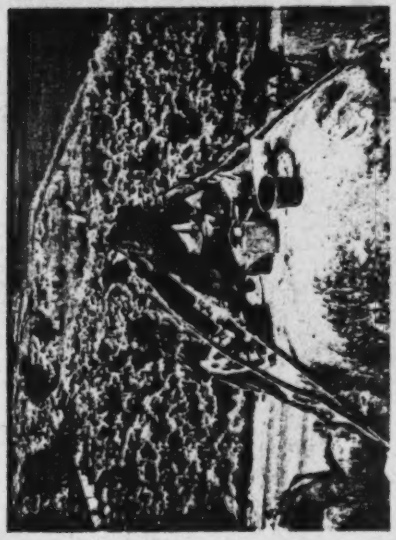
d. Bertha Holbrook illustrates the use of the bedrock mortar and pestle.



a, b, c. Winnie Pete and her daughter Fonnie Bennett processing acorns using a bedrock mortar and stone pestle.

1/2 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Ann]

[End Plate III]

PLATE IV 1/1

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a. Rabbit drive.

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c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

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b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

These photographs were taken by Omer Stewart of Ethnic between 1937 and 1939.

[End Plate IV]

1/1 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

PLATE V 1/1

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a. Winter house and baskets.

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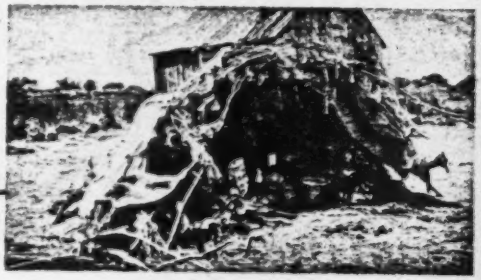

b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

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c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

These photographs were taken by [illegible] between 1947 and 1949.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analysis]

[End Plate V]

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/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS
14:6

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY
STANLEY A. FREED

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PRESS
BERKELEY AND LOS ANGELES
1960

[Title Page]

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

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BY

STANLEY A. FREED

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

Vol. 14, No. 6

[Introductory, 1 p. i]

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UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

Editors (Berkeley): J. H. Rowe, R. F. Heizer, R. F. Murphy, S. Herbert
Volume 14, No. 5, pp. 333-415, 9 figures in text,
23 graphs

Submitted by editors June 15, 1959
Issued February 5, 1960
Price, $3.50

University of California Press
Berkeley and Los Angeles
California

Cambridge University Press
London, England

[Introductory p. ii]

Manufactured in the United States of America

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CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a study of Washo social organization and of the changes which have occurred within it since the end of the aboriginal period. It is particularly concerned with discovering the causes of a number of alternate kinship terms which together appear to constitute a new, emerging system of kinship terminology. The hypothesis here advanced to account for the alternate kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules or rules of descent. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or roles, and that these roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given kind of social organization. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

In order to test the assumption of a close correlation of role behavior and kinship terminology, I have devised a technique, called the role profile test, which yields an objective description of role behavior. The data from the role profile test show that Washo role behavior agrees closely with the emerging system of kinship terminology. The close correlation of role behavior and terminological system and the occurrence of changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology despite a relatively stable social structure support the hypothesis that roles may vary markedly within the limits set by a given type of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of social organization.

The study is based on six months of field work among the Washo living in Carson City and Dresslerville, Nevada, and Woodfords and Markleeville, California. Four trips were made: during the first two,

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[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

In the summers of 1952 and 1953, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture; during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

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SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

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LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

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I. THE WASHO INDIANS

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1926, pp. 87, 89; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Stokes, 1950, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 66). 131

POPULATION

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1843, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 500 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1926, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory. 161

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called welmelšiʔ. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called ɬáʔwaʔlu, and the California Washo are called háɬalšiʔ, with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Simpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1926, p. 90). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the welmelšiʔ are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the welmelšiʔ camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The ɬáʔwaʔlu lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed hálalšiʔ and ɬáʔwaʔlu. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake. 619 361 221 619

SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry 221

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 224). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1930, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, cooperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practiced.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1936 (Lowie, 1939, p. 224).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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p. 383), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security paymenis and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; soaproot meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "boss" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pinon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees.

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 177 178

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; [illegible], 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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The classification of kinship systems used in this study is the one proposed by Robert H. Lowie (1928). On the basis of the terminological usages in the parental generation, he defined four types of kinship systems: generation, bifurcate merging, lineal, and bifurcate collateral. In generation terminology, one term is used for all male relatives and another term for all female relatives in the parental generation. In bifurcate merging terminology there is a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister, but father's sister and mother's brother have separate terms. The lineal type of terminology distinguishes father from father's brother and mother's brother (who are designated by a single term) and mother from mother's sister and father's sister (who are also referred to by a single term). Bifurcate collateral terminology has six distinct terms for parents and their siblings. Lowie's four types "can be applied to any trio of kinsmen in the same generation and of the same sex, provided the second is a collateral relative of the first in the same line of descent and the third is related to Ego in the same manner as the second except for a difference in the sex of the connecting relative" (Murdock, 1949, p. 142).

THE TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The standard or aboriginal Washo kinship terminology is given in table 1 (pp. 356-357). The standard terminology is still used by the majority of modern Washo. It is a generation type of terminology in ego's generation and a bifurcate collateral type in the first ascending and first descending generations.

The morphophonemic analysis of kinship terms in table 1 is by William H. Jacobsen. The first column lists a number for each term; these numbers are the same as the ones used in the diagram of the standard Washo consanguineal kinship system appearing on figure 1. The second column gives the English translation for each term. The third column presents the singular form with the prefix indicating first person possessive. The final column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. If the stem is preceded by a hyphen, this indicates that it must always take a possessive prefix even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. The terms are given in approximately the order used by Lowie (1939).

All cousins are called older and younger brother or sister depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. The relative ages of ego and his cousin do not affect the choice of terms; hence, a person may call a chronologically older cousin "younger brother," provided that his parent is older than his cousin's parent. Kroeber (1917) says that cousins are called older or younger siblings according to their own ages. This point was thoroughly checked with a number of informants and they all agree that terms applied to cousins depend on the relative ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than on the ages of ego and his cousins. Since Kroeber's

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TABLE 1

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	digóy'	-gó'y
2.	mother	dilí'	-lí'
3.	parent	di'málu	-'málu
4.	parent	dityé·Lu	-é·Lu
5.	son	diŋá·m	-ŋá·m
6.	daughter	diŋámu'	-ŋámu'
7.	children	diŋá'miŋ	-ŋá'miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin	di'á·tu	-'á·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin	di'í·sa	-'í·sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin	diwíisuk	-wíisug
12.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di'uliššwlam	-šáwlam
14.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di'ulimeló·liwi'	. . .
15.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	disú·	-sú·
Grandparent and grandchild class			
16.	father's father	dibá·ba'	-bá·ba'
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·ba'	-bá·ba'
18.	mother's father	di'élel	-'élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le'éleli'	-'élel
20.	father's mother	di'íma'	-'íma'
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la'é'ma'	-'íma'
22.	mother's mother	digú'u	-gú'u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú'yi'	-gú'u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibíši	-bíši
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	lebíšiyi'	-bíši
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	disáma'	-sáma'
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	lasá'ma'	-sáma'
28.	father's father's brother	disáksak	-sáksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	lasáksagi'	-sáksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di'é·bu	-'é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le'é·bu'	-'é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	ditó'o	-tó'o
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	lató'yi'	-tó'o
Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class			
34.	relative of third ascending generation	diŋísew	-ŋísew
35.	relative of third descending generation	leŋísewi	-ŋísew
Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di'éwši'	-'éwši'
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá'ša	-má'ša'
38.	mother's brother	didá'a	-dá'a
39.	sister's child	dimá·gu	-má·gu
40.	father's sister	diyé·'	-yé·'
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	diššmuk	-šmug
42.	mother's sister	diššša'	-šša'

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TABLE 1
(continued)

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	léyuk	-éyuk
44.	son-in-law	dibu'ŝgali'	bu'ŝgali'
45.	daughter-in-law	léyuš	-éyuš
46.	child's spouse's parents	lémik	émig
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwlá·dut	-wAlá·dut
48.	husband's brother	dimo'éwši'	-mo'éwši'
49.	sister's husband	didémaw	-démaw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimaššíla'	-maššíla'
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyégil	-yégil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumé·li'	bumé·li'
53.	husband	di'mé·š	-'mé·š
54.	wife	dimlá·ya'	-mlá·ya' or -imlá·ya'

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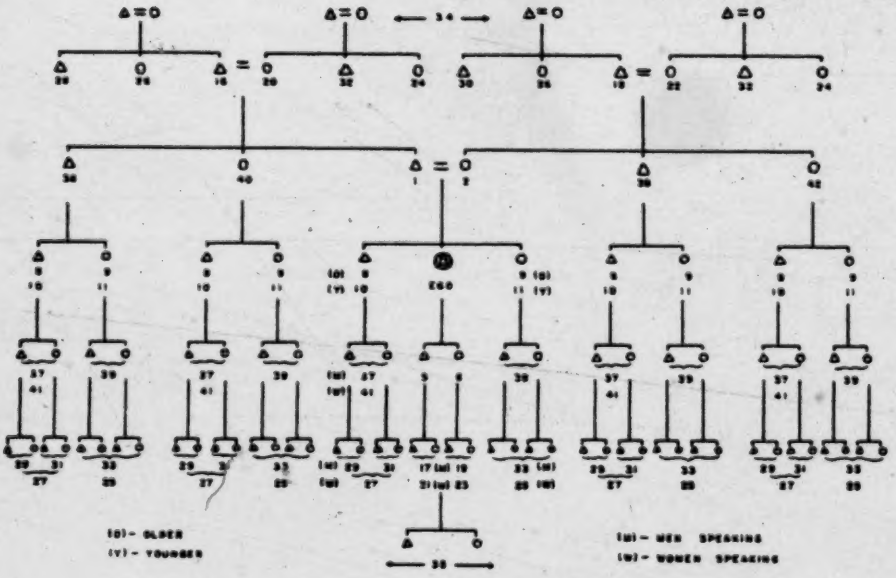

Figure 1. The standard Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females.

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information came from a single informant, he may have been misinformed on this point. There is, however, a tendency among younger people to call cousins older or younger siblings on the basis of their own ages rather than the ages of parents and their siblings. This trend is clearly visible in the analysis of terminological usages given in table 3. It is a logical development since the introduction of schools, calendars, and written records of births. Before then, relative ages of individuals of different nuclear families would not ordinarily be known if the persons were of approximately the same age.

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Six distinct terms exist for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Brother's child is distinguished from sister's child; both are distinguished from own children. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives. All my informants were quite definite on this point. Lowie (1939) and Siskin (MS) say that mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother, and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This was true when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. In such cases, mother's sister's husband is the same person as father's brother; and father's brother's wife is the same person as mother's sister. Lowie's information may have been obtained from the descendant of such a marriage.

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Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. For example, ego calls his mother's father di·ʔélel (my mother's father), and this relative calls him le·ʔéleliʔ (my daughter's child). Morphophonemically, the stem of these two words is the same (-ʔélel). The term, le·ʔéleliʔ, may be translated approximately as "the one whose mother's father I am."

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There are apparently no differences in terms of reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) have not reported any; and I have found none in the course of my interviewing. William Jacobsen, who is currently making a study of the Washo language, also corroborates this.

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The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized.

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POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

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The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di?i'sa bumé'li? (my older sister's husband) as well as dimá'gu dagóy? (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

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TABLE 9

Polite Affinal Terms

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law	le$^{?}$dleli$^{?}$ dagóy$^{?}$ (m. sp.); legí$^{?}$yi$^{?}$ dagóy$^{?}$ (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father; daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law.....	labá·ga$^{?}$ dalá$^{?}$ (m. sp.); legí$^{?}$yi$^{?}$ dalá$^{?}$ (w. sp.)	son's child's mother; son's child's mother
father-in-law	dibumé·li$^{?}$ dagóy$^{?}$ (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother	digá$^{?}$miŋ dadá$^{?}$a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.....	digá·m de$^{?}$éwši$^{?}$	son's father's brother
sister's husband	*dimé·gu dagóy$^{?}$* di$^{?}$í·sa bumé·li$^{?}$	sister's child's father older sister's husband
brother's wife	dimáš dalá$^{?}$ (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife	dišémuk dalá$^{?}$ (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

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ALTERNATE TERMS

Terminological change was determined by comparing modern usages with the standard kinship system. In the course of seventy genealogical interviews, at least a few variant kinship usages could probably have been collected during aboriginal times. However, the conditions of modern Washo life make variant usages in genealogical interviews almost inevitable. Some informants speak Washo poorly and may guess at terms; others do not understand English well and may misunderstand the investigator's questions. The problem is to separate the alternate usages due to mistakes and misunderstandings from the ones which may indicate that the terminological system is changing.

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Two criteria are available for this purpose. First, usages arising from change in the terminological system should occur more frequently than other "alternate" usages which appear to represent erroneous information. Second, the alternate terms of the new, emerging kinship system should form an internally consistent system.

Analysis of the Washo genealogical data showed the following alternate usages.

1. Thirteen informants called some or all of their cousins by terms distinct from the sibling terms. The terms used are numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in table 1.
2. Five informants called their brother's children and sister's children by a single term.

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TABLE 3

Incidence of Washo Kinship Usages in Ego's and Adjacent Generations

Kinship usage*	Age group of informants							
	10-19 (10)†	20-29 (13)	30-39 (7)	40-49 (13)	50-59 (8)	60-69 (8)	70-79 (5)	80-89 (3)
Siblings								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	2							
Miscellaneous	2	1						
Cousins								
Standard	2	2	4	8	7	7	4	
By own age	4	4	1	1	1			
Alternate	2	2	1	2	2	2		1
Term unknown	2	4	2		1			
Miscellaneous	1			2				
Uncles								
Standard	8	11	6	10	7	6	5	2
Alternate	2							
Term unknown	7	1				1		
Miscellaneous				1				
Aunts								
Standard	8	8	6	10	7	7	4	2
Term unknown	8	1	1					
Miscellaneous		2						
Nephews and nieces								
Standard	2	8	4	11	8	8	5	2
Alternate	1	2	2					
Term unknown	2	2						
Miscellaneous	1	1			1			
Father and mother								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	2							
Son and daughter								
Standard	1	8	5	8	7	5	4	2

*The meanings of "standard" and "by own age" are clear from the text. "Term unknown" means the informant did not know the term. "Alternate" refers to the terms of the new terminological system. "Miscellaneous" includes all alternate usages regarded as nonsignificant; these are listed in the text. If a single informant gave different kinds of usages (e.g., standard and alternate) for a single kind of relative (e.g., cousins), he was counted twice. If he gave more than one different kind of "miscellaneous" response for any one kind of relative (as for example to call one aunt "grandmother's sister" and the other aunt "great-grandparent"), he was counted only once.

†The number in parentheses is the number of informants in the age group.

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3. Three informants called their mother's brother and father's brother by a single term.

Two alternate usages were given by two informants: mother's brother's child was called brother's child, and older brother was called younger brother. A considerable number of alternate usages were given by only one informant: father's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's sister was called great-grandparent, mother's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's brother was called older brother, brother's son was called younger brother, mother's sister's son was called sister's child, and older sister was called younger sister. One woman used the male speaking term for brother's child instead of the female term. One informant used brother's child (man speaking) for sister's son and brother's son, and sister's child for sister's daughter and brother's daughter. This is what Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d., p. 42) call a "loan translation," that is, the Washo terms have been equated with the English nephew and niece terms.

The three alternate usages which occur most frequently appear to represent change in the terminological system. They form a consistent system: the new terminology is of the lineal type in all generations. The alternate cousin terms and the terminological merging of brother's child and sister's child show a significantly higher frequency than all other alternate usages. The merging of father's brother and mother's brother occurs only slightly more than other, nonsignificant alternate usages; but it is included with the other two primarily because it conforms to the trend toward a lineal terminological system in the three generations under study.

The alternate terms appear to represent a new system of kinship terminology rather than survivals from an older system. From the breakdown of Washo kinship usages given in table 3, it can be seen that the alternate uncle and nephew-niece terms are used by individuals in the younger age groups; and this leads to the inference that they are recent. The alternate cousin terms are spread rather evenly throughout the generations, but they too appear to be part of a new terminological system. This is indicated from the terms used for children of cousins. Older people generally use the terms meaning brother's child and sister's child in spite of the fact that they no longer call their cousins siblings. Younger people tend to use the cousin terms for the children of cousins. The terms for cousins apparently are first changed in ego's generation, and the change is then extended to the first descending generation. Thus the use of the alternate cousin terms is becoming more firmly embedded in the terminology. Another reason for believing that the cousin terms are part of a new kinship system is that the older people who use them state that sibling terms are also correct whereas the younger people are unaware that sibling terms may be used. The greater frequency of the alternate cousin terms compared to the alternate nephew-niece and uncle terms and their greater age as indicated by their occurrence among older persons is in accord with Dole's observation that when terminological patterns change, the cousin terms change first (Dole, MS, p. 428). The Washo data indicate that terms of the first descending generation may be the next to change, followed by changes in the parental generation.

Most people who use the standard cousin terms declare that the alternate cousin terms are incorrect.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-19 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Wasko residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1926), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Wasko residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 398). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1926, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 8) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the oldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither discusses how envoys (harmers inherited their positions.

The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 30) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *ɬéwtelel lásadi'*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dáɬak gumlém*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *ɬalal'at* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *tágelel lásadi'*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sewdeŋ gumlém*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *dayelalgi-š lásadi'* (also *dewlalgi-š lásadi'*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 8) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

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This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure. 601 178

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology. [616] [616] [587]

The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade- 601 114 178 [585]

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

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SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 112). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 39-40; 1954).

The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 136-137):

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Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

> differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

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Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

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It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often coöperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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The informant is provided with slips of paper containing Washo kinship terms written quasiphonetically for all the relatives he possesses in first ascending, ego's, and first descending generations. These, of course, differ from person to person. The informant is then asked to arrange the slips of paper in a column in response to each of the sixteen questions. The relative ranking highest in the behavior questioned is to be placed at the top of the column; the remainder are to be ranked in descending order, with the one ranking lowest in the behavior in question to be placed at the bottom. The first few questions are for practice and designed to acquaint the informant with the kind of response desired. The investigator asks "which of your relatives weighs most . . . is tallest . . . is oldest" or some other similar question, and instructs the informant to arrange the slips of paper, helping him if necessary. Once the "set" of the experiment is established, the questionnaire is administered. The questions are explained to the informant, using examples if necessary; they are not read mechanically. The informant's responses are noted for each question, and the paper slips are shuffled before the next question is given. The result is a test protocol ranking a person's relatives in each of the sixteen categories of interpersonal behavior.

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Several precautions must be observed if the test results are to attain their maximum reliability. First, the investigator must determine the opportunity the informant has had for knowing and interacting with the relatives to be included in the test. If there has been a reasonable opportunity for interacting with a relative, he is to be included in the test even if the informant has had little interaction with him. If there has been no opportunity for interaction, the relative should be excluded. For example, if a relative has lived close to the informant for many years, he is to be included even though the informant rarely sees him. In this case, the opportunity for interaction exists, and the fact that none has taken place may be an important feature of the role behavior. However, if a relative died when the informant was a baby, or lives at a great distance, or is feeble-minded, he is to be excluded, for the informant has had no opportunity to interact with him.

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Second, the same interpreter should be used for all informants. This should not be taken too literally, for feuds and hard feelings can make the presence of particular interpreters unpleasant to informants. In addition, if the interpreter is related to the informant, this might tend to influence the informant's responses. It is probably best to use an interpreter who is not related to the informant. This precaution could not be observed for two Washo informants owing to the prevailing rules of courtesy. These two informants were slightly deaf and it was necessary to shout at them. Among the Washo, it is considered impolite for a person to shout at a nonrelative. Therefore, relatives had to be used as interpreters.

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Third, the testing situation should be standardized. This means that as few relatives as possible should be looking over the informant's shoulder while he is taking the test. An easy way to shed distracting relatives is to conduct the interview in an automobile.

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Fourth, the questions should be asked randomly. I suspect that there is some contagion from one question to the next. This is enhanced if, for example, all the questions probing dominance are asked one after the other. By randomizing the questions, the investigator

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can break up a developing pattern in an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us what is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

the average value of X for all individuals who receive the rank r. For any given value of X, say x, the probability that you will get a sample of n in which exactly (r - 1) will have values of $X > x$ and $(n - r)$ will have values of $X < x$ while one will have a value in the interval $(x, x + dx)$ is

$$\frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} q_3$$

where q_1, q_2, and q_3 are the probabilities respectively for falling short of x, exceeding x, and falling in the interval $(x, x + dx)$.

More precisely, to within terms of order dx,

$$q_1 = \int_{-\infty}^{x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_2 = \int_{x}^{\infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

The formula for the expected or mean value, μ_r, of the rth rank can then be written as follows

$$\mu_r = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} x \cdot q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

A table for the values of μ_r is given in Fisher and Yates (1953, pp. 76-77).

Admittedly in our data, the samples of n were not selected at random since they consist of all the relatives of the ranker in three selected generations. However, the Washo are a small, homogeneous, interrelated group; therefore, the relatives of one person are probably quite similar to the relatives of any other person. Taking this into consideration, it was thought that the relatives ranked by a given individual would have sufficient spread over the range of a characteristic to make the use of the metric μ_r meaningful. At the very least, the use of normal scores is a device which enables one to put rankings of, say, fourteen items and rankings of, say, seven items on numerical scales which are comparable.

If the kinship terms have no effect on the ranking within the categories, then the assignment of the kinship terms to the particular individuals being ranked would be at random. Thus, the rank of "father" would depend on the specific characteristics of the individual being ranked and not on the fact that he is called father. Consequently, it would seem that since individuals vary, the rankings of "father" would also vary from protocol to protocol. If, however, it were found that the rank of "father" is relatively constant, then it would seem that the kinship term "father" has a weight in determining rankings.

After normal scores had been assigned to the test rankings, the mean, standard error of the mean, and 95 per cent confidence limits were calculated for each

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, ethicss tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 295 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FZ). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 295 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly cooperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate).

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories. They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest scores for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to cooperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who cooperate with men are men and those who cooperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who cooperate with women as opposed to those who cooperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[See cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 21 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to support wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The modal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix IIIa is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

2/1 [See cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Aa.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 385, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, cooperative activity has increased among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text Continues TOP of P 391, B]

CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

[Text Continues bottom of P 391, B]

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of consanguineal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Wasko kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Wasko kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Wasko would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

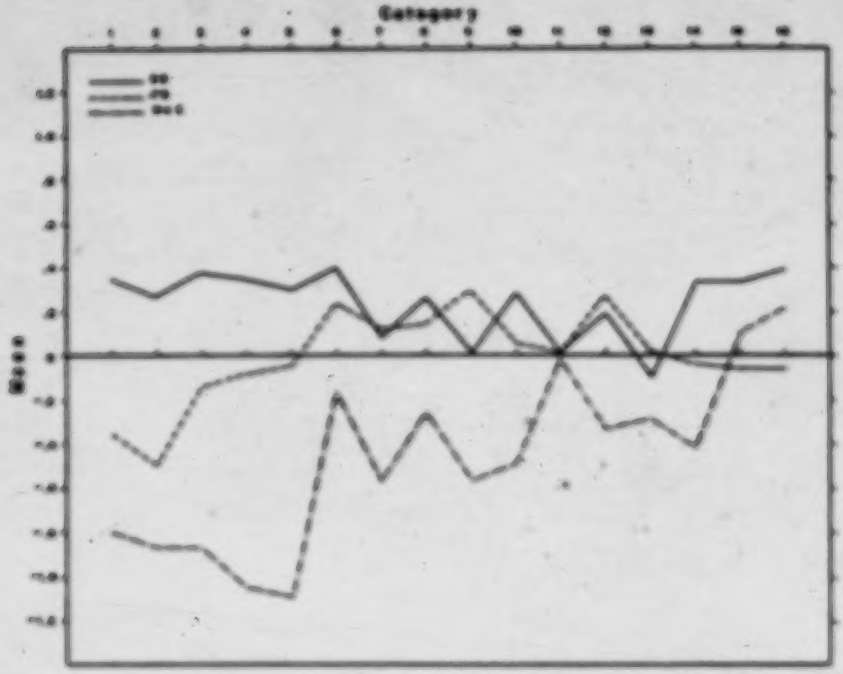

Fig. 5. Comparisons of role positions older brother, younger brother, and male cousin (male informant).

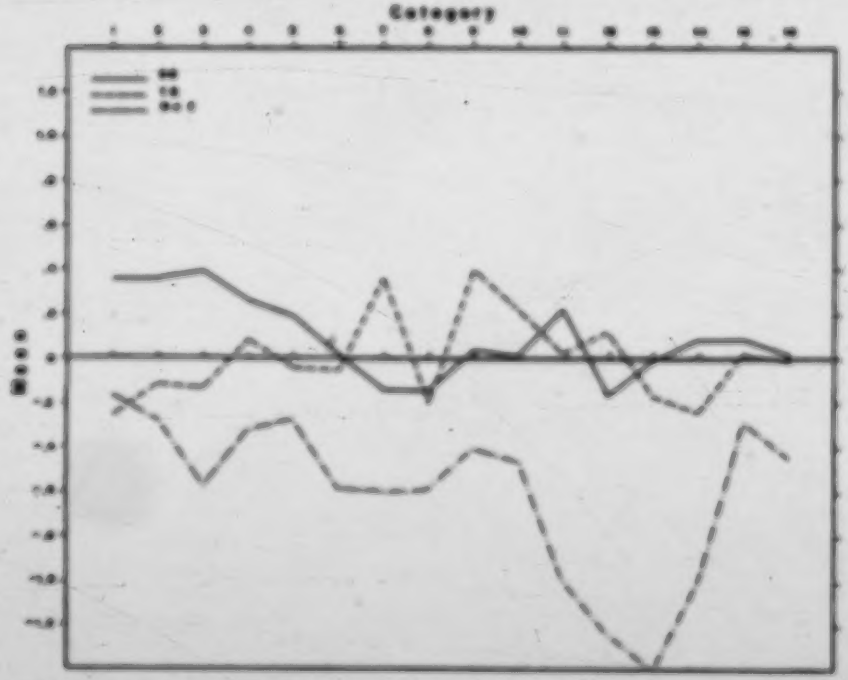

Fig. 6. Comparisons of role positions older brother, younger brother, and male cousin (female informant).

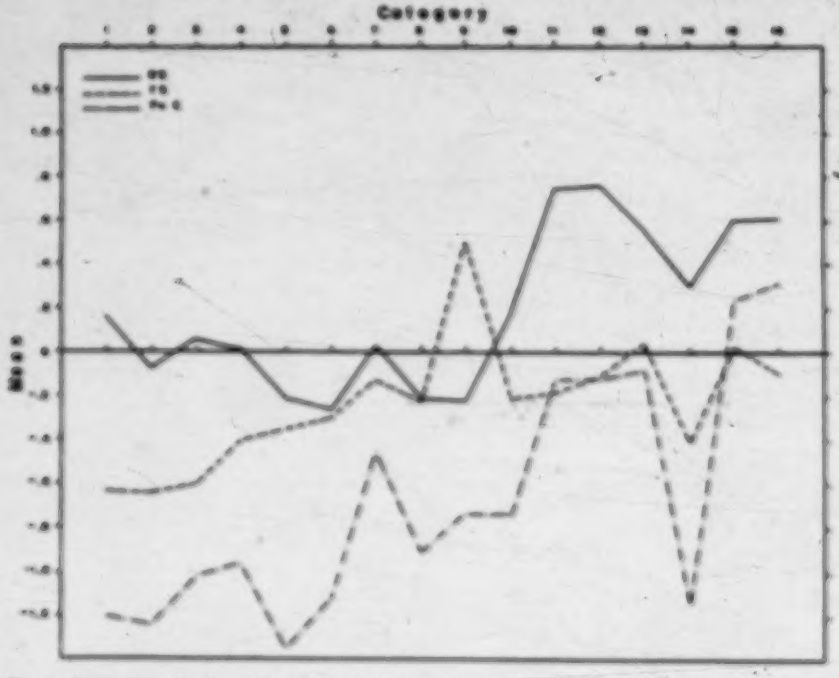

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Fig. 4. Comparisons of male profiles: older stutter, younger stutter, and female controls (female information).

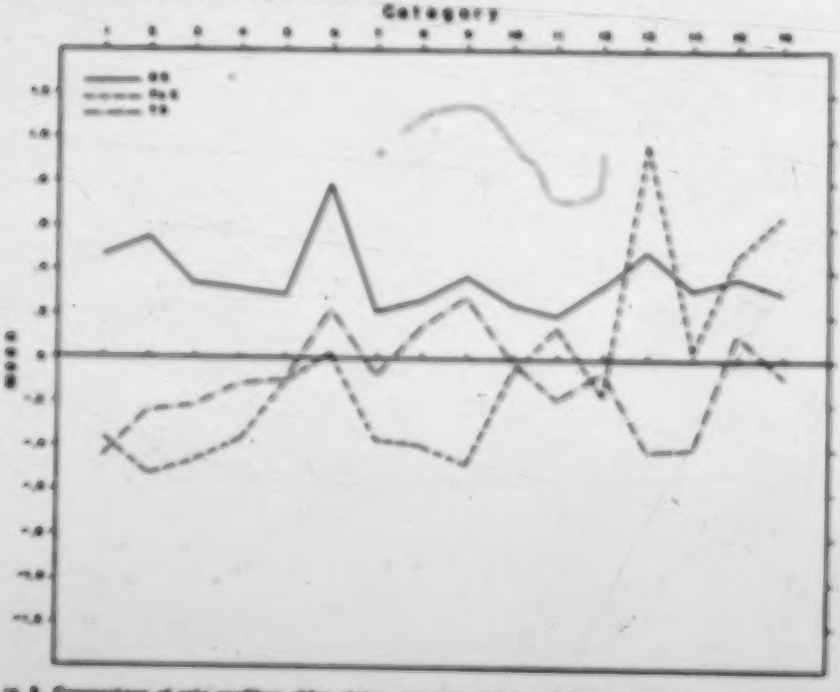

Fig. 5. Comparisons of male profiles: older stutter, younger stutter, and female controls (female information).

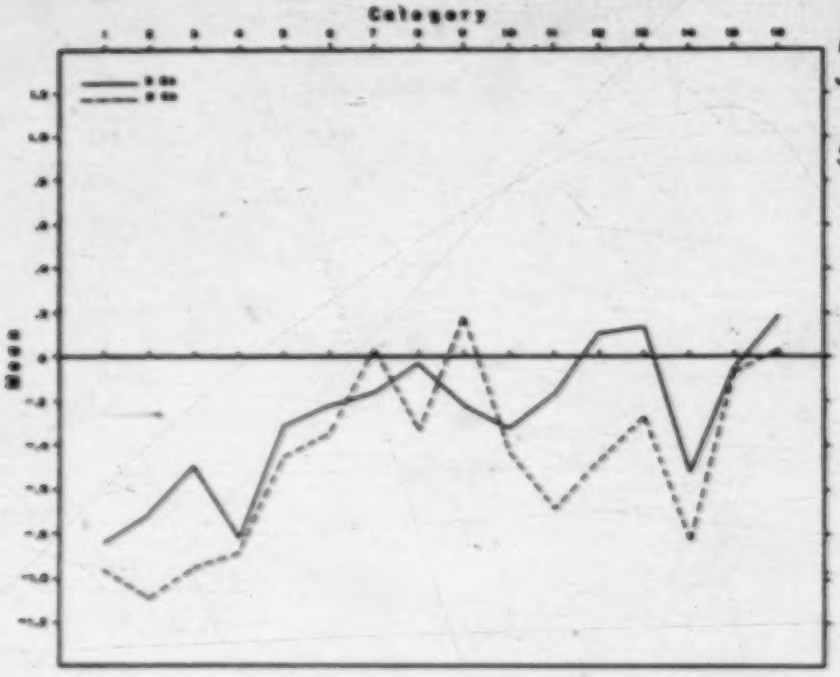

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Fig. 6. Comparison of role profiles: brother's child and sister's child (male informants).

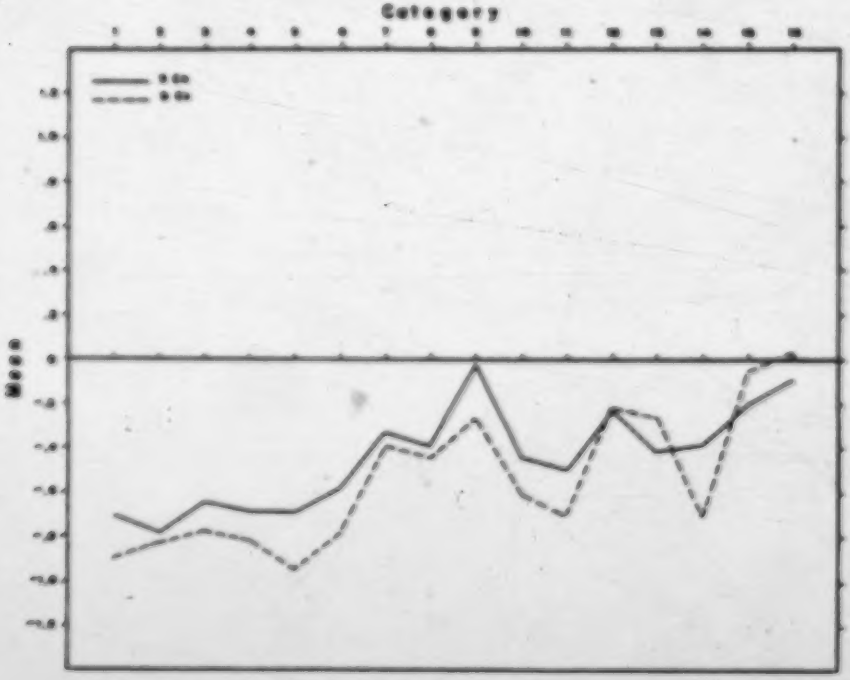

Fig. 7. Comparison of role profiles: brother's child and sister's child (female informants).

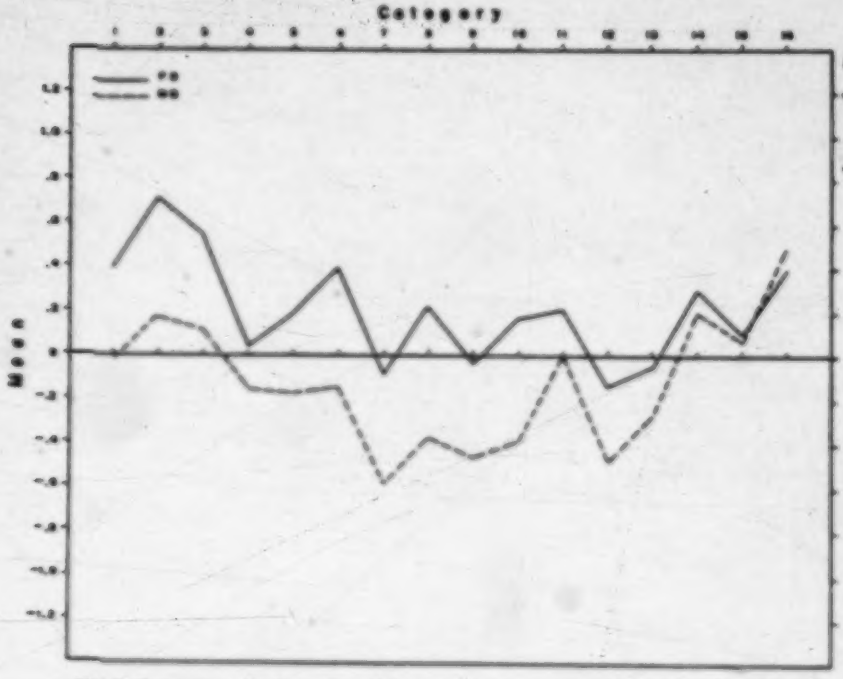

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Fig. 8. Comparisons of role profiles: father's brother and mother's brother (male informants).

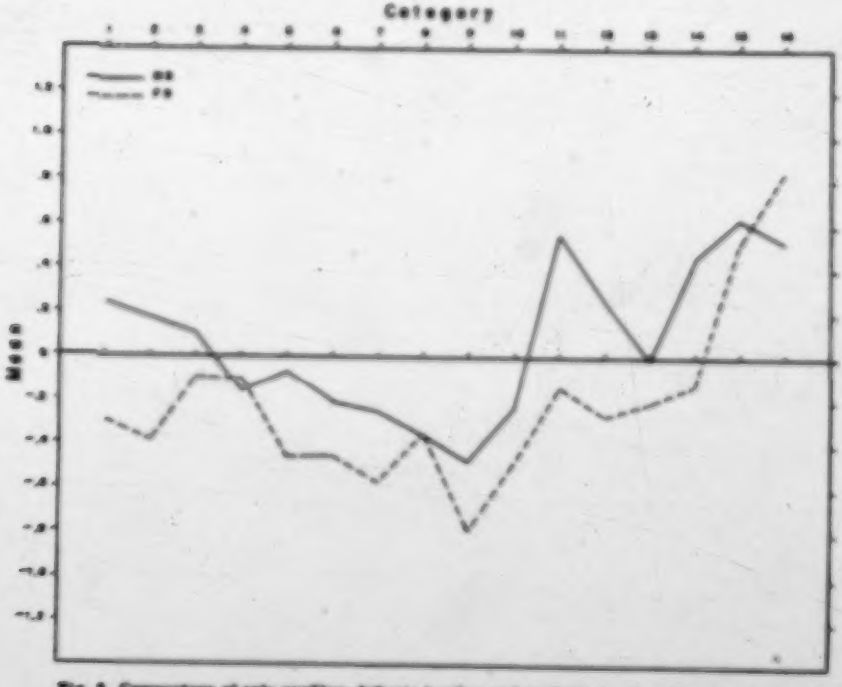

Fig. 9. Comparisons of role profiles: father's brother and mother's brother (female informants).

7:Food E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

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APPENDIXES

[P. 397]
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APPENDIX I

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS: TABLES OF MEANS, STANDARD ERRORS OF THE MEANS, AND 95 PER CENT CONFIDENCE LIMITS

This appendix contains the statistical analysis of the protocols of the role profile test. The abbreviations are as follows: father (F), father's brother (FB), father's sister (FS), mother (M), mother's brother (MB), mother's sister (MS), older brother (OB), younger brother (YB), older sister (OS), younger sister (YS), male cousin (MaC), female cousin (FeC), son (So), daughter (D), brother's child (BCh), and sister's child (SCh). Each table gives the number (No.), mean ($\bar{X}$), standard error of the mean ($S_{\bar{X}}$), and the 95 per cent confidence limits.

Xerox 8-5 (1962-1967)1960 NTSU Wabo NT20

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[P. 379, B]

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CATEGORY 1

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	1.10	.18	.74	1.46
FB	14	.40	.16	.08	.72
FS	13	.35	.22	-.09	.79
M	20	.76	.14	.48	1.04
MB	12	-.02	.21	-.44	.40
MS	11	.28	.13	.02	.54
OB	14	.35	.19	-.03	.73
YB	17	-.35	.12	-.59	-.11
OS	12	.17	.12	-.07	.41
YS	12	-.63	.20	-1.03	-.23
MaC	5	-.80	.29	-1.38	-.22
FeC	4	-1.20	.20	-1.60	-.80
So	9	-.60	.13	-.86	-.34
D	10	-.93	.14	-1.21	-.65
BCh	10	-.96	.14	-1.24	-.68
SCh	11	-.84	.19	-1.22	-.46
Female					
F	21	.86	.15	.56	1.16
FB	16	-.30	.20	-.70	.10
FS	10	-.09	.31	-.71	.53
M	26	1.02	.10	.82	1.22
MB	15	.25	.26	-.27	.77
MS	18	.60	.15	.30	.90
OB	22	.36	.16	.04	.68
YB	22	-.25	.12	-.49	-.01
OS	24	.47	.12	.23	.71
YS	21	-.44	.17	-.78	-.10
MaC	3	-.16	.14	-.44	.12
FeC	4	-.35	.24	-.83	.13
So	19	-.44	.20	-.84	-.04
D	18	-.49	.14	-.77	-.21
BCh	24	-.89	.13	-1.15	-.63
SCh	25	-.70	.08	-.86	-.54

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CATEGORY 2

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	1.23	.08	1.07	1.39
FB	14	.72	.14	.44	1.00
FS	13	.07	.23	-.39	.53
M	20	.99	.10	.79	1.19
MB	12	.18	.19	-.20	.56
MS	11	.15	.16	-.17	.47
OB	14	.27	.08	.11	.43
YB	17	-.49	.08	-.65	-.33
OS	12	-.07	.14	-.35	.21
YS	12	-.64	.13	-.90	-.38
MaC	5	-.87	.23	-1.33	-.41
FeC	4	-1.34	.30	-1.84	-.64
So	9	-.63	.14	-.91	-.35
D	10	-1.11	.13	-1.37	-.85
BCh	10	-1.09	.14	-1.37	-.81
SCh	11	-.71	.12	-.95	-.47
Female					
F	21	.46	.17	.13	.80
FB	16	-.39	.20	-.79	.01
FS	10	-.26	.25	-.76	.24
M	26	1.01	.15	.71	1.31
MB	15	.19	.15	-.13	.48
MS	18	.87	.14	.59	1.15
OB	22	.36	.14	.08	.64
YB	22	-.11	.13	-.37	.15
OS	34	.55	.15	.25	.85
YS	21	-.23	.17	-.57	.11
MaC	3	-.27	.58	-1.43	.89
FeC	4	-.52	.47	-1.46	.42
So	19	-.44	.15	-.74	-.14
D	18	-.45	.17	-.79	-.11
BCh	24	-.82	.11	-1.04	-.60
SCh	26	-.78	.12	-1.02	-.54

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CATEGORY 3

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.80	.18	.44	1.16
FB	14	.55	.18	.19	.91
FS	13	-.31	.24	-.79	.17
M	20	.80	.18	.44	1.16
MB	12	.12	.11	-.10	.34
MS	11	.04	.17	-.30	.38
OB	14	.38	.17	.04	.72
YB	17	-.14	.16	-.46	.18
OS	12	.06	.19	-.32	.44
YS	12	-.80	.34	-1.08	-.12
MaC	5	-.87	.13	-1.13	-.61
FeC	4	-1.02	.30	-1.62	-.42
So	9	-.20	.28	-.76	.36
D	10	-.83	.22	-1.27	-.39
BCh	10	-.96	.29	-1.53	-.37
SCh	11	-.49	.13	-.75	-.23
Female					
F	21	.76	.19	.38	1.14
FB	16	-.09	.17	-.43	.25
FS	10	-.29	.25	-.79	.21
M	26	1.03	.14	.75	1.31
MB	15	.11	.18	-.25	.47
MS	18	.23	.19	-.15	.61
OB	22	.39	.19	.01	.77
YB	22	-.13	.17	-.47	.21
OS	24	.34	.14	.06	.62
YS	21	-.21	.18	-.57	.15
MaC	3	-.57	.37	-1.31	.17
FeC	4	-.46	.31	-1.08	.16
So	19	-.29	.17	-.63	.05
D	18	-.55	.18	-.91	-.19
BCh	24	-.77	.11	-.99	-.55
SCh	26	-.64	.10	-.84	-.44

[P. 380, B]

CATEGORY 4

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$s_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.77	.17	.43	1.11
FB	14	.04	.21	-.38	.46
FS	13	-.32	.32	-.96	.32
M	20	.89	.14	.61	1.17
MB	12	-.15	.16	-.47	.17
MS	11	.28	.26	-.26	.78
OB	14	.35	.11	.13	.57
YB	17	-.08	.13	-.34	.18
OS	12	.01	.18	-.35	.37
YS	13	-.40	.22	-.84	.04
MaC	5	-1.05	.24	-1.53	-.57
FeC	4	-.96	.26	-1.48	-.44
So	9	-.02	.19	-.40	.36
D	10	-.15	.34	-.83	.53
BCh	10	-.89	.31	-1.51	-.27
SCh	11	-.82	.11	-1.04	-.60
Female					
F	21	.56	.20	.16	.96
FB	16	-.10	.19	-.48	.28
FS	10	-.50	.29	-1.08	.08
M	26	1.01	.15	.71	1.31
MB	15	-.16	.22	-.60	.28
MS	18	.03	.18	-.33	.39
OB	22	.26	.17	-.08	.60
YB	22	.09	.14	-.19	.37
OS	24	.32	.14	.04	.60
YS	21	-.11	.21	-.53	.31
MaC	3	-.32	.11	-.54	-.10
FeC	4	-.37	.20	-.77	.03
So	19	-.07	.17	-.41	.27
D	18	-.10	.21	-.52	.32
BCh	24	-.81	.15	-1.11	-.51
SCh	26	-.88	.09	-.86	-.50

[P. 381, A]

CATEGORY 5

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.30	.22	- .14	.74
FB	14	.19	.25	- .31	.69
FS	13	- .20	.24	- .68	.28
M	20	.60	.20	.20	1.00
MB	12	- .17	.15	- .47	.13
MS	11	.23	.20	- .17	.63
OB	14	.30	.14	.02	.58
YB	17	- .05	.14	- .33	.23
OS	12	- .21	.25	- .71	.29
YS	12	- .35	.19	- .73	.03
MaC	5	-1.09	.22	-1.53	- .65
FeC	4	-1.35	.13	-1.61	-1.09
So	9	.36	.28	- .18	.88
D	10	.08	.42	- .76	.92
BCh	10	- .45	.33	-1.11	.21
SCh	11	- .31	.24	- .79	.17
Female					
F	20	.69	.16	.37	1.01
FB	15	- .46	.19	- .84	- .08
FS	9	- .45	.34	-1.13	.25
M	25	.93	.11	.71	1.15
MB	15	- .07	.26	- .59	.45
MS	17	.00	.17	- .34	.34
OB	21	.19	.20	- .21	.59
YB	21	- .04	.19	- .42	.34
OS	23	.29	.15	- .01	.59
YS	20	- .09	.22	- .53	.35
MaC	3	- .27	.58	-1.43	.89
FeC	3	- .10	.55	-1.20	1.00
So	18	.25	.18	- .11	.61
D	17	.13	.18	- .23	.49
BCh	23	- .94	.12	-1.18	- .70
SCh	25	- .68	.09	- .86	- .50

[P.381, B]

CATEGORY 6

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	No.	X	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.43	.18	.06	.78
FB	14	.40	.26	- .13	.92
FS	13	- .57	.19	- .95	- .19
M	20	.05	.24	- .43	.53
MB	12	- .14	.21	- .56	.28
MS	11	- .34	.20	- .64	.16
OB	14	.40	.20	.00	.80
YB	17	.24	.18	- .12	.60
OS	13	- .28	.17	- .60	.06
YS	12	- .30	.21	- .72	.12
MaC	5	- .18	.48	-1.12	.80
FeC	4	-1.12	.24	-1.60	- .64
So	9	.70	.30	.10	1.30
D	10	- .08	.29	- .67	.49
BCh	10	- .35	.30	- .85	.25
SCh	11	- .22	.30	- .82	.38
Female					
F	20	.10	.19	- .28	.48
FB	15	- .45	.21	- .87	- .03
FS	10	- .63	.27	-1.17	- .09
M	25	.74	.18	.38	1.10
MB	15	- .21	.17	- .55	.13
MS	17	- .08	.17	- .42	.28
OB	21	.61	.14	- .27	.28
YB	21	- .05	.11	- .27	.17
OS	23	.79	.12	.55	1.03
YS	20	.23	.23	- .23	.69
MaC	3	- .58	.27	-1.12	- .04
FeC	3	.03	.57	-1.11	1.17
So	18	- .03	.24	- .51	.45
D	17	.38	.18	.24	.88
BCh	23	- .77	.17	-1.11	- .43
SCh	25	- .38	.14	- .66	- .10

[P. 382, A]

CATEGORY 7

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.22	.21	- .19	.63
FB	14	- .08	.20	- .48	.32
FS	13	- .47	.28	-1.03	.09
M	20	.61	.19	.23	.99
MB	12	- .52	.18	- .84	- .22
MS	11	- .14	.21	- .56	.28
OB	14	.08	.22	- .36	.52
YB	17	.12	.21	- .30	.54
OS	12	.03	.20	- .37	.43
YS	12	- .12	.20	- .52	.28
MaC	5	- .56	.37	-1.70	.86
FeC	4	- .45	.51	-1.47	.57
So	9	.27	.27	- .27	.81
D	10	.86	.35	- .04	.76
BCh	10	.03	.26	- .49	.55
SCh	11	- .17	.31	- .79	.45
Female					
F	30	.03	.20	- .37	.43
FB	15	- .57	.21	- .99	- .15
FS	10	- .34	.34	-1.02	.34
M	25	.19	.18	- .17	.55
MB	15	- .25	.21	- .67	.17
MS	17	- .39	.21	- .81	.03
OB	21	- .14	.17	- .48	.20
YB	21	.38	.15	.08	.68
OS	23	.22	.16	- .14	.58
YS	20	- .07	.19	- .45	.31
MaC	2	- .50	.20	- .90	- .10
FeC	3	- .38	.28	- .82	.20
So	18	.70	.18	.34	1.06
D	17	.90	.22	.46	1.34
BCh	25	- .39	.16	- .71	- .07
SCh	25	- .32	.14	- .60	- .04

[P 382, B]

CATEGORY S

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	10	.16	.19	- .22	.54
FB	14	.23	.28	- .33	.79
FS	13	- .53	.30	-1.13	.07
M	20	.36	.21	- .06	.78
MB	12	- .37	.21	- .79	.05
MS	11	.07	.20	- .33	.47
OB	14	.26	.15	- .04	.56
TB	17	.14	.17	- .20	.48
OS	12	- .21	.23	- .65	.23
TS	12	- .23	.23	- .68	.36
MxC	5	- .26	.55	-1.36	.84
FxC	4	- .81	.28	-1.43	- .19
Sr	9	.62	.27	.08	1.16
D	10	- .02	.34	- .75	.69
BCS	10	- .34	.27	- .88	.20
ICS	11	- .08	.26	- .55	.40
Female					
F	20	.38	.21	- .14	.76
FB	15	- .35	.24	- .83	.13
FS	10	- .60	.29	-1.18	- .02
M	25	.54	.16	.22	.86
MB	15	- .26	.16	- .58	- .04
MS	17	- .24	.20	- .64	.16
OB	21	- .14	.17	- .48	.20
TB	21	- .20	.21	- .62	.22
OS	23	.26	.16	- .06	.58
TS	20	.15	.22	- .29	.59
MxC	8	- .56	.27	-1.12	- .04
FxC	8	- .39	.24	-1.07	.29
Sr	16	.45	.20	.05	.85
D	17	.82	.19	.44	1.20
BCS	23	- .44	.15	- .74	- .14
ICS	25	- .39	.15	- .69	- .09

[P 383, A]

CATEGORY 9

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$s_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	10	- .00	.21	- .41	.33
FB	14	- .03	.16	- .39	.32
FS	13	- .70	.25	-1.20	- .20
M	20	.10	.10	- .10	.37
MB	13	- .46	.19	- .84	- .08
MS	11	- .10	.23	- .56	.36
OB	14	.01	.23	- .45	.47
TB	17	.20	.19	- .18	.61
OS	13	- .23	.19	- .60	.14
TS	13	.50	.23	.04	.96
MxC	9	- .17	.36	-1.30	.15
FxC	4	- .75	.36	-1.45	- .11
Br	9	.83	.27	.29	1.37
D	16	.46	.38	- .11	1.01
BC	10	.13	.24	- .50	.86
BS	11	- .23	.33	- .86	.42
Female					
F	26	- .16	.21	- .58	.26
FB	15	- .79	.14	-1.07	- .51
FS	10	- .85	.21	-1.27	- .43
M	25	.14	.10	- .06	.34
MB	15	- .68	.21	- .90	- .46
MS	17	- .47	.17	- .81	- .13
OB	21	.04	.21	- .38	.46
TB	21	.60	.17	.26	.74
OS	23	.37	.14	.08	.65
TS	20	.38	.19	- .10	.86
MxC	3	- .40	.40	-1.20	.40
FxC	3	- .67	.36	-1.19	.25
Br	18	.69	.16	.37	.99
D	17	.61	.18	.25	.97
BC	23	- .26	.19	- .64	.12
BS	26	- .03	.16	- .35	.30

[P. 383, B]

CATEGORY 10

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$s_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
P	18	.33	.31	- .19	.85
PS	14	.17	.19	- .21	.56
PS	13	- .59	.38	-1.11	- .07
M	20	.54	.20	.14	.94
MS	12	- .29	.19	- .77	- .01
MS	11	.68	.32	- .15	1.52
CM	14	.29	.20	- .13	.68
TS	17	.66	.13	- .20	.32
CS	13	.19	.28	- .38	.76
TS	12	- .21	.25	- .71	.28
MxC	9	- .49	.53	-1.53	.55
PxC	4	- .73	.44	-1.61	.15
Sp	8	.25	.36	- .47	.97
D	10	.03	.29	- .54	.60
HCS	10	- .63	.30	-1.22	.17
HCS	11	- .33	.27	- .86	.32
Female					
P	20	.44	.15	.16	.73
PS	15	- .48	.25	- .96	.02
PS	10	- .23	.36	-1.05	.59
M	25	.73	.14	.44	1.00
MS	15	- .34	.19	- .83	.14
CM	17	- .54	.19	- .92	- .16
CS	21	.01	.17	- .33	.35
TS	21	.33	.17	- .13	.66
CS	23	.25	.16	- .07	.57
TS	26	- .01	.23	- .47	.45
MxC	9	- .46	.15	- .75	- .16
PxC	3	- .06	.30	- .65	.54
Sp	18	.33	.21	- .09	.75
D	17	.36	.21	- .13	.73
HCS	23	- .06	.17	- .34	- .38
HCS	25	- .43	.15	- .73	- .13

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[P. 384, A]

CATEGORY II

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	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	.07	.21	- .35	.49
FB	14	.21	.25	- .29	.71
FS	13	.54	.19	.16	.92
M	20	- .20	.17	- .54	.04
MB	13	.00	.18	- .36	.36
MS	11	.34	.15	.04	.64
OB	14	.01	.20	- .39	.41
TB	17	.01	.20	- .39	.41
OS	13	.75	.19	.37	1.13
TS	13	- .18	.24	- .66	.30
M,C	5	- .65	.64	-1.90	1.20
F,C	4	- .12	.57	-1.26	1.02
Sc	9	- .16	.32	- .80	.48
D	10	- .35	.39	-1.20	.13
RCb	10	- .69	.26	-1.21	- .17
RCs	11	- .17	.30	- .77	.43
Female					
F	19	.58	.22	.13	1.04
FB	14	- .14	.21	- .56	.28
FS	9	.26	.39	- .50	1.02
M	24	.53	.21	.11	.95
MB	14	.34	.16	.04	.66
MS	14	- .10	.21	- .53	.33
OB	20	- .22	.16	- .10	.54
TB	20	.02	.17	- .33	.36
OS	22	.30	.17	- .14	.54
TS	20	- .18	.18	- .54	.18
M,C	2	- .88	.68	-2.22	.77
F,C	3	.15	.29	- .43	.73
Sc	18	- .06	.21	- .48	.36
D	17	- .36	.20	- .76	.04
RCb	22	- .70	.15	-1.00	- .40
RCs	24	- .48	.14	- .77	- .21

[P. 384, B]

CATEGORY 12

128 *
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593 *

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	18	.08	.27	- .45	.63
FB	14	- .14	.34	- .62	.34
FS	13	.33	.26	- .19	.85
M	20	- .12	.16	- .44	.20
MB	12	- .48	.28	-1.04	.08
MS	11	.20	.17	- .14	.54
OB	14	.19	.20	- .21	.59
YB	17	.27	.19	- .11	.65
OS	12	.76	.20	.36	1.16
YS	12	- .11	.21	- .53	.31
MaC	5	- .33	.53	-1.39	.73
FeC	4	- .12	.57	-1.26	1.02
So	9	- .38	.24	- .86	.10
D	10	- .41	.32	-1.05	.23
BCh	10	- .47	.22	- .91	- .03
SCh	11	.11	.28	- .45	.67
Female					
F	19	- .35	.17	- .69	- .01
FB	14	- .27	.23	- .73	.19
FS	9	- .46	.42	-1.30	.38
M	24	.11	.19	- .27	.49
MB	14	.28	.26	- .28	.78
MS	16	.35	.22	- .09	.79
OB	20	- .17	.22	- .61	.27
YB	20	.12	.14	- .16	.40
OS	22	.33	.21	- .09	.75
YS	20	- .05	.17	- .39	.29
MaC	2	-1.23	.44	-2.11	- .35
FeC	3	- .16	.31	- .78	.46
So	18	.31	.24	- .17	.79
D	17	.29	.20	- .11	.69
BCh	22	- .21	.18	- .57	.15
SCh	24	- .22	.17	- .56	.12

[P. 385, A]

CATEGORY 13

128 *
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593 *

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
F	19	- .08	.19	- .44	.30
FB	14	- .05	.21	- .47	.37
FS	13	.43	.28	- .13	.99
M	20	- .09	.21	- .51	.33
MB	12	- .27	.31	- .89	.35
MS	11	.68	.15	.38	.98
OB	14	- .10	.25	- .60	.40
TB	17	.02	.19	- .34	.40
OS	13	.56	.28	.00	1.13
TS	12	.04	.16	- .28	.36
M₂C	5	- .29	.48	-1.25	.67
F₂C	4	- .08	.69	-1.46	1.30
Sp	9	- .38	.22	- .72	.16
D	10	- .64	.24	-1.12	- .16
BCb	10	- .27	.29	- .85	.31
SCb	11	.14	.26	- .38	.66
Female					
F	19	.13	.17	- .21	.47
FB	14	- .21	.26	- .73	.31
FS	9	.66	.64	- .62	1.34
M	24	.15	.19	- .23	.53
MB	14	- .01	.22	- .45	.43
MS	16	.53	.24	.05	1.01
OB	20	- .01	.17	- .35	.33
TB	20	- .16	.18	- .52	.20
OS	22	.48	.18	.13	.86
TS	20	- .41	.20	- .81	- .01
M₂C	3	-1.40	.20	-1.96	- .84
F₂C	3	.86	.24	.30	1.66
Sp	18	.08	.23	- .38	.54
D	17	- .03	.17	- .37	.31
BCb	22	- .26	.13	- .53	.00
SCb	24	- .41	.18	- .77	- .05

[P. 385, B]

CATEGORY 14

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
P	18	.70	.34	.03	1.38
[illegible]	14	.20	.19	-.08	.58
[illegible]	13	-.23	.19	-.61	.15
[illegible]	20	.51	.20	.11	.91
[illegible]	12	.20	.34	-.38	.88
[illegible]	11	.38	.17	.04	.72
[illegible]	14	.23	.34	-.15	.81
[illegible]	17	-.04	.21	-.46	.38
[illegible]	13	.20	.10	-.00	.68
[illegible]	12	-.41	.17	-.75	-.07
[illegible]	5	-.62	.30	-1.00	-.16
[illegible]	4	-1.13	.34	-1.81	-.45
[illegible]	9	-.33	.33	-.98	.31
[illegible]	10	-.89	.10	-1.21	-.65
[illegible]	10	-.84	.21	-1.26	-.42
[illegible]	11	-.52	.11	-.74	-.30
Female					
P	10	.73	.27	.19	1.27
[illegible]	14	-.13	.24	-.61	.35
[illegible]	9	-.15	.40	-.95	.65
[illegible]	24	.57	.17	.23	.91
[illegible]	16	.45	.23	-.01	.91
[illegible]	16	.21	.19	-.17	.59
[illegible]	20	.68	.14	-.34	.62
[illegible]	20	.24	.14	-.52	.84
[illegible]	22	.32	.14	.04	.60
[illegible]	20	-.45	.19	-.79	-.03
[illegible]	3	-.98	.62	-2.35	.31
[illegible]	3	.54	.80	-1.14	.33
[illegible]	16	.15	.22	-.30	.58
[illegible]	17	-.34	.22	-.78	.10
[illegible]	23	-.71	.15	-1.01	-.41
[illegible]	24	-.38	.00	-.54	-.36

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[P 386, A]

CATEGORY 10

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$S_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
7	10	-.40	.30	-.84	.04
8	14	.10	.21	-.30	.50
9	15	.60	.30	.02	1.18
10	16	-.46	.17	-.80	-.11
11	13	.06	.31	-.55	.68
12	11	.35	.19	-.03	.73
13	14	.33	.19	-.06	.71
14	17	-.04	.19	-.44	.33
15	13	.80	.34	.13	1.48
16	12	.60	.29	.04	1.16
17	5	.10	.63	-1.16	1.36
18	4	.34	.65	-1.06	1.54
19	8	-.13	.33	-.79	.53
20	10	-.27	.30	-.85	.31
21	10	-.01	.33	-.65	.63
22	11	-.06	.30	-.61	.51
Female					
7	10	-.24	.33	-.70	.19
8	14	.11	.16	-.19	.41
9	14	-.06	.35	-.66	1.36
10	14	-.06	.16	-.24	.12
11	13	.60	.33	.19	1.01
12	10	.60	.13	.33	.85
13	10	.09	.31	-.33	.51
14	10	.60	.20	-.34	.34
15	10	.37	.20	-.03	.77
16	10	.13	.15	-.18	.42
17	5	-.38	1.40	-3.08	2.33
18	5	.43	.34	-.35	1.19
19	5	-.68	.13	-.94	-.43
20	5	-.73	.15	-1.03	-.43
21	5	-.04	.17	-.40	.38
22	24	-.30	.10	-.50	.10

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602 *
593 *

[P. 386, B]

CATEGORY 10

	No.	$\bar{X}$	$s_{\bar{X}}$	95% Confidence Limits	
				Lower	Upper
Male					
P	10	- .38	.19	- .76	.00
[illegible]	14	.36	.21	- .06	.81
[illegible]	23	.68	.14	.41	.97
[illegible]	30	- .66	.17	- .99	- .31
[illegible]	12	.46	.18	.13	.80
[illegible]	11	.43	.19	.05	.81
[illegible]	14	.38	.18	.01	.77
[illegible]	17	- .08	.30	- .66	.34
[illegible]	12	.61	.22	.17	1.05
[illegible]	12	- .10	.17	- .44	.24
[illegible]	5	.31	.67	- .99	1.35
[illegible]	4	.31	.96	-1.61	1.93
[illegible]	9	-1.66	.18	-1.30	- .70
[illegible]	10	-1.14	.16	-1.46	- .82
[illegible]	10	.68	.19	- .35	.41
[illegible]	11	.19	.30	- .41	.79
Female					
P	10	- .35	.30	- .85	.15
[illegible]	14	.84	.30	.44	1.24
[illegible]	8	.76	.33	.13	1.40
[illegible]	24	- .31	.18	- .67	- .15
[illegible]	14	.52	.20	.13	.90
[illegible]	18	.61	.14	.33	.89
[illegible]	20	.02	.15	- .26	.33
[illegible]	20	- .01	.18	- .37	.35
[illegible]	22	.30	.17	- .04	.64
[illegible]	20	- .05	.18	- .45	.31
[illegible]	3	- .44	1.23	-2.90	2.02
[illegible]	3	.85	.53	- .39	1.69
[illegible]	16	- .67	.17	-1.01	- .33
[illegible]	17	- .67	.17	-1.01	- .33
[illegible]	23	.02	.20	- .37	.43
[illegible]	24	- .00	.18	- .41	.33

128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

APPENDIX II

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS: COMPARISON OF ROLES

This appendix is a comparison of the differences in the means of the roles of all relatives in all categories. When the 95 per cent confidence intervals about the means fail to overlap, the roles are considered to differ significantly. The x's in the tables indicate that the 95 per cent confidence intervals of two given roles fail to overlap and that the difference in behavior of these two roles is therefore significant. First, the comparison is given by category. Then, on page 395 (top), there is a table which is a summation of the preceding sixteen categories.

The table at the bottom of page 395 compares the mean of a particular relative as rated by males with the mean of the same relative as rated by females. The comparison is made for all relatives in all categories. When the confidence intervals fail to overlap, they are marked with an x.

The abbreviations are the same as those used in Appendix I.

[P.389, A]
128 *
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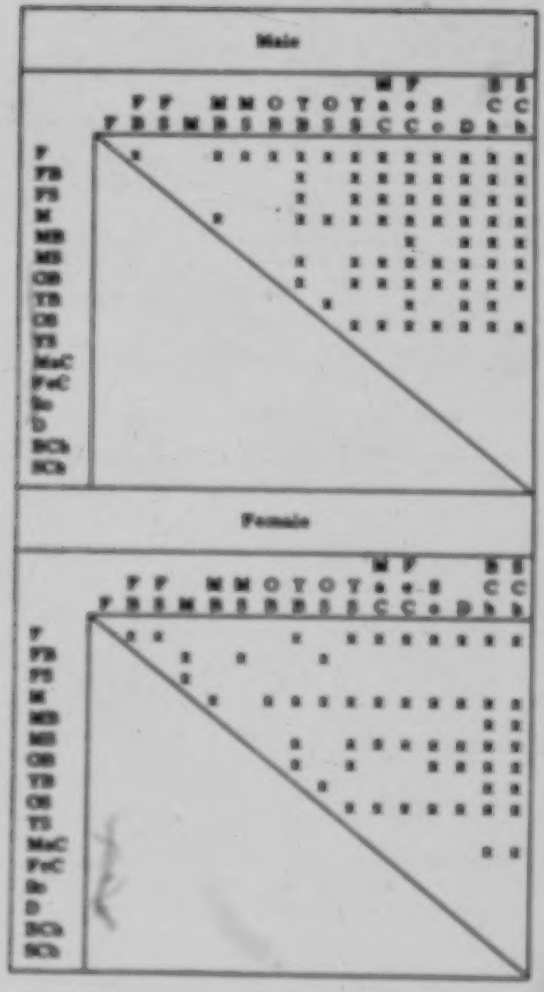
602 **
542 *

TrPsnal 2-6 (1982-1987)1980 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 387, B]

128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

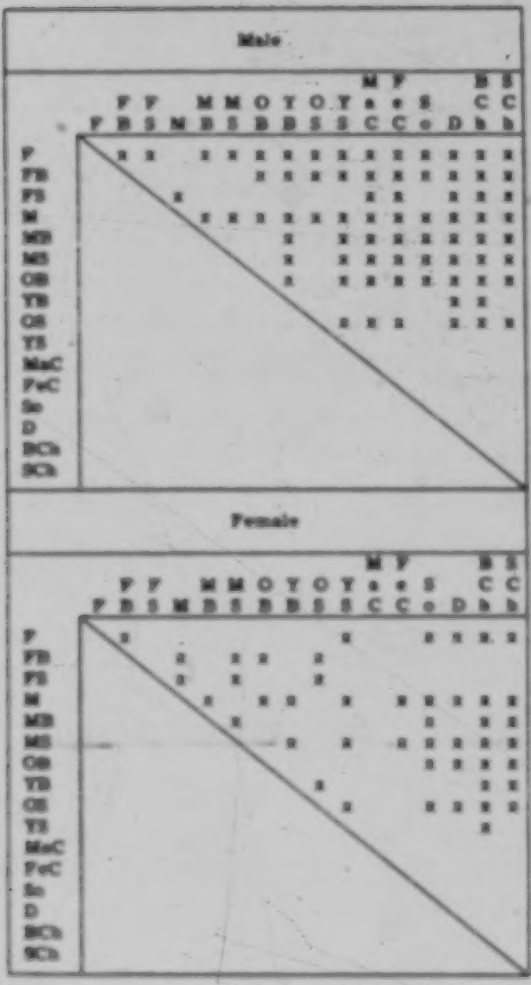
CATEGORY 1



[P.389, C]

428 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

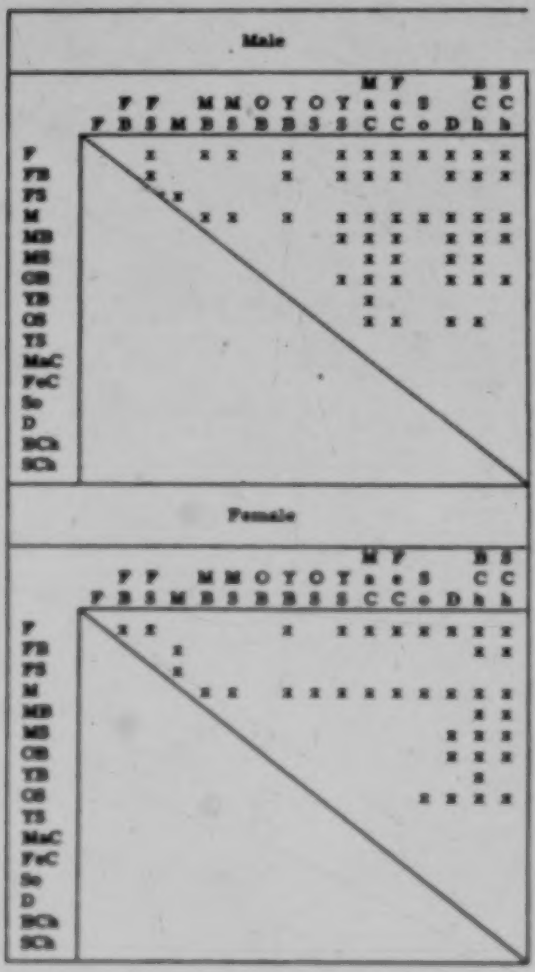
CATEGORY 2



?:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 MT20 Washo MT20

[P. 388, A]

CATEGORY 3

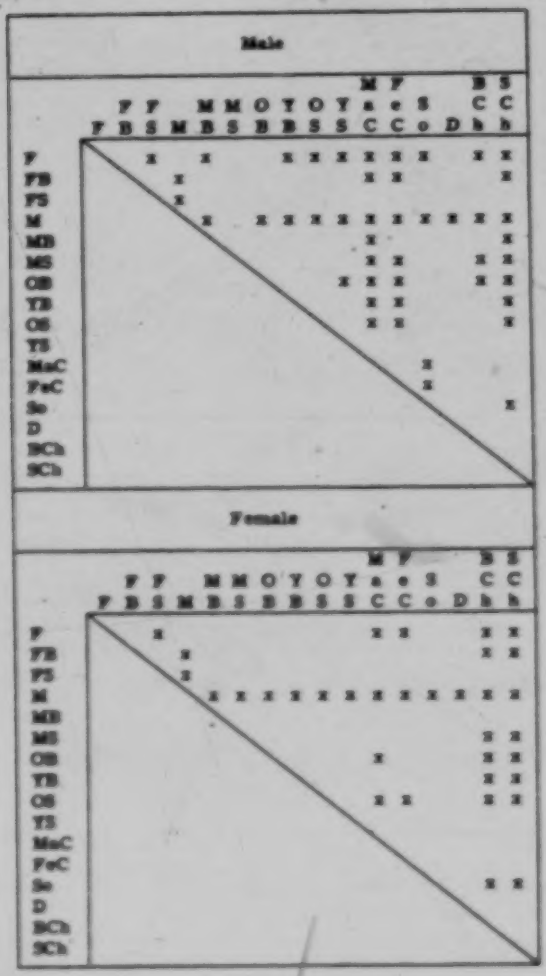


128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

[P.388, B]

CATEGORY 4

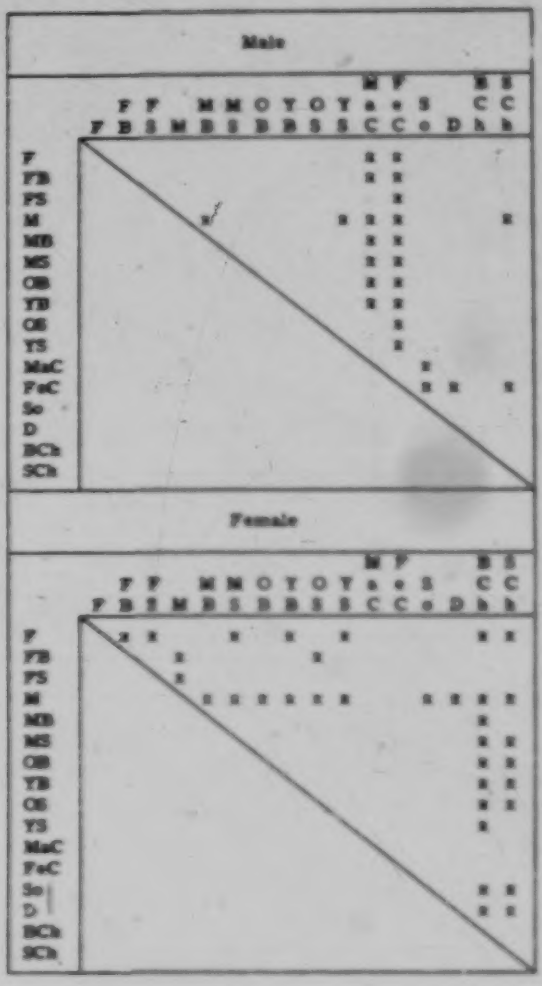
128*
554*
602*
593*



[P.389, A]

CATEGORY 5

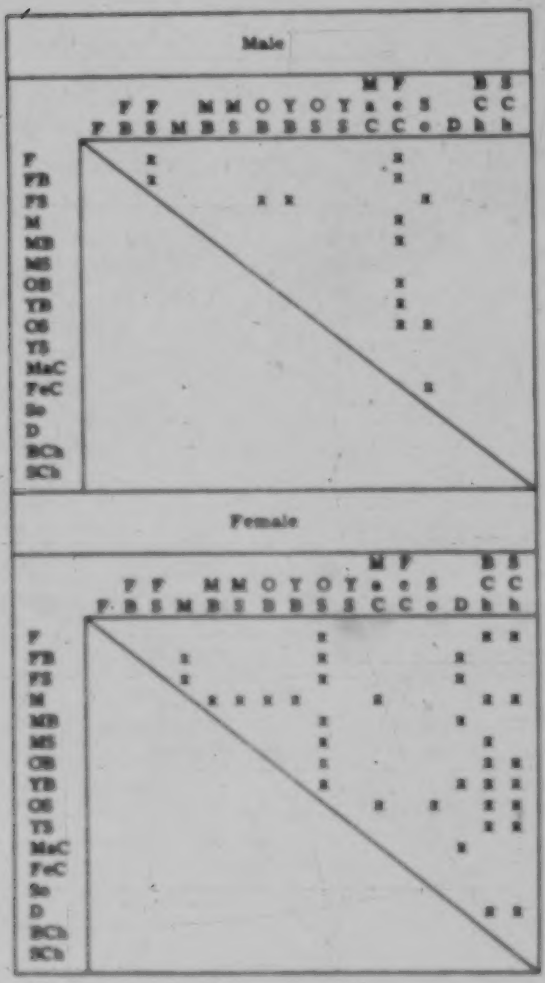
128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



[P.389, B]

CATEGORY 6

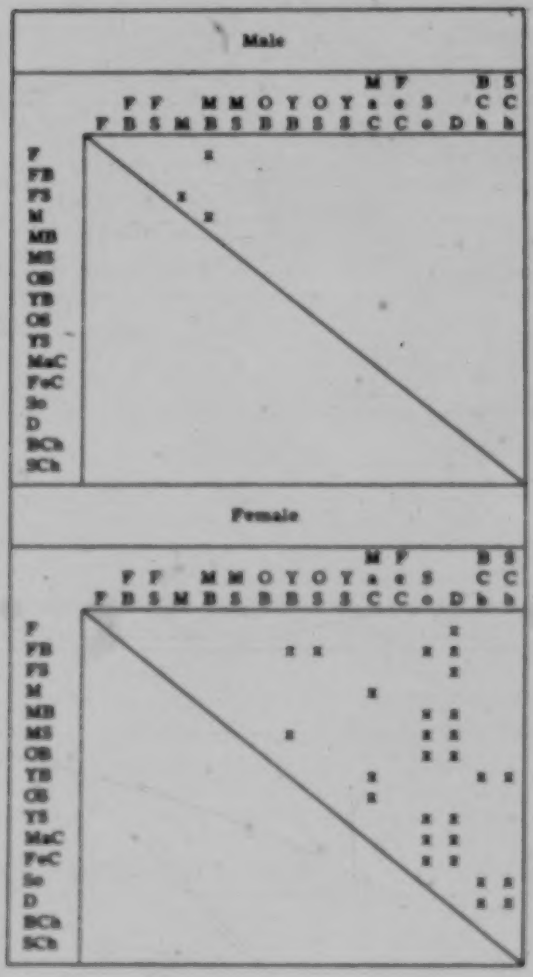
128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



[P. 390, A]

CATEGORY 7

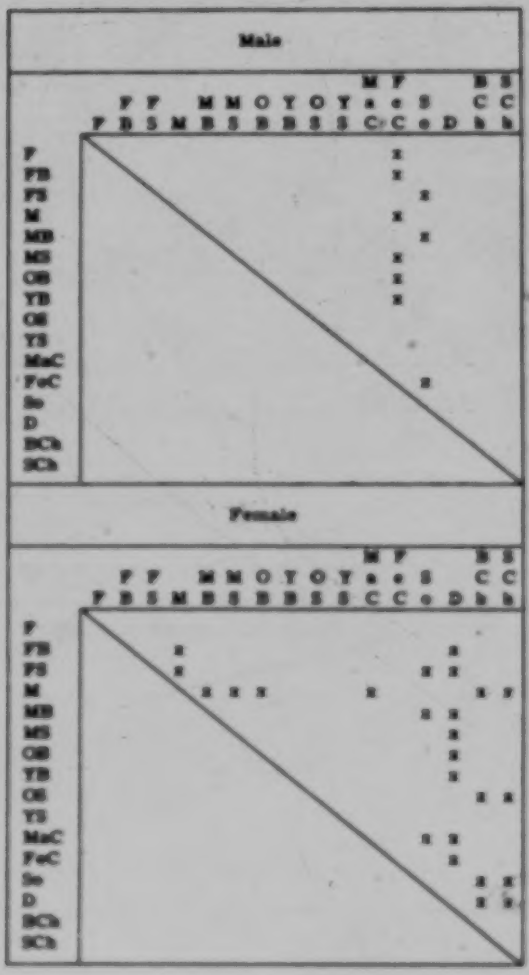
128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



[P.390, B]

CATEGORY 8

128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

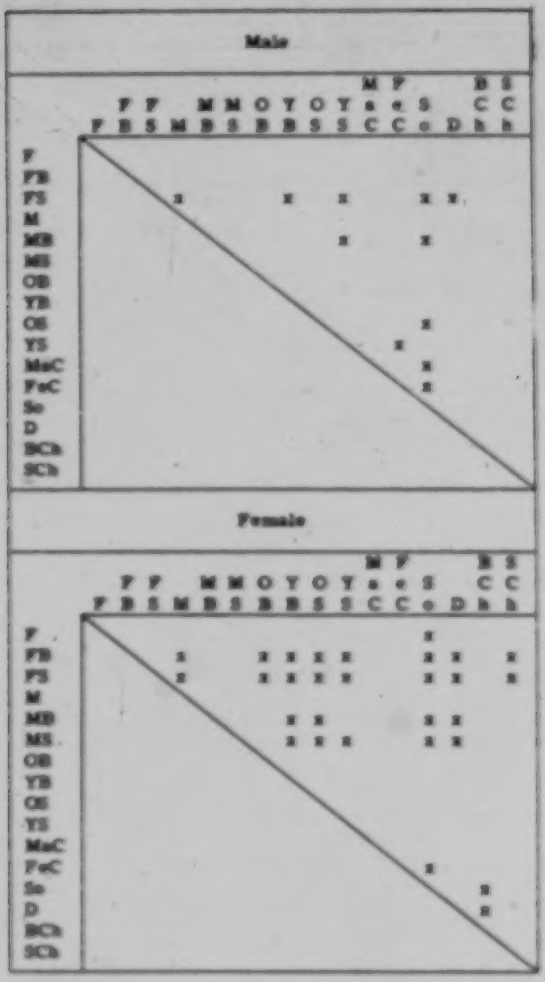


?:Freed B-8 (1952-1987)1960 MT20 Wambo MT20

[P.391, A]

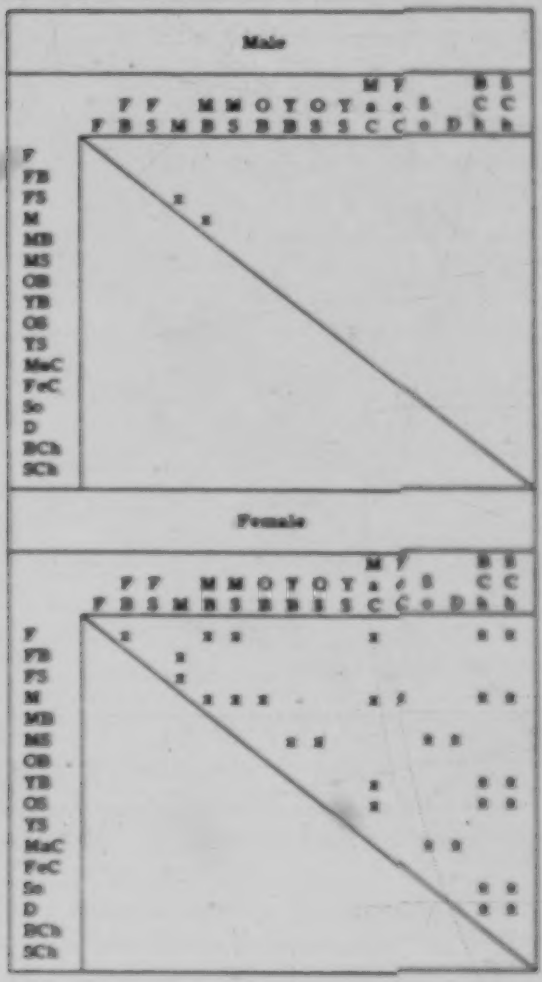
CATEGORY 9

128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



[P 391, B]

CATEGORY 10

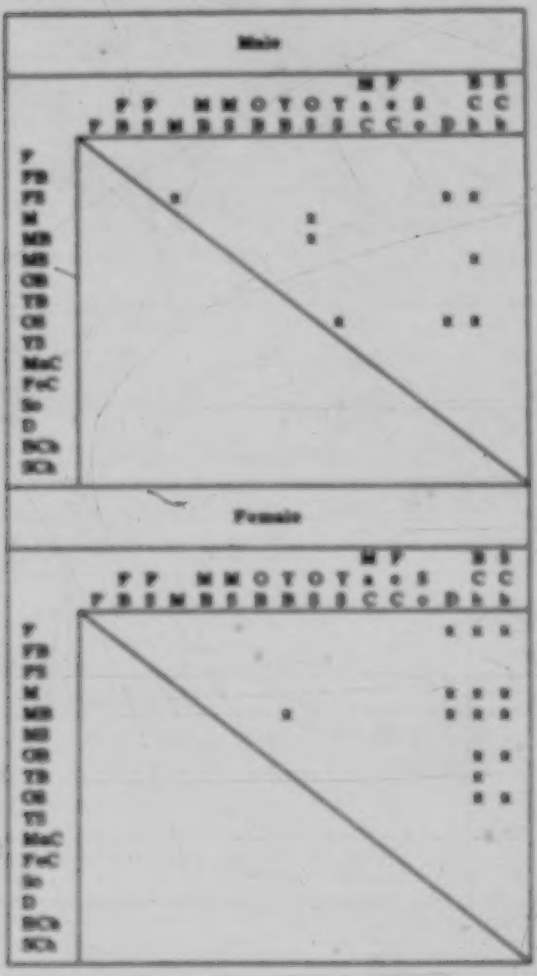


928 *
554 *
802 *
593 *

[P.392, A]

CATEGORY 11

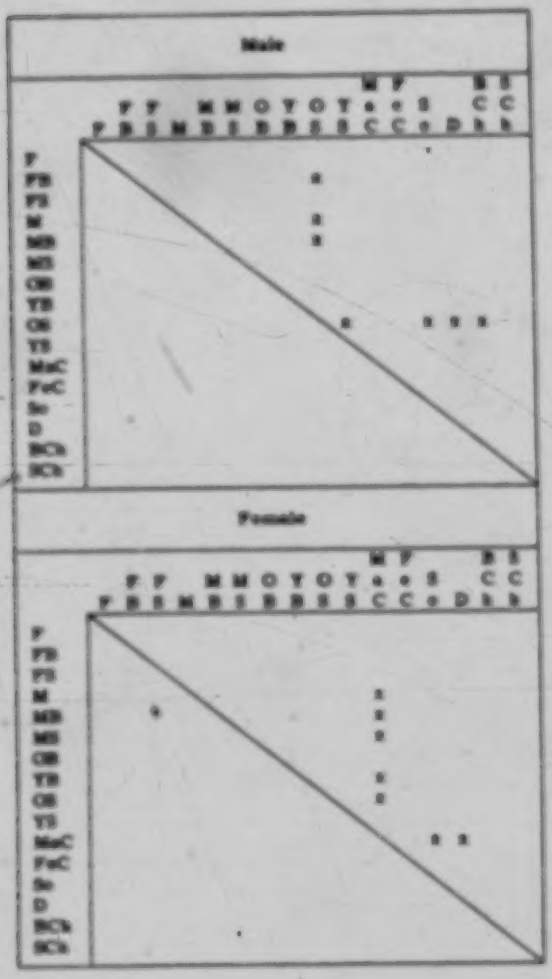
128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



[P.392, B]

CATEGORY 18

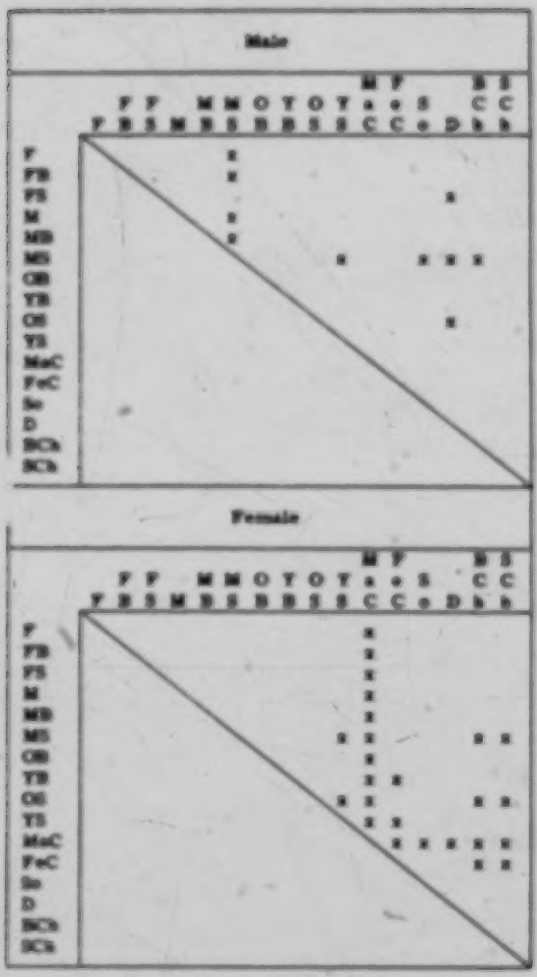
128*
554*
602*
593*



[P. 393, A]

CATEGORY II

128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

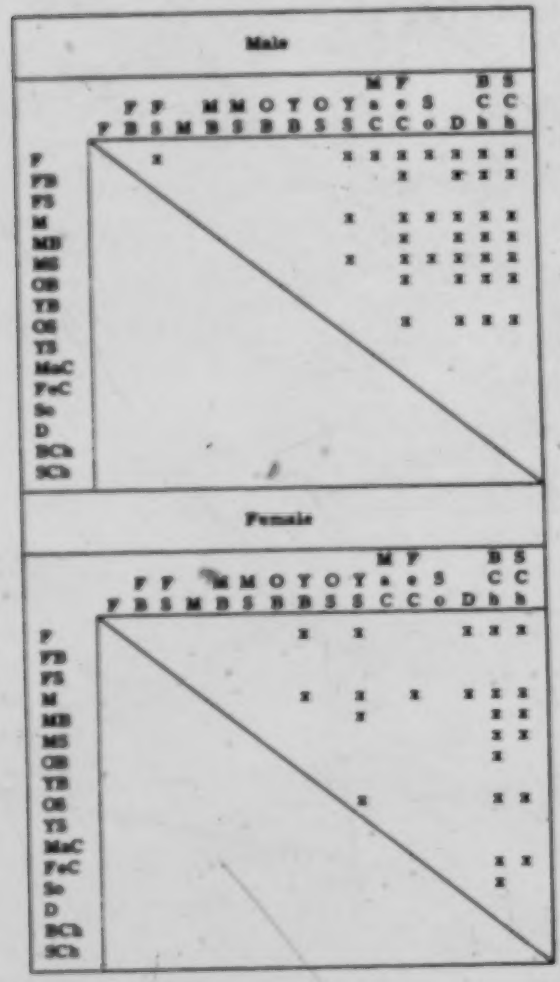


?:Fmed 8-6 (1968-1967)1969 NT20 Wasbo NT20

[P 393, B]

CATEGORY 14

128*
554*
602*
593*



[P. 394, A]

CATEGORY 15

128*
554*
602*
593*

Male

	F	FB	FS	M	MB	MS	OB	YB	OS	YS	MaC	FeC	So	D	BCh	SCh
F		x						x								
FB																
FS			x											x		
M					x	x		x								
MB																
MS																
OB																
YB																
OS																
YS																
MaC																
FeC																
So																
D																
BCh																
SCh																

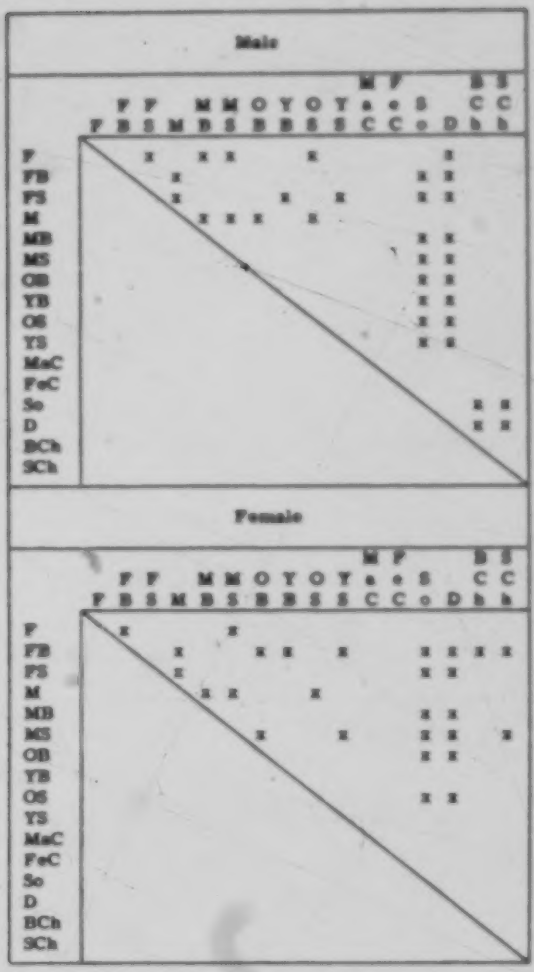
Female

	F	FB	FS	M	MB	MS	OB	YB	OS	YS	MaC	FeC	So	D	BCh	SCh
F		x			x	x										
FB			x										x	x		x
FS													x	x		
M					x	x										
MB													x	x		x
MS													x	x	x	x
OB													x	x		
YB													x	x		
OS													x	x		
YS													x	x		
MaC																
FeC													x	x		
So															x	
D															x	
BCh																
SCh																

[P.394, B]

CATEGORY 16

928 *
554 *
602 *
593 *



FREED: CHANGING WAIKO KINSHIP

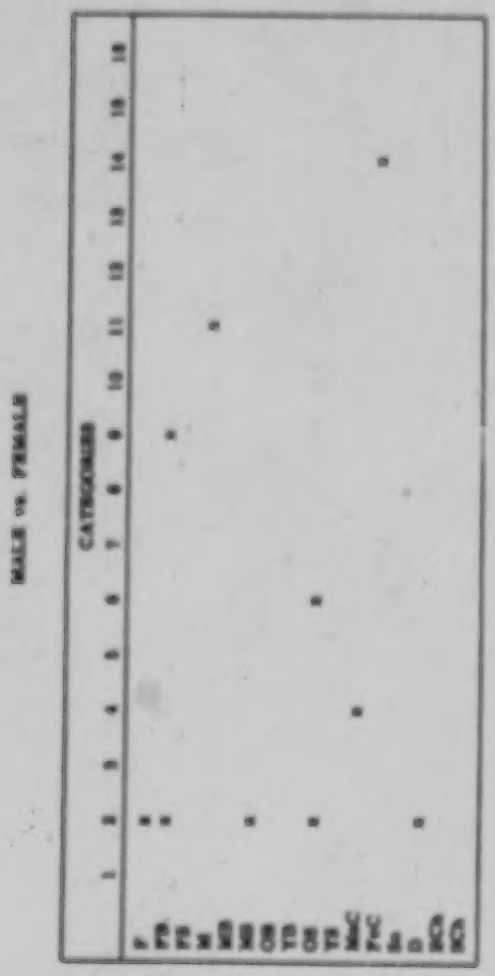
SUMMATION OF CATEGORIES: MALE AND FEMALE

	F	FB	FS	M	MB	MS	OB	YB	OS	YS	MoC	FoC	Bo	D	BCh	BCh	Total
F		0	11		0	0	3	0	6	10	11	11	0	11	14	14	132
FB			0	13		0	4	0	8	5	6	8	7	11	7	9	88
FS				10		1	0	0	3	4	3	3	9	12	10	10	81
M					10	10	11	11	13	13	14	14	10	12	12	11	121
MB						3	1	3	4	6	6	6	13	12	12	12	88
MS							0	0	3	0	7	6	3	8	10	11	72
OB								0	1	0	7	6	11	12	12	12	82
YB									4	0	11	9	3	8	8	8	60
OS										0	1	1	0	4	4	4	31
YS											0	0	0	0	0	0	0
MoC												0	0	0	0	0	0
FoC													0	0	0	0	0
Bo														0	0	0	0
D															0	0	0
BCh																0	0
BCh																	0

[P. 396, A]

128*
554*
602*
593*

[P. 395, B]



128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

9: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Wasko NT20

[P 396]

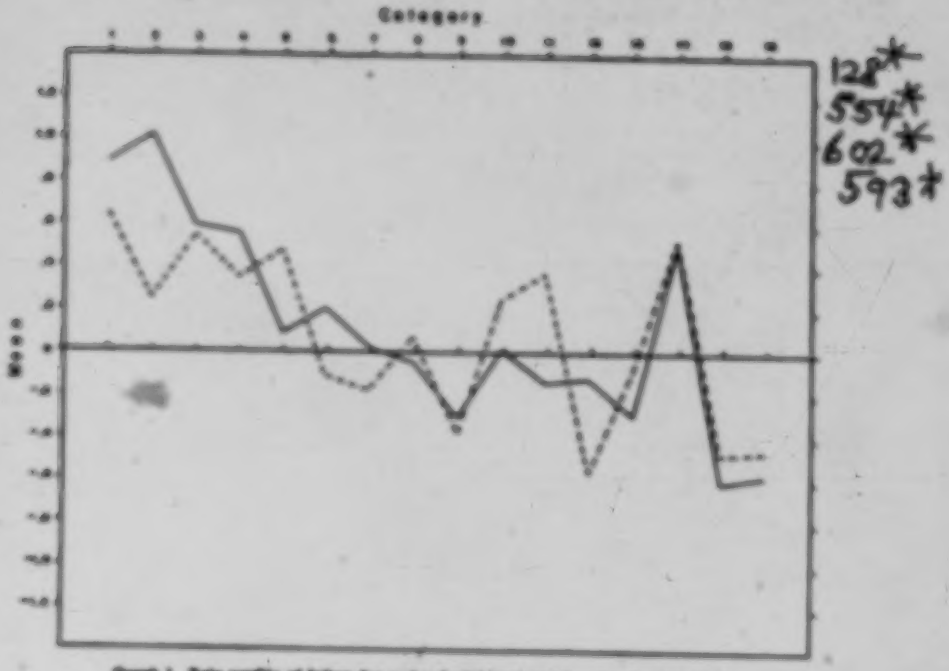
128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

APPENDIX III
ROLE PROFILES

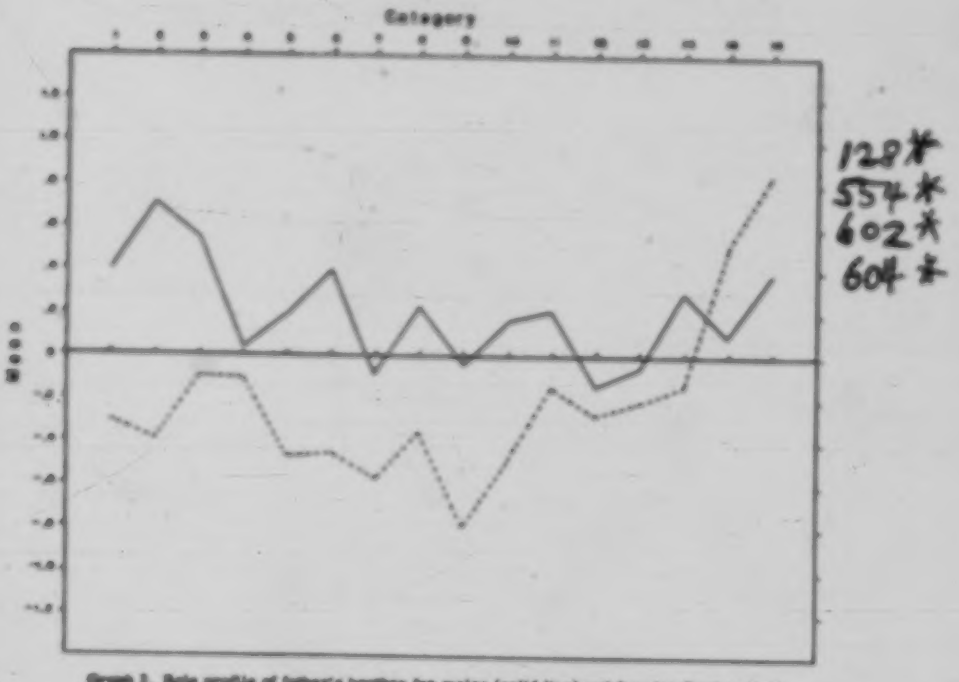
This appendix contains the graphs of the means of each subject in all the categories of behaviour.

?: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT28

[P. 397]

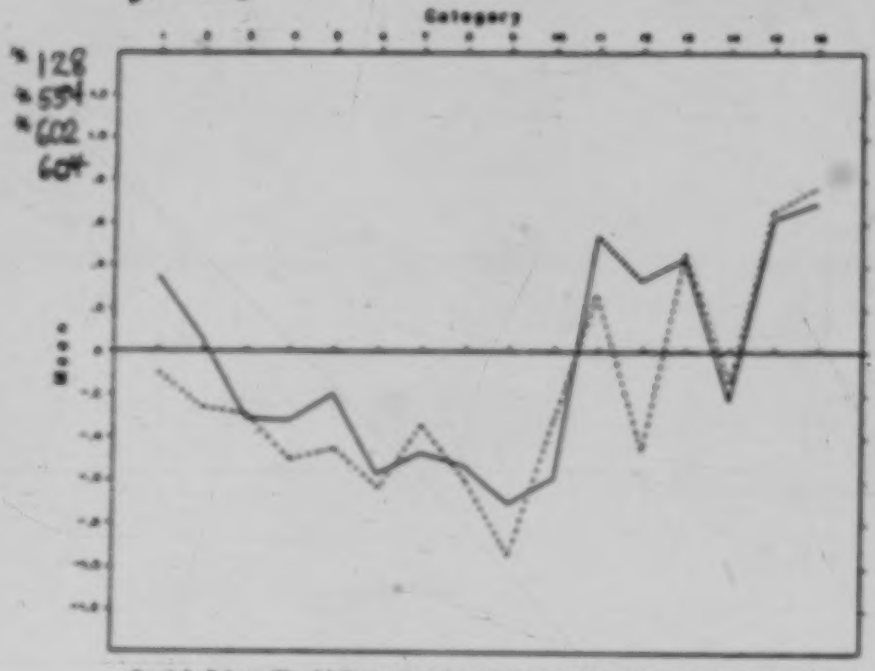


Graph 1. Role profile of father for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

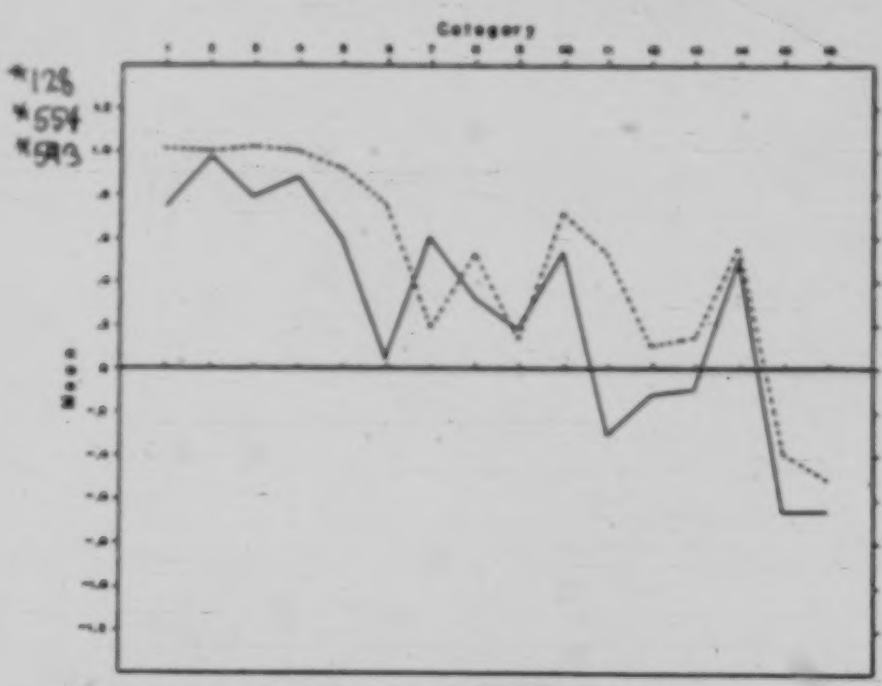


Graph 2. Role profile of father's brother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

[P 398]



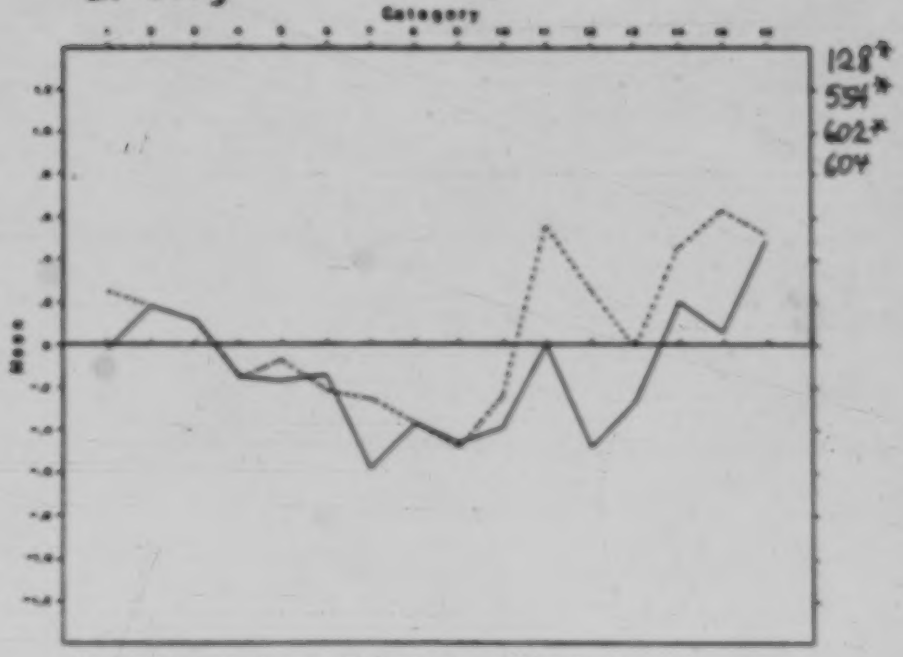
Graph 3. Rate profile of father's sister for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



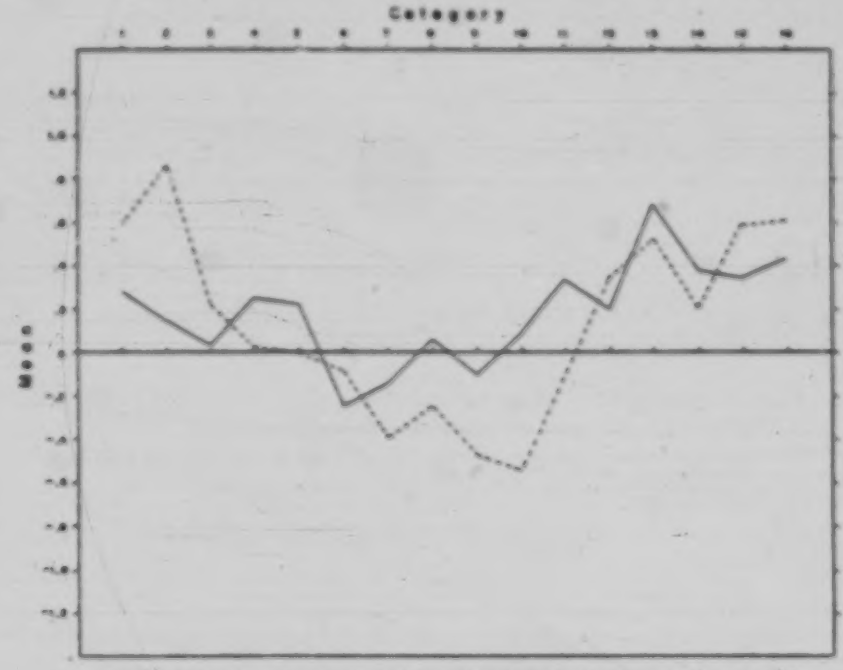
Graph 4. Rate profile of mother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

?: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 399]



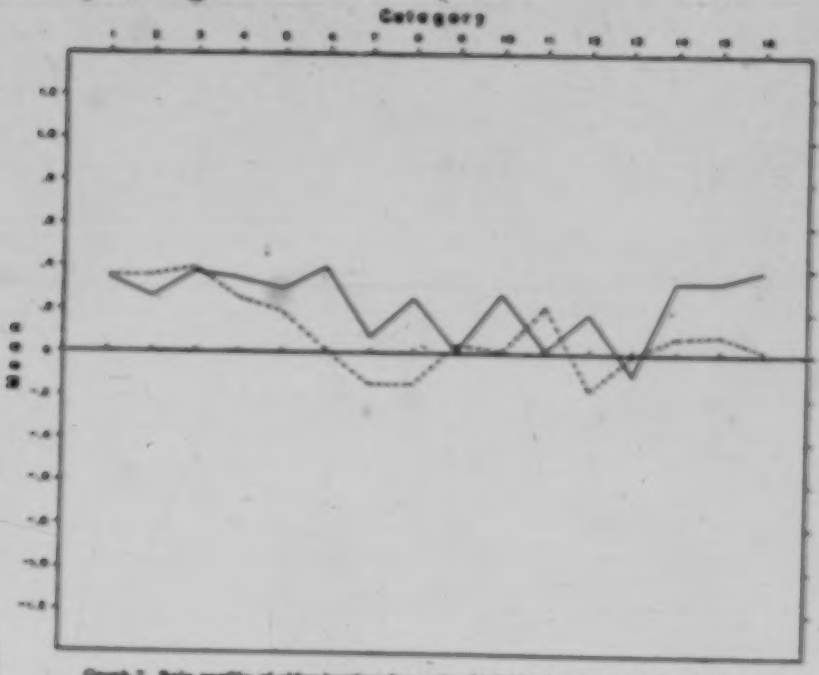
Graph 5. Role profile of mother's brother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 6. Role profile of mother's sister for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 400]



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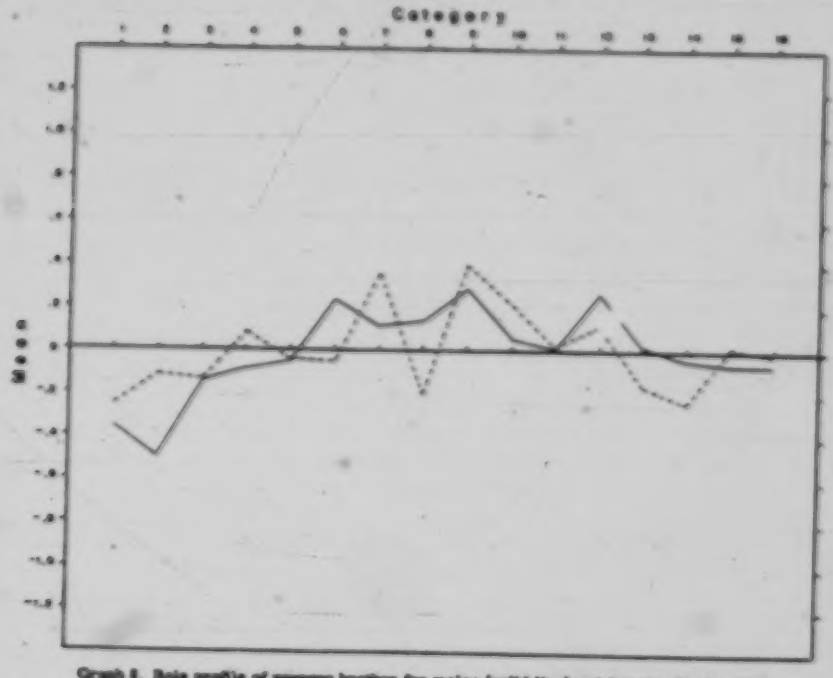
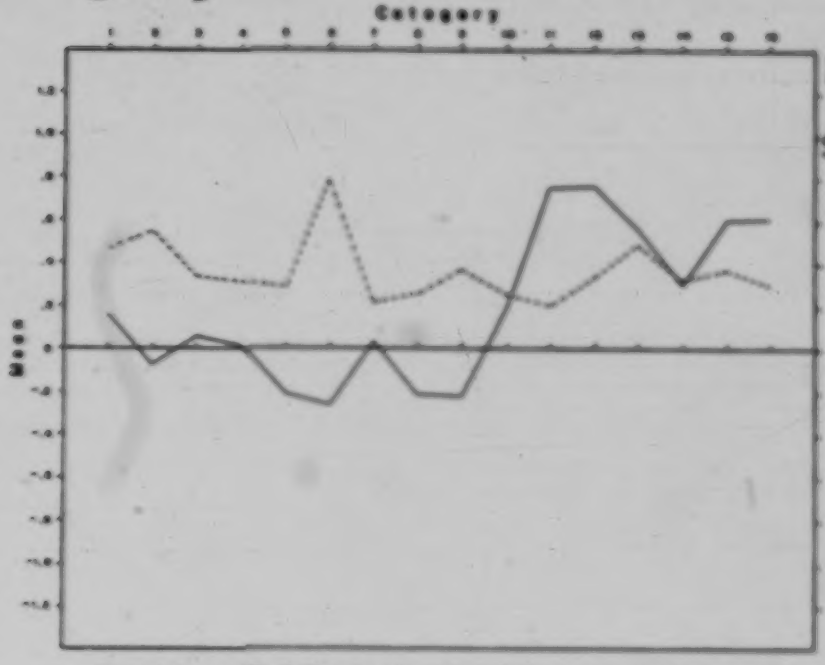
Graph 7. Male profile of older brother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

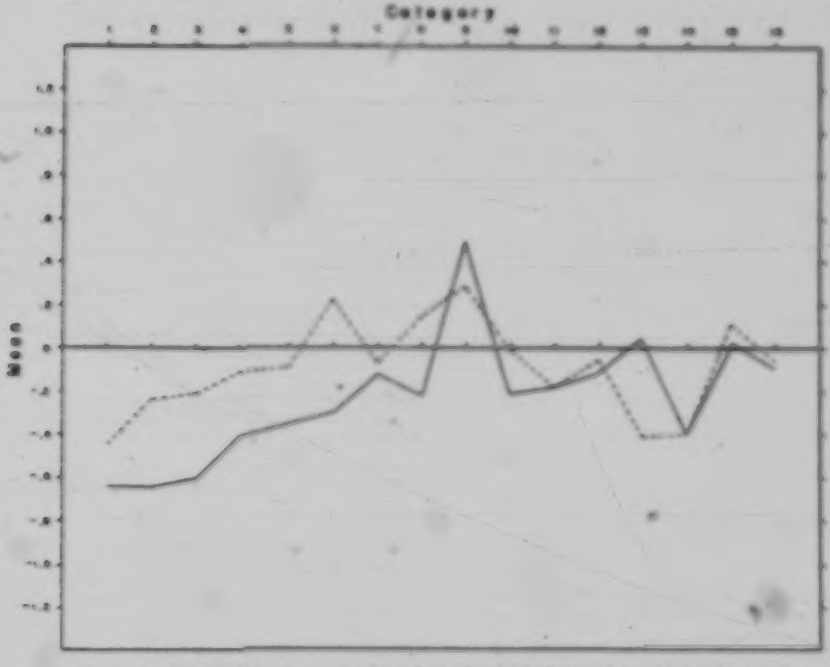


Graph 8. Male profile of younger brother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

[P 401]



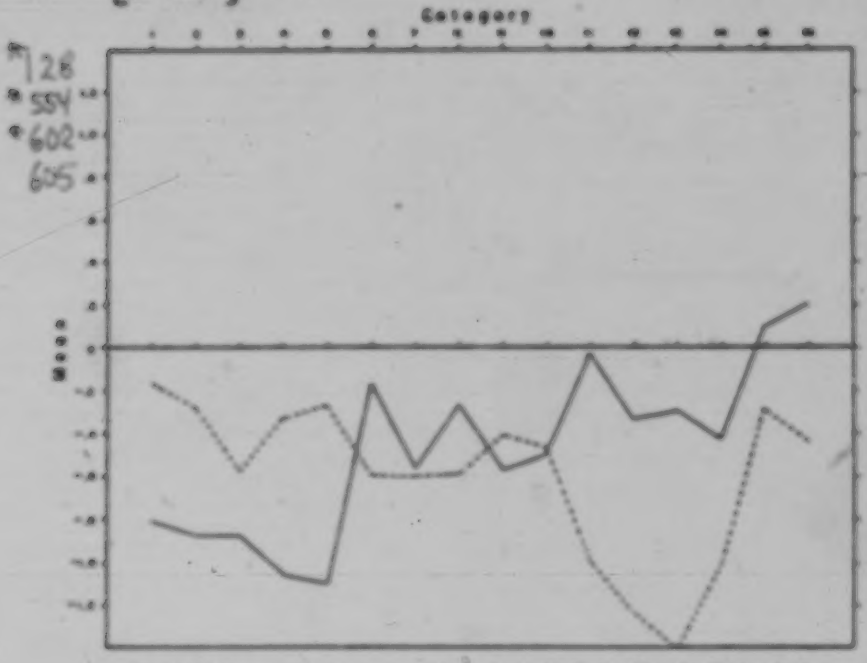
Graph 9. Role profile of older women for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

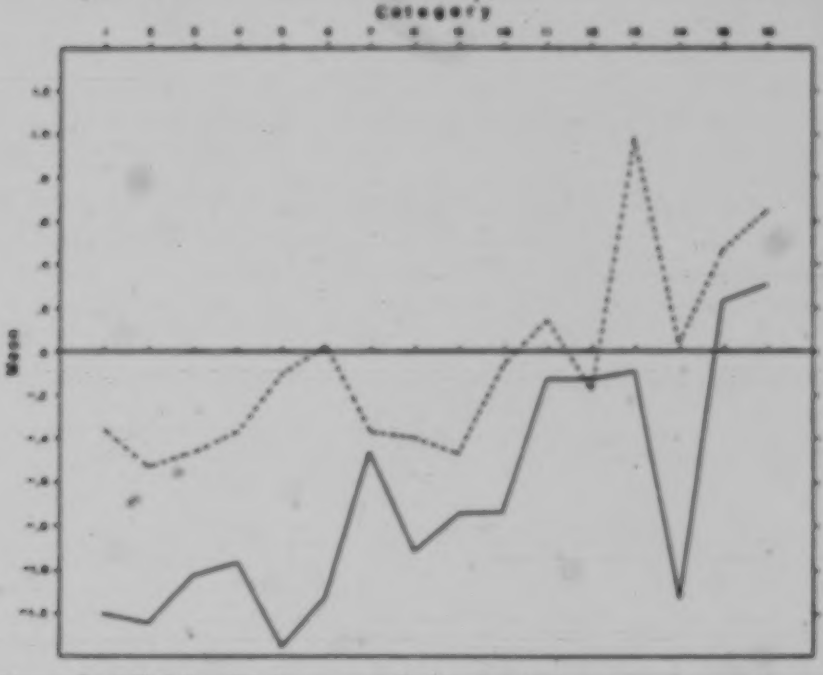


Graph 10. Role profile of younger women for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

?: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

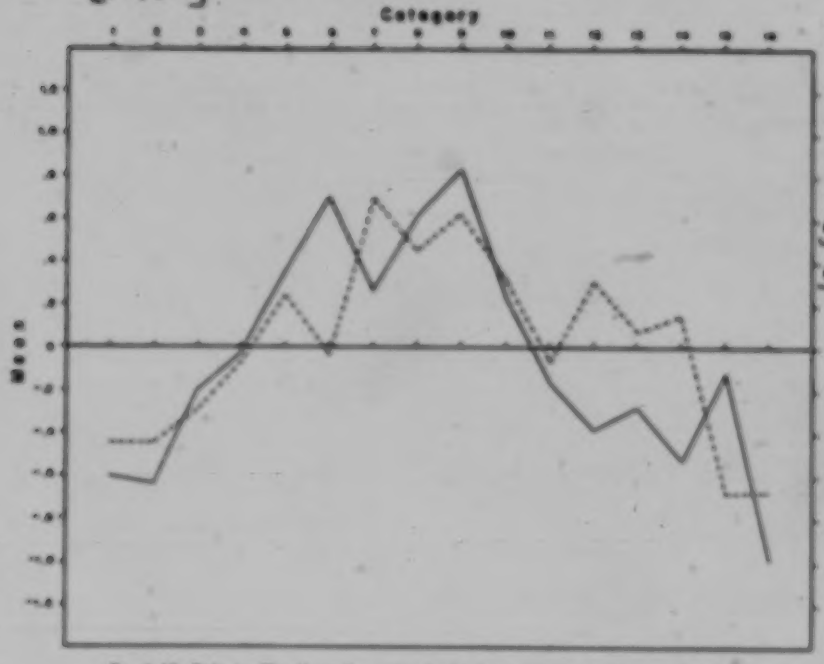
[P 402]



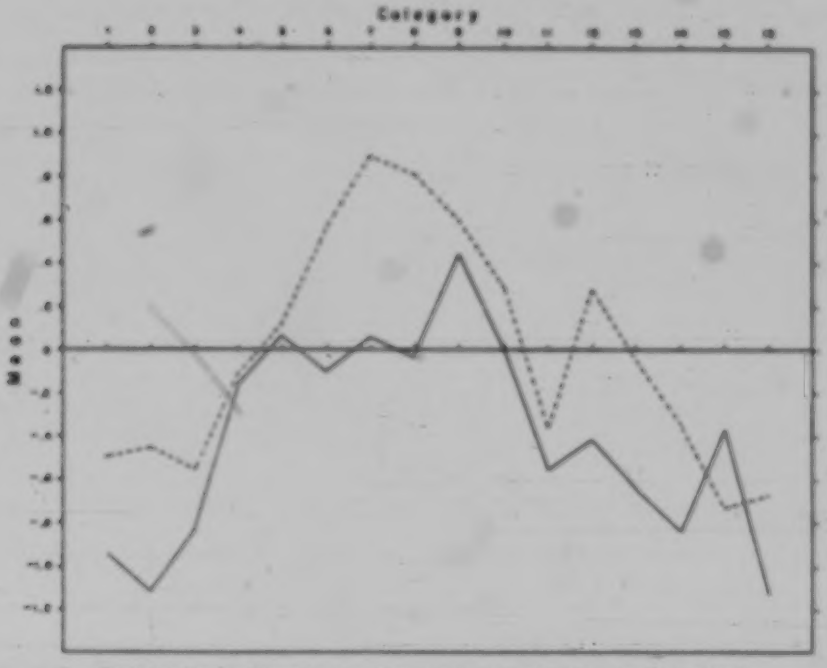


7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 403]

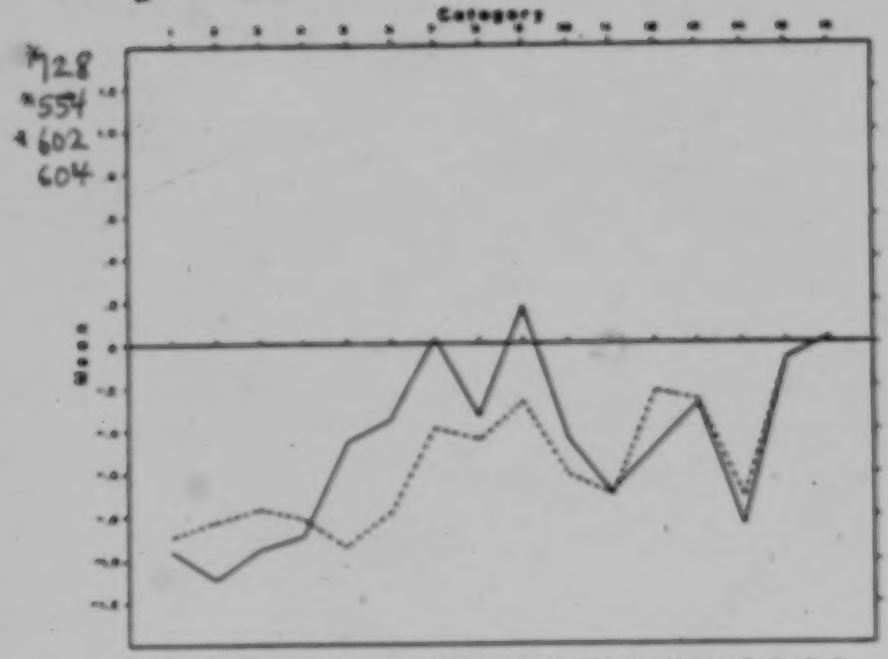


Graph 13. Rate profile of sex for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

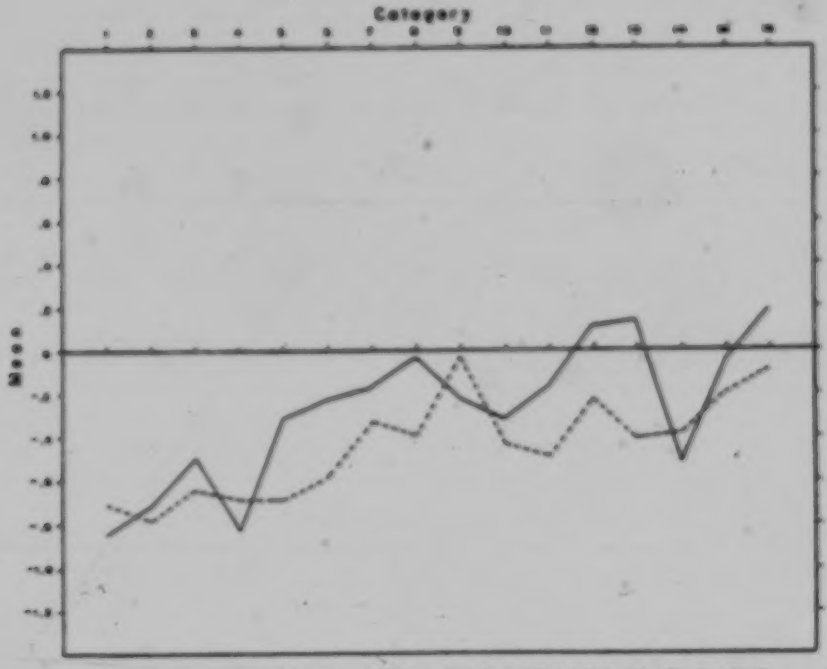


Graph 14. Rate profile of daughter for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

[P 404]



Graph 13. Baby profile of brother's child for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 14. Baby profile of sister's child for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

[P 405]

128*
554*
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APPENDIX IV

GRAPHS OF THE SIXTEEN CATEGORIES OF ROLE BEHAVIOR

This appendix contains the graphs of each category of role behavior with the relatives on the x axis. The abbreviations are the same as those used in Appendix I.

[P 406]

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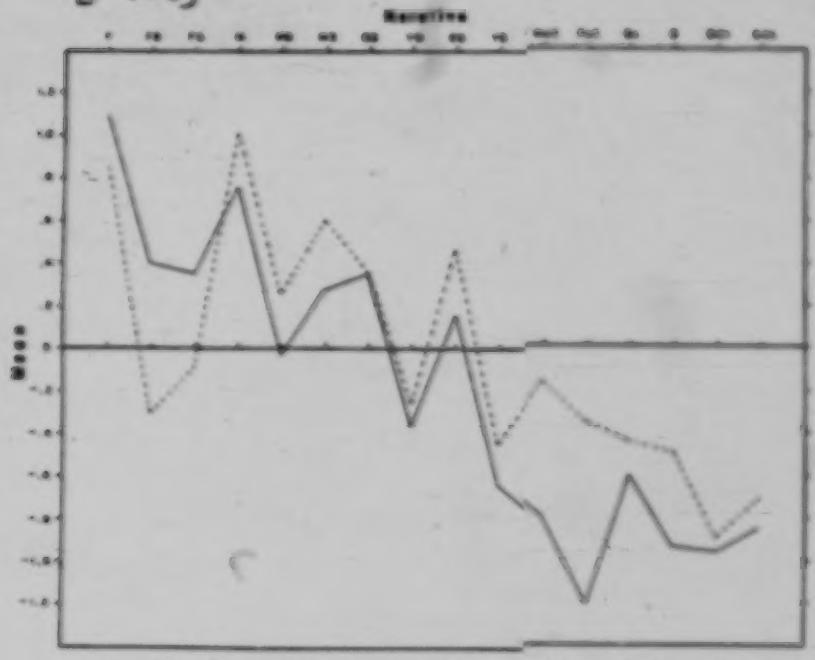
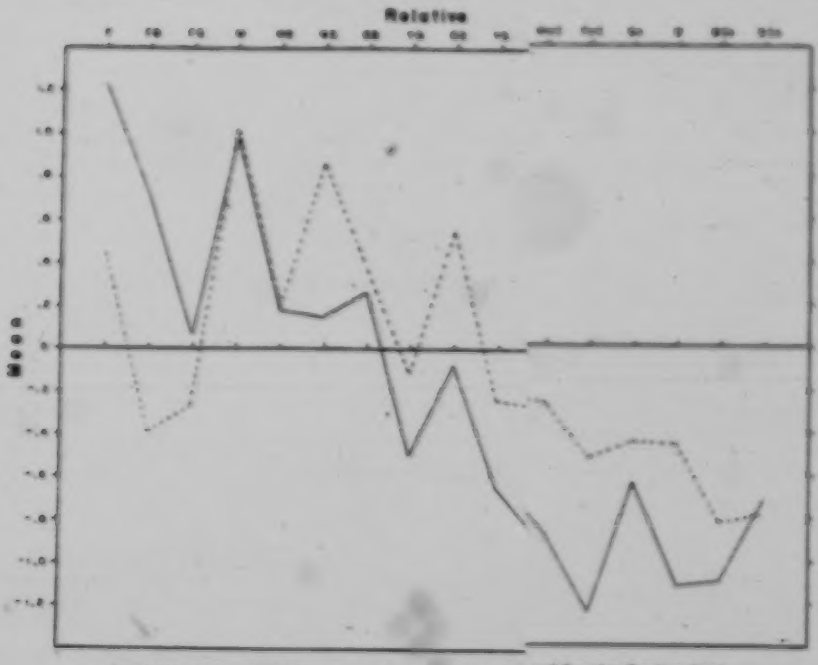
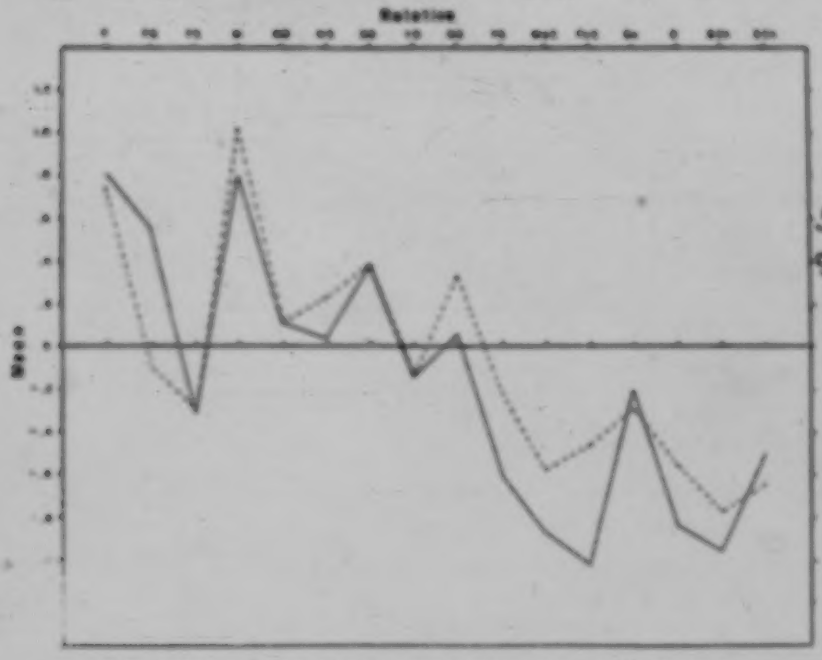
593 *
602 *



Graph 17. Category 1 (to order) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

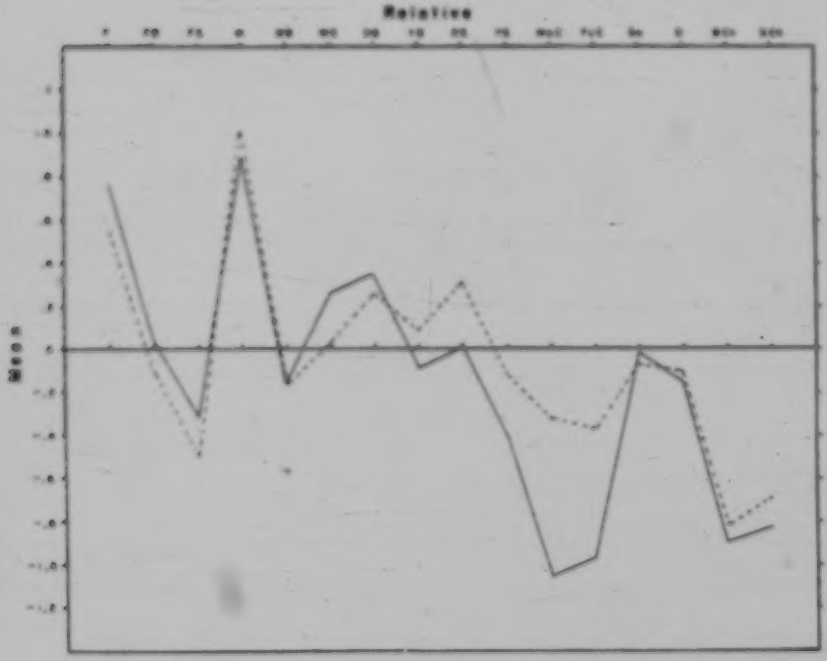


Graph 18. Category 2 (to touch) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

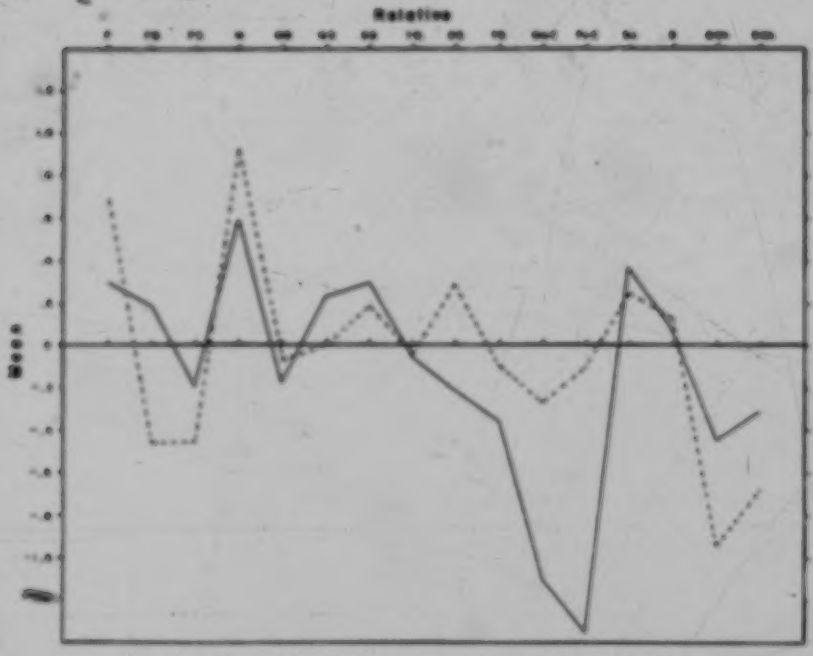


128 *
554 *
593 *
602 *

Graph 19. Category 3 (to help) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 20. Category 4 (to sympathize) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



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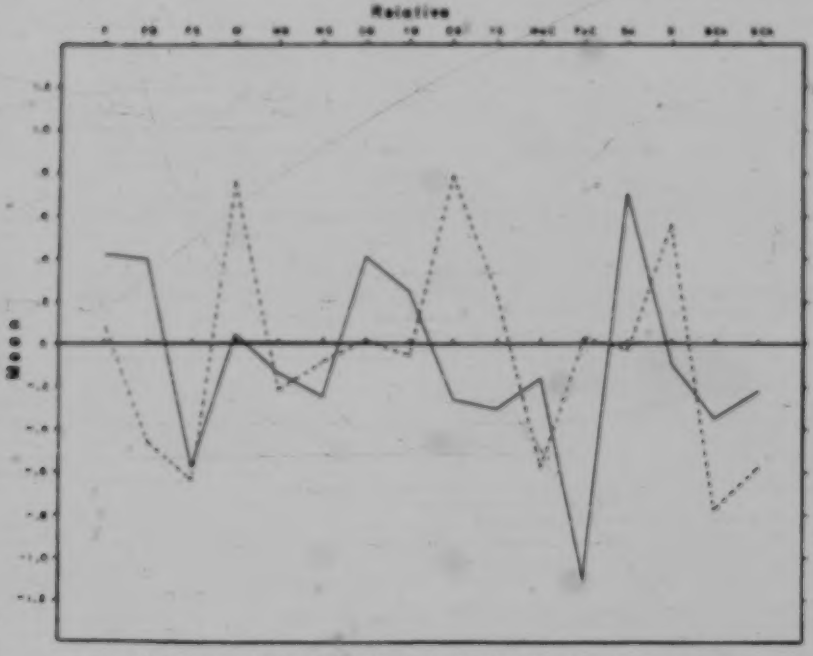
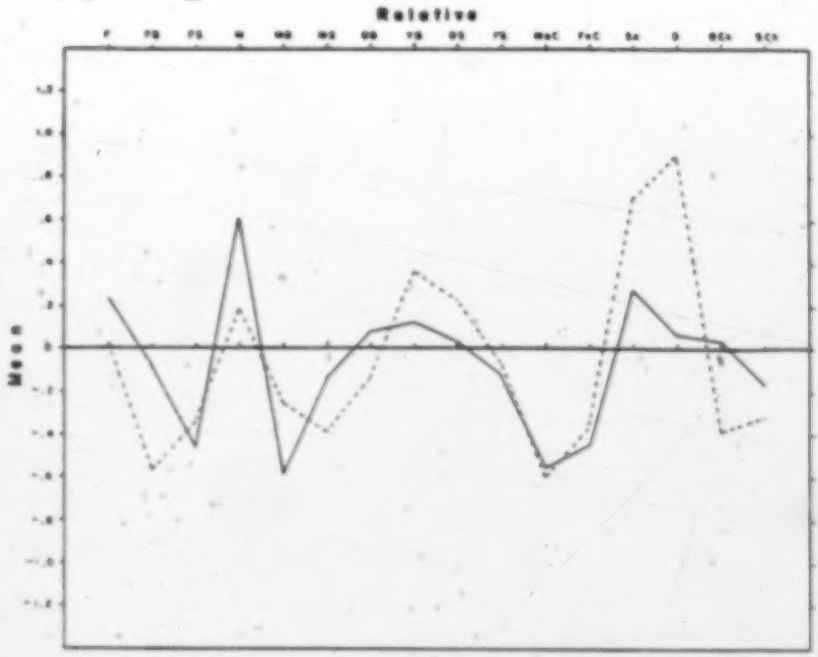
Graph 31. Category 5 for tikel for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 32. Category 6 (to collocate) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

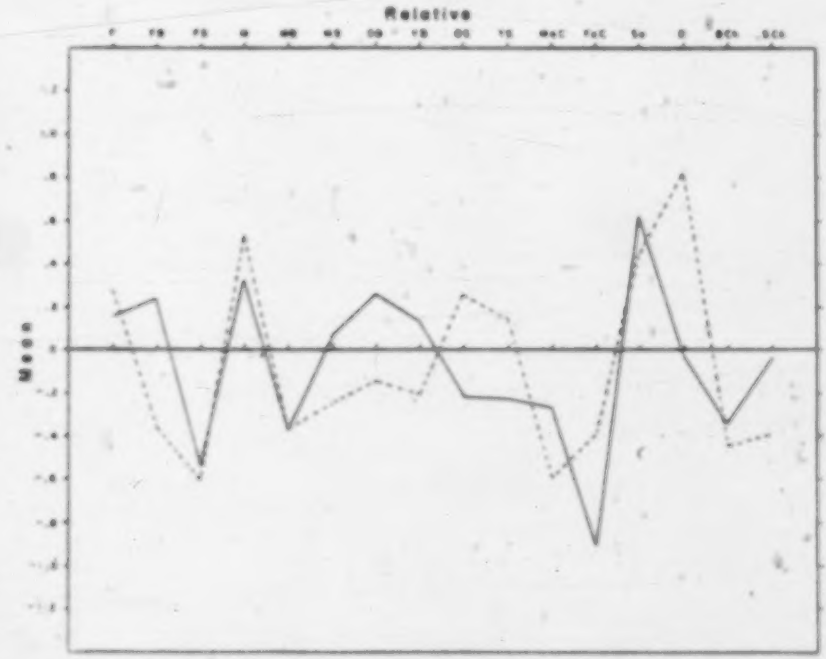
7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 409]



128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

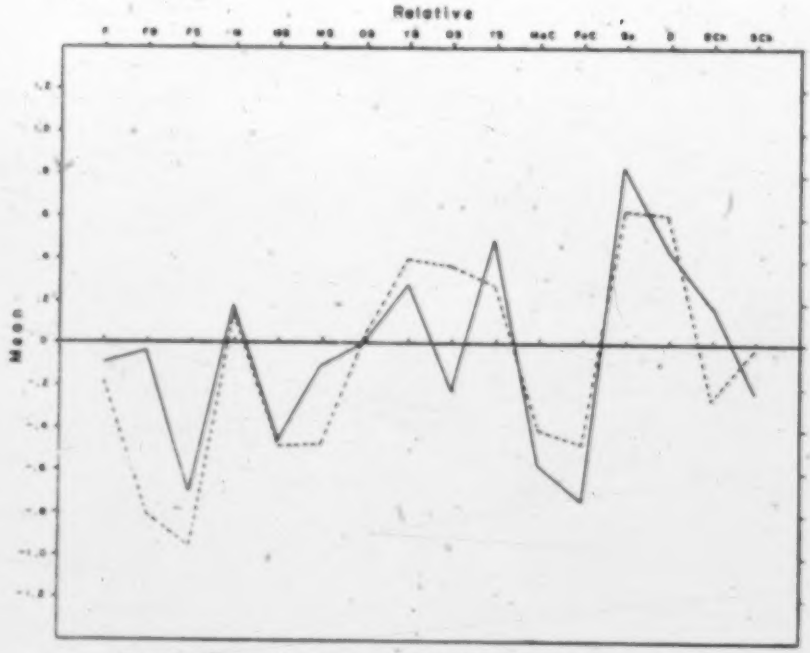
Graph 23. Category 7 (to depend) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 24. Category 8 (to respect) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 410]



128 *
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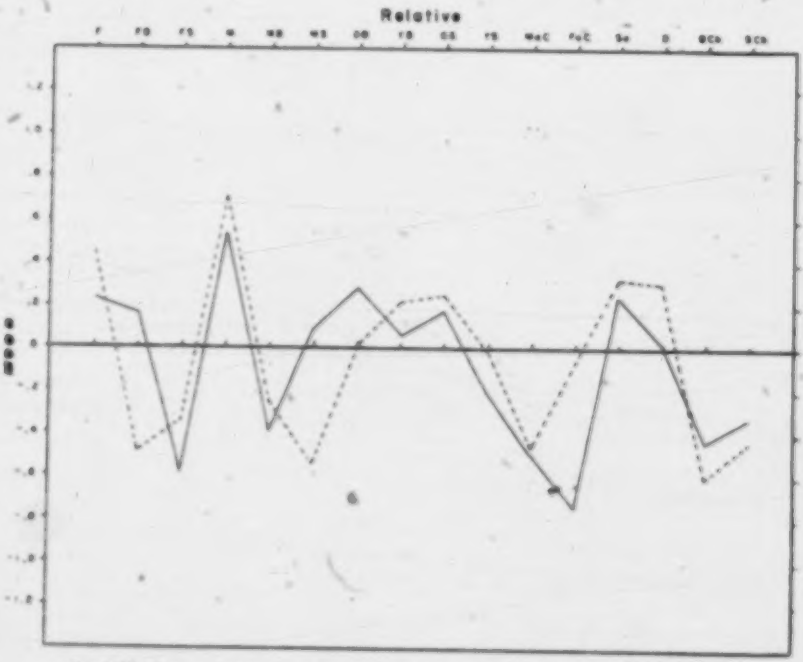
602 *
593 *

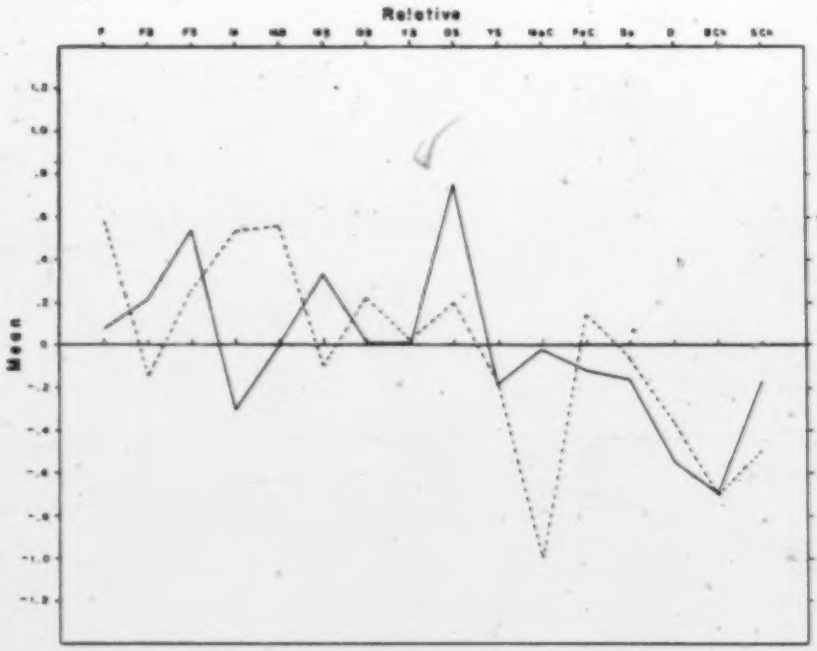
Graph 29. Category 9 (to obey) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 30. Category 10 (to want approval) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

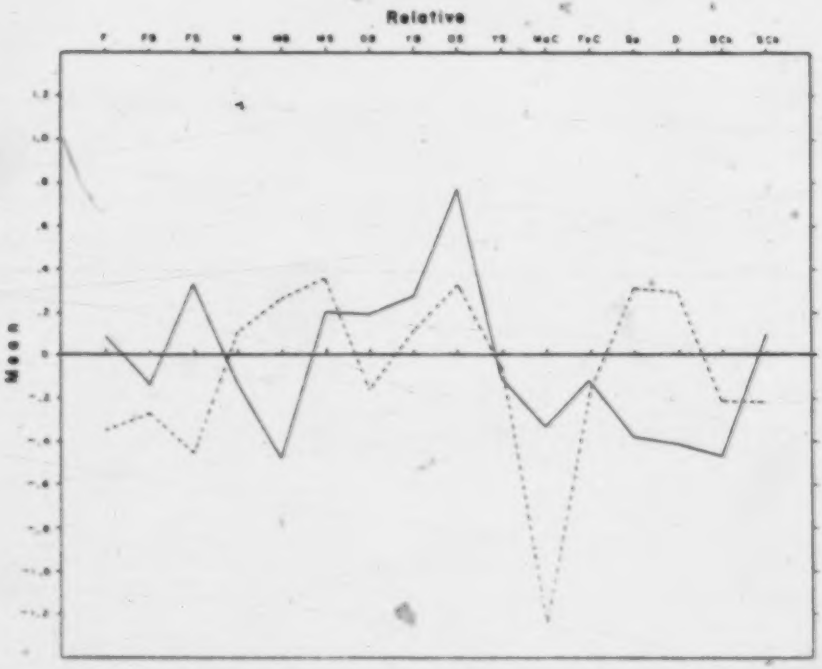
7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 411]

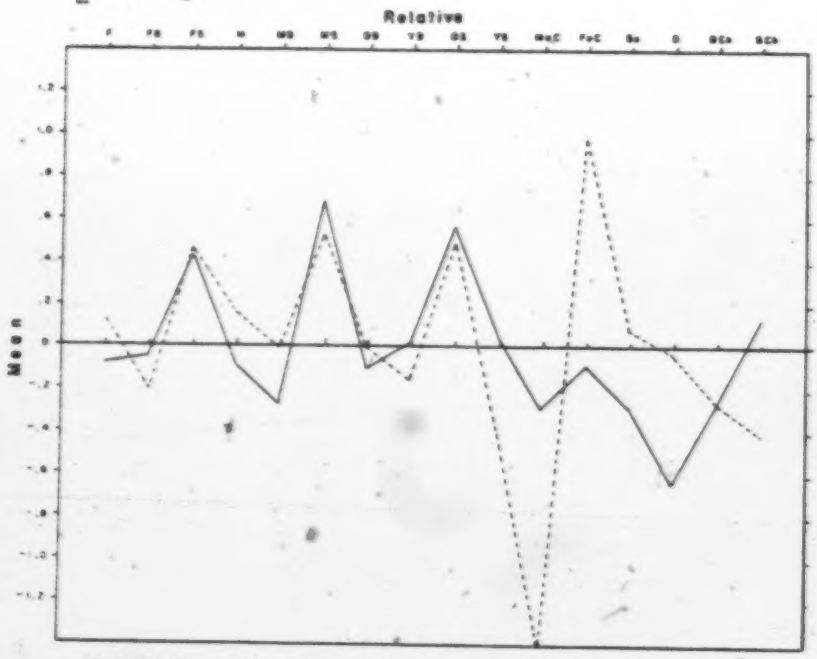


128 *
554 *
602 *
593 *

Graph 37. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 38. Category 12 (to nag) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



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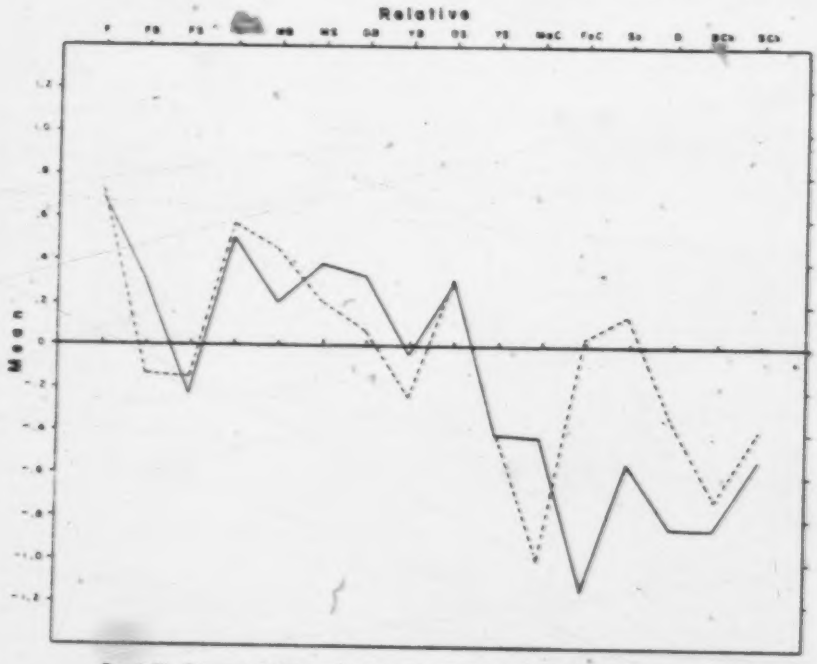
554*
602*
593*

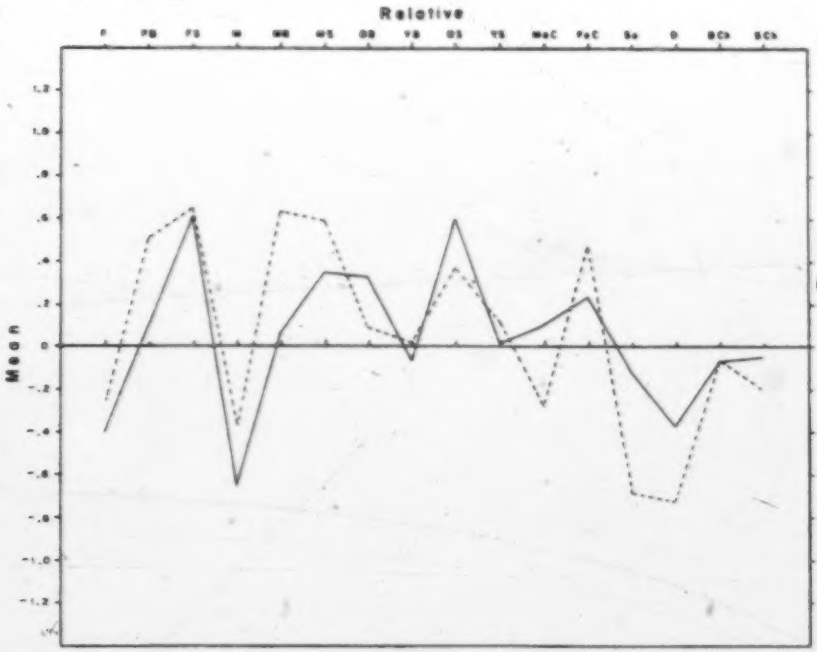
Graph 29. Category 13 (to disapprove) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 30. Category 14 (to punish) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 413]



128 *
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602 *
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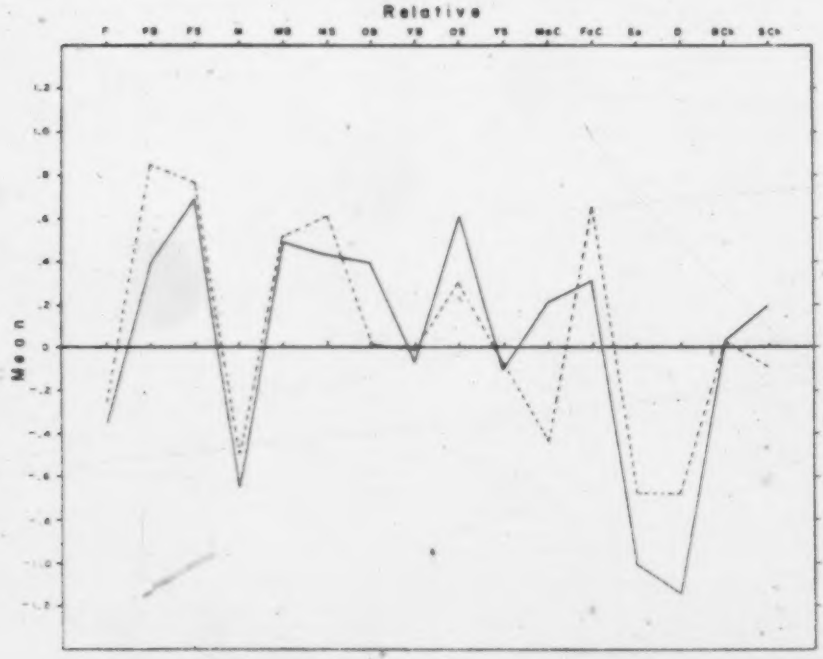
Graph 31. Category 15 (to refuse help) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 32. Category 16 (to reject) for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

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[P 415]
[P 414 is blank]

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[P. 417, A]
[P. 416 is blank]

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Abbreviations

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BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin
JRAI	Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute
FMNH-PAS	Field Museum of Natural History, Publications, Anthropological Series
PMM-B	Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Bulletin
SI-MC	Smithsonian Institution, Miscellaneous Collections
SWJA	Southwest Journal of Anthropology
UC	University of California Publications
-PAAE	American Archaeology and Ethnology
-AR	Anthropological Records
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey, Reports
UW-PA	University of Washington, Publications in Anthropology

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128

554

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

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/Information on the pine-nut dances and the dances associated with the girls' puberty ceremony will be found in categories 527, 535, and 574./

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116 TEXTS--a full set of pages from each processed source, arranged in page order, as a means of establishing the context for any particular slip. Sets are arranged in the numerical order of the sources. See also:

Literary texts 839

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VOLUME 59

Printed in
MENASHA, WISCONSIN, U.S.A.

Published by
AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION

1957

[Title page]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

ALAN P. MERRIAM
Northwestern University
AND
WARREN L. D'AZEVEDO
Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

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octagonal "church" near Coleville, California, and was known as "the Peyote preacher."

The decline of the movement may be attributed to at least three factors: the aggressiveness and opportunism of Ben Lancaster's leadership, which eventually antagonized the majority of non-Peyotist Washo and encouraged the formation of dissident sects among the Peyotists themselves; the direct threat posed by the new religion to the already weakened influence of the shamans, which united them in concerted and violent attack against it; and the deep schisms effected by the movement in regard to traditional tribal loyalties and family ties, which turned the initial curiosity of the Washo majority to active hostility and rejection. The period of introduction, growth, and decline of the religion from 1936 to 1939 has been studied intensively by two earlier investigators (Stewart 1944; Siskin 1941).

Recent field work indicates a revival of the Peyotist movement among the Washo shortly after 1939. Initiated by a relatively obscure Washo member of the cult, who claimed to have learned a "new way" during a visit to Peyotists in Idaho, the sect was labelled "The Tipi Way." It was set in open opposition to Ben Lancaster's domination and succeeded in attracting a number of former adherents from among the Washo who had become inactive after the 1939 debacle. This sect has undergone many changes of leadership since its inception in 1941–42, but it has persisted with remarkable cohesion to the present time. Relations with other members of the tribe have improved to the extent that the Peyotists are now a tolerated and often respected minority, and carry on their activities openly.

When the original proselyter, Ben Lancaster, died in 1955, there were three distinct sects competing for dominance in the area. One of these was the moribund group referred to as "Lancaster's Way," made up of Washo and Paiute followers who had remained loyal to him. Lancaster's wife and an old Paiute adherent lead the handful of members, and it is known by the latter's name—"J—S——'s Way." A second group is led by a mixed Washo-Paiute individual, and the participants are drawn from his immediate family; it is also referred to as his "Way." However, the largest and most vigorous sect, is "The Tipi Way," which has its center of operations at Woodfords, California, with a substantially Washo membership.

A comparison of the recent total membership of these sects with the participation data presented by Stewart (1944) reveals that there has been a drop from 111 active Peyotists in 1938 to about 78 in 1955. In 1938 there were 37 Washo and 55 Paiute members, while in 1955 fewer than 15 of the active Peyotists are Paiute or of mixed tribal origin. Of the present total membership more than seventy percent attends the meetings of "The Tipi Way" sect.

The members of this dominant sect have initiated and maintained more contact with the Native American Church than have either of the others. Its members make frequent visits to meetings in Idaho and Utah, and informal delegations make pilgrimages to Peyotist centers in Oklahoma, which they consider to be the homeland of the movement. Every few months "runs" are

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made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

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Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

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also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

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time with; that's all," to "it is just as important as the drum and the singing. Yes it means something; everything we use has a meaning. Right now I don't know the meaning, but it is a symbol."

The drum used by the Washo in Peyote ritual is usually made from a three-legged iron pot of a type formerly used by miners; these pots are approximately eight to ten inches in diameter and about six inches in depth, including legs an inch and a half long. The drum is considered a sacred object of great importance to song; thus the ritual of tying the instrument before a meeting or singing practice is carefully observed. The kettle must have been tested for timbre before it is chosen for use; the deerhide must be "Indian cured and tanned," and it is preferable that it not come from a deer which has been shot. At the beginning of the evening, the kettle is filled one half to three quarters full of water; seven pieces of glowing charcoal are added and the hide is then wetted in the water and stretched over the top of the pot. At this point it is the special task of the drumchief to fasten the drumhead by an intricate "star" design of thong or rope fastened from each of the seven pebbles (which should be naturally polished and not "made by machines") placed under the edges of the hide. The tie is referred to as the "star" because its completed design resembles a star shape viewed from the bottom of the pot. The hide is stretched taut in this way and seldom has to be retightened during the evening; it is kept wet by occasional shaking.

The drumstick is usually a carved, highly polished piece of hardwood, and individual Peyotists like to make and keep their own drumsticks which become potent with the power of drumming and singing after long use. During a meeting, drumsticks sometimes get out of hand and cannot be controlled; drummers say that the stick "drummed by itself," and that they no longer had a sense of holding it.

In performance the drum is ordinarily held between the knees and tipped slightly away from the player; the drumstick is held lightly between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the wrist is kept flexible. On occasion, arm and wrist are made rigid so that the drum can be struck with full force; this seems to be reserved for high points in the song when specia' emphasis is required. The drum is held by the four fingers and "worked" with the thumb of the left hand. The thumb is used for stopping the drumhead; it is pressed firmly over the surface of the hide until just the right pitch and timbre are achieved. Every drummer, during each song and with every drum, has to experiment anew for the right "place." To achieve a particularly "tight" sounding tone, the drummer sometimes lifts the drum to his lips, drinks a bit of water from it, and then blows air through the hide until the pressure from within distends it; bloated drums give an especially hard and desirable sound. Two or more drums are never used at one time.

Questioning about the problem of "good" drumming brings forth a varied response; two typical answers are:

The drummer is supposed to follow, but he carries the singer. He has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch. He might have to shake the drum now and then to

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keep the skin wet; this changes the time of his beat. When you wet the skin from inside and blow air into the drum, it makes a fuller and deeper sound.

Good drumming is given as a gift. When the medicine gives you the gift to use the drum right, it goes through the body and then you can help. You can't learn in five years; you just keep trying until you learn and it comes to you. If you pray good, the Supreme Master may hear you and will help you to drum good.

The significance of drumming, however, can bring forth a more detailed answer. The following account is a lucid picture of the significance of drumming for a devout Peyotist:

The drum is the most important. The way the drummer handles himself can help or spoil the singing. The singer depends on the drum, it has to fit his way of singing. If the drummer is good-thinking, or knows his business, he can help the singer; he can make the song real good. The drum and the singing have to be like one sound--all together. A drummer can make the voice move along on waves, he can send the voice where he wants it to go—just like a telegraph—he can put it in that corner or that corner, or send it out a long distance away. A new (inexperienced) drummer drums "too open." (Lets the drum vibrate out of control.) The drummer must keep his thumb down on just the right place to get a full, round sound out of the drum, a deep sound without too much vibration. If you leave it "too open" it gets a dull sound like hitting wood, or it goes wild and sounds tinny. The drummer has to catch the voice of each singer and tune the drum to it. The drummer has to carry the voice, lead it in the way it goes best, and pull the singer through. You have to always remember that the drum is full of electricity, that charcoal and water are inside there churning like a generator each time that stick hits the drum. It builds up big air pressure, and it connects with the air in your throat when you sing. The wrong kind of drumming can make you choke, can push the air back into the singer's lungs and stop his song. I have seen that happen and it has happened to me. Sometimes the wrong drummer will do that to you if he is not feeling right about you. One time one guy was drumming for me and it felt just like his thumb was on my throat trying to choke me. I saw that his thumb on the drum was just like it was choking the drum.

It is hard to say just what is the right way to drum. Everybody drums different. It depends on how the person thinks and feels, and how much experience he has had in the meetings. Drumming changes with every song, and it is never the same twice. It depends on the song and how the drummer and singer are feeling about each other or about themselves. But most of it depends on the drummer. He has to think of himself and the singer, too. He is the main one; he is the helper. That drum is the hardest thing. It takes the longest to know. I am a poor drummer even yet after all these years (about 30). Maybe when I am an old man I will know better. Some of those Indians say the drum is everything, that the drum is the way to the medicine. When you know that, you know The Way.

The problems of what good singing is, and what makes a good singer, are as indirectly considered by the Washo as are those of instrumental performance. Response is of the following nature:

It depends on how a man sings with the drumming, how he carries his tune even. He carries it up and holds his voice on the high notes. He has to go up all the way and then carry it down without breaking his time.

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A person has to do his best. Sing the song just the way you heard it. It takes a long breath to sing good, to hold all those notes coming down and going up. Sometimes the medicine makes it sound better to you.

Song types

The major distinction drawn between Peyote song types is based upon an arbitrary designation of "main" songs as opposed to "unconnected" songs. The latter are those which may be sung at any time in any company and with any combination of other songs, while the former are sung under much greater restriction. The "main" songs are considered special; they may be reserved for the special opening, midnight, after-midnight, morning, or before-quitting times in an actual Peyote meeting but are always part of a special song cycle. Such songs should be sung in meetings or on an equally solemn occasion, and conversely, it is generally thought improper to sing them outside of meetings; in so doing, one runs the risk of "spoiling" them.

Both types of songs may be sung at specific times in Peyote ceremony. This relegation of songs to certain periods during the meetings seems to have nothing to do with either musical quality or type; rather, it is an arbitrary distinction made by each singer about the songs in his repertoire. It may be that the person who taught the singer the song told him that it was a morning or a before-midnight song, for example, or he may decide this for himself. On the other hand, he may also sing them at any time during the meetings. Various informants revealed different attitudes about this matter, and except for the individual distinction as to the category of songs by a few members, most members sing their songs at any time. The only songs which seem to be required at any particular time are those of the roadchief, who has his own special starting, midnight, and quitting songs.

Songs also are organized into sets or cycles. Such cycles are made up of four songs which are always sung in a particular order, and this gives them a unique quality to most Peyotists. "They are then a set of songs. If he starts one you can be sure the others will follow. They are connected. They are his songs." The songs may be learned at different times and in different places, and then put together in certain order by the singer, or a set may be made up of four versions or four repetitions of the same song; examples of each are included in the present study. A partial explanation for this difference in rendition seems to be indicated by historical evidence. It has been reported that fifteen years ago very few Washo sang at all, for most of the old songs were forgotten and no new ones had been learned. Ben Lancaster, the original proselytizer, had learned a few songs in Oklahoma and from the Gosiute, and these he taught to his members. At the same time he encouraged people to sing any songs they knew at the meetings—gospel songs, traditional Washo songs, popular American songs (cowboy, hillbilly), or songs of other tribes that they might have learned (Stewart 1944). Apparently because most individuals knew only a song or two at most, it became the custom to repeat the same song four times in the cycle rather than to sing four different songs.

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668 533 578 178 554 Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs amd arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

668 533 177 There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

668 533 176 The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

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creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

> When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

> I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

> I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine—a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing"—and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

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He was *in* that song and it made a connection—took him down the road. You can tell he liked the gourd and drum, too. They really keep him going."

4. "He has that real Indian sound in his voice—like the old-time Indians."

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There is little real response to questions dealing, for example, with the difference between good and bad songs; it is evident that "good" and "bad" take the musician immediately to the texts rather than to music analysis—"No, it all depends on the wording, but we don't know the wording of the other tribes' language so we have to trust that it is a good song"; "Just the sound might sound better in some song, but it don't mean any better as long as the man singing is a good man. There are no bad songs unless a man is thinking bad."

It seems clear that a song is judged not so much for or by itself as it is in terms of a total situation. No informant speaks of technique or structure; any special effect of technical finesse is seen as a whole, that is, as a total reaction of the commentator to the personality, association, and potency of the performer as well as to his equipment—the perfection of his rattle, and whether he was in good voice. Songs are not things in themselves but are vehicles through which religious emotions and concepts are expressed. They are something that has to be dreamed, heard in the mind's ear, performed; and the concept of "song" abstracted from "performance" is not present. The singer himself is caught in the totality of the performance; it is a religious and emotional experience for him—he may "take a trip when he sings," and he never just "sings a song." "When I'm singing," said Z, "I'm praying in the Tipi and going on the journey over that road."

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III

Vocal style

McAllester (1949:65–6) has noted a special Peyote vocal technique which corresponds best to Herzog's Type B. "In general the Peyote songs are sung in a rather simple vocal style. There is usually somewhat greater tension on the vocal chords than is used by Europeans, there is somewhat greater use of accents and grace notes, and there are occasional pulsations on certain notes, particularly if they are quarter notes or longer. But the high degree of tension, the quavers, breaks, shakes and shouts of Type A American Indian singing are, often, much reduced or quite absent" (p. 65). These conclusions fit the Washo Peyote vocal style almost perfectly.

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There is, however, one special vocal effect called a "shaking sound"; the ability to produce it is considered to be the mark of an excellent singer. At the same time, according to one informant, "That shaking sound you hear sometimes in the Tipi is the medicine working, not just the man does that; the medicine and good thoughts do that." The sound referred to is a particularly vibrant quality to the voice which gives the impression that many voices are singing at once in a slightly disharmonic, vibrating manner. Within the tipi the effect is quite dramatic; the tipi seems to be shuddering and at moments the tent poles appear to be shaking against a strong wind. Singing of this sort is

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553 usually thought of as the high point of the meeting when it occurs, and it elicits a stir of excitement; the men discuss the technique and point to their throats to indicate where and how the singer must be making the sound. A common phrase heard in this connection is that "he made the tent poles wobble," and "he made a connection there."

The exact nature of the shaking sound is not known to the authors; it seems to be a combination of effects—first, a special "ventriloquistic" effect common in American Indian singing and in contrast to the normal Washo Peyote vocal technique; and second, a reverberation sound echo set up in the tipi or cabin due to a combination of singing, drumming, and rattling operating in a certain acoustic situation. It may also be induced by a high-pitched whining or humming on the part of others in the room; this is formalized and given the name "helping the singer along." In any case, the effect is real to the degree that it is heard distinctly in recordings; it has an apparent religious significance in that it indicates the "medicine is working."

Song texts

Song texts are made up almost exclusively of meaningless syllables with a very few words in English providing the only exception. Some apparently typical syllabic configurations may be noted as: *yo wa no hay nay; / no wa nay o na.* In some cases syllables beginning with k, w, and l are used, but these are relatively infrequent.

[171] Nettl (1953:161) has noted that in the Peyote songs of the Arapaho there is a definite repetition of syllables when melodic rhythms are repeated; that is, not only when the same line is repeated but when the line is varied in the same rhythm. This is also characteristic of the Washo songs. Nettl further reports the existence of "an almost universal . . . closing formula . . . which is sung on four long notes, or three long and one short note on the tonic" (1953:162). To a certain degree, this pattern is found in the Washo songs, but it is by no means "almost universal"; twelve of the 21 songs show the characteristic clearly, the remaining nine either vaguely or not at all.

Finally, Nettl notes that in closing, "the vowels of the first and second syllables are identical; they are usually higher than, or identical with, the fourth vowel. The first, second, and fourth vowels are front vowels, the third is a back vowel" (ibid: 162). Again, this is a pattern found frequently though not exclusively in the Washo songs. The most frequent closing pattern in those songs in which four final tones are used is *hay nay yo wa*, found in seven songs. In four other songs, the closing pattern is *hay nay yo way*, an obvious corollary. These patterns correspond closely to those reported by Nettl (1953:162) and McAllester (1949:68). Some other patterns include *hay yo wa nay; / hay ya no; / hay no hay ya ha; / hi ya ya no.*

The Washo themselves, of course, note that the syllables are meaningless and they speak of them as "words of another tribe's language"; at the same time, they admit that they sometimes make up their own meaningless words. One informant said that he would use Washo words except that "serious words in Washo are too long and don't fit the time of the songs." Another reported

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that some sounds have a "happy sound," others a "sad and serious sound," but he was unable to give examples of what was meant.

It is worthwhile to cite the words of two other informants in this connection. Informant X noted:

> The Shoshone and Paiute use their own words. The Washo language is too slow . . . and words that have the right meaning are too long. The only meaning is in the other language, but I don't know the meaning. I only know my own feelings. We just sing the songs as a tune.

Informant Y reported:

> The words got a meaning, but not like ordinary words. We sing different songs for different times. We start out with certain songs before midnight and other songs later. . . . That's the way I was told about them. Each song represents some things . . . like a sick person sings to feel good. The words mean something in another Indian language. Sometimes we put Washo words in. It is pretty good to put your own words in; then you know what you are saying. But I follow the song just as I learned it, because the Washo didn't have that way of worshipping.

The English words, "Jesus only one," appear in three songs. It is not unusual to find English words and phrases appearing in American Indian songs, but they are not usually of this particular context. In connection with the song, the singer noted that the words were "a necessary part of the song. They are always sung with it," while another informant reported that the English words are put in the songs "for the benefit of people who don't speak the language of the song. That's so they can understand something."

In general, the Washo texts seem to conform to the overall Peyote style.

Instrumental accompaniment

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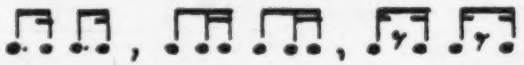
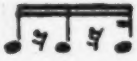
All songs are accompanied by the rattle shaken by the singer, and the drum played by a second musician. There is no other instrumental or vocal accompaniment.

The rhythmic patterns used by the drummer are almost totally unvaried—the standard beat is a steady evenly-spaced series of eighth notes. The rattle, on the other hand, is played in a considerable variety of patterns ranging from a simple succession of quarter or eighth notes to such configurations as:



Of special note is a pattern in which the rattle player establishes a beat which can only be classified as "hot":



while the "hot" beat is admittedly a somewhat vague concept from the analytical standpoint, it is readily apparent to the ear and distinctly present in several of the Washo songs. This is the only instance of a hot beat in American Indian music known to the present authors.

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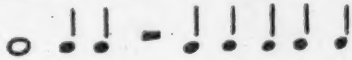
There is no suggestion of polymeter in the songs, even in such usage as melodic triplets on a duple rhythmic base.

It is difficult to establish clearly the relationship, if any, between melodic and drum pitches. In songs in which the subjective tonic and duration tones (see below, p. 638) are identical, drum pitch is the same in but one case. In three songs, the drum pitch is two semitones above the ST-DT; in six songs it falls on the sixth degree of scale, in one case on the fourth degree, and in one case on the third degree. These relationships do not seem to indicate a clear tuning of drum in order that melodic pitch may be taken from it. At the same time, it is fairly noticeable that when drum pitch changes within a song cycle, the subjective tonic seems also to change; when drum pitch remains stable, subjective tonic tends to remain stable. It should be pointed out that the drummer changes pitch before the singer—that is, between songs—and thus it seems unlikely that it is he who alters his drum pitch to conform to the pitch chosen by the singer. At the same time, Washo singers say that "the drummer is supposed to tune to the singer and follow the rhythm of the gourd," or "the drummer has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch." No distinct relationship can be established here; it seems, however, that drum pitch is probably used by the singer, either consciously or unconsciously, as a guide.

Instrumental and vocal introductions and closings

In discussing instrumental introductions and closings, it is perhaps wisest to follow through a single cycle of four songs. Cycle I is begun with 72 beats of drum and rattle alone, and the first song terminated by a drum tremolo which decrescendos from *forte* to *piano* and which is followed by a single eighth note tap. The tempo is then resumed almost immediately on the drum, the rattle rejoins it, volume is increased to *forte*, and 52 beats mark what seems to be the introduction to the second song. Song 2 again closes with a drum tremolo alone, the same decrescendo, followed by the resumption of tempo, the rejoining of the rattle, and crescendo, for 48 beats to the third song. Song 3 is not closed by a tremolo; rather, there is a brief space of two beats of silence, after which drum and rattle resume at tempo for 96 beats. The final song ends with a drum tremolo. In general, this is the pattern for all songs, with some slight variations such as the substitution of a rattle for the drum tremolo, changes in length of percussion material between songs, and other minor points. It should be pointed out that there is but one clear break between songs in any cycle; this occurs between songs 2 and 3 in Cycle III and is probably traceable to nervousness on the part of the performers.

There are four instances of vocal introductions in the 21 songs; in song II,1, typical of the group, the singer uses a succession of tones on the tonic:



This introductory material, if it can be called such, is separated from the true

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beginning of the song by seven beats' rest. In song II,3, the same kind of pattern is separated by ten beats; in songs IV,1 and 3 by sixteen and three beats respectively. The pattern occurs only in the songs of one individual who, when queried on the matter, reported: "it is not a real part of the song; it's only warming up and getting the tune before you start. That's to remember the tune and get in line with the drum." Such introductions, then, cannot be considered typical of the group of songs; they appear instead to be a personal idiosyncracy of the singer.

Tonal range

The tonal ranges of the 21 Washo Peyote songs are divided sharply into two distinct groups, one of exceptionally wide range and the other of medium distribution. In the former group are ten songs, five with a range of 19 semitones, three with a range of 17 semitones, and one each with a range of 18 and 23 semitones; these are exceptionally wide ranges. The second group of eleven songs shows a scattering of range—three songs have ranges of 7 semitones, two songs of 9 and two of 12 semitones, and one song each with a range of 13, 11, 10, and 8 semitones. The two groupings are distributed, then, about centers of 19 and 10 semitones respectively. There appears to be no correlation to singer (the same singer uses wide and narrow ranges in different songs); to the supposed or real place of origin of the songs (some songs learned from the Bannock have wide ranges, and some narrow); to variation or repetition, which will be discussed below; or to any other observable cause. Thus the sharp double grouping appears perhaps to be simply a statistical anomaly which would be erased with consideration of a wider sampling, but until such a sampling is obtained, no definite conclusion can be reached here.

Melodic direction and contour

The general contour of the melodic lines of the Washo songs is indicated clearly by the relationships among the beginning (B), ending (E), highest (H), and lowest (L) tones. Thus a clear downward direction is demonstrated by the fact that the ending tone is never higher than, or equal to the beginning tone in pitch; the smallest distance between B and E is seven semitones. Further, the distance from B to E, with but five exceptions, is also the total tonal range. In nine songs the ending tone is seven semitones below the beginning tone; in three songs, it is 17 semitones below; in six songs, 19 semitones, and in one song each, 12, 13, or 15 semitones below.

This strong downward direction is further emphasized by the relationships between B-H and E-L. In the former case, with but five exceptions the beginning tone is equal to the highest tone; in two songs the highest tone is one semitone above B, in one song each two, three, or four semitones. Similarly, the ending and lowest tones are identical in all but five of the songs; the exceptions show the lowest tone two semitones below E in two songs, and three semitones below in three songs.

Since in most cases B is identical with H, and E is identical with L, there

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668 533 is no advantage in exploring the relationships B-L and E-H. Almost without exception, the songs show a clear downward melodic direction—in this respect, they are remarkably homogeneous.

There is, of course, some variation within this general contour. Taking the definition of the term "phrase" in its broadest sense, the melodic type seems to correspond reasonably well to what has been termed the "collapsing" mode of descent. In its simplest form, "the line is likely to descend in a series of smooth curves, most of which reach the tonic at the latter end and increasingly so as the song progresses" (McAllester 1949:71–2). In the Washo songs, while the initial introduction of the phrase is high and moves downward, it is not necessarily unbroken nor does it always become successively compressed toward the end of the song. Furthermore, in some cases the descent pattern is greatly elongated into an elaborate drop which, although collapsing in one sense, is not sharply or necessarily directly so.

At the same time, the subjective tonic is quite definitely reached very early in the song in the majority of cases; in twelve songs it is reached by the end of the first phrase, in seven songs by the end of the second phrase, and in one song not until the end of the fifth phrase. In one song, the phrase begins on the subjective tonic.

Flattening is the phenomenon whereby "as the final phrase approaches, the melody characteristically loses contour until it is perfectly flat on the tonic" (McAllester 1949:75). Again, this is basically characteristic of the Washo songs but does not seem to be marked as a total pattern. While the ends of songs are generally flat, they are not especially extended in relationship to earlier finals in the phrasing, and in some cases are shorter.

Melodic meter, note values, and ornamental devices

The melodic meter of the songs is rather widely varied both in the group at large and within specific songs; the exception is provided by six songs in which an unbroken 4/4 time division can logically be made. The remaining songs, however, cannot be written in any single meter and depend, rather, on the unit of the phrase for their division. Thus combinations of meters appear in a single song; for example, in song II,1: 4/4, 5/4 and 6/4 divisions are made; in an extreme case, IV,2: 7/4, 10/4, 6/4, 9/4 and 4/4 appear. Melodic meter, then, is not usually steady throughout the song, but is broken into irregular phrasing.

Note values in the melodic line are almost exclusively quarters and eighths, with a few dotted eighths also appearing. Syncopation is almost never used.

Ornamental devices include the rather consistent use of a strong falling release in which the singer allows his voice to drop downward from a tone; this device appears in thirteen of the twenty-one songs. Rising attack is used in eleven songs; in this case the singer begins his tone below its proper pitch and slides up to it. In one song a falling attack is used; this is a most unusual configuration and is possibly accidental in this single case. Portamento in the form of sliding from tone to tone appears in eighteen of the songs.

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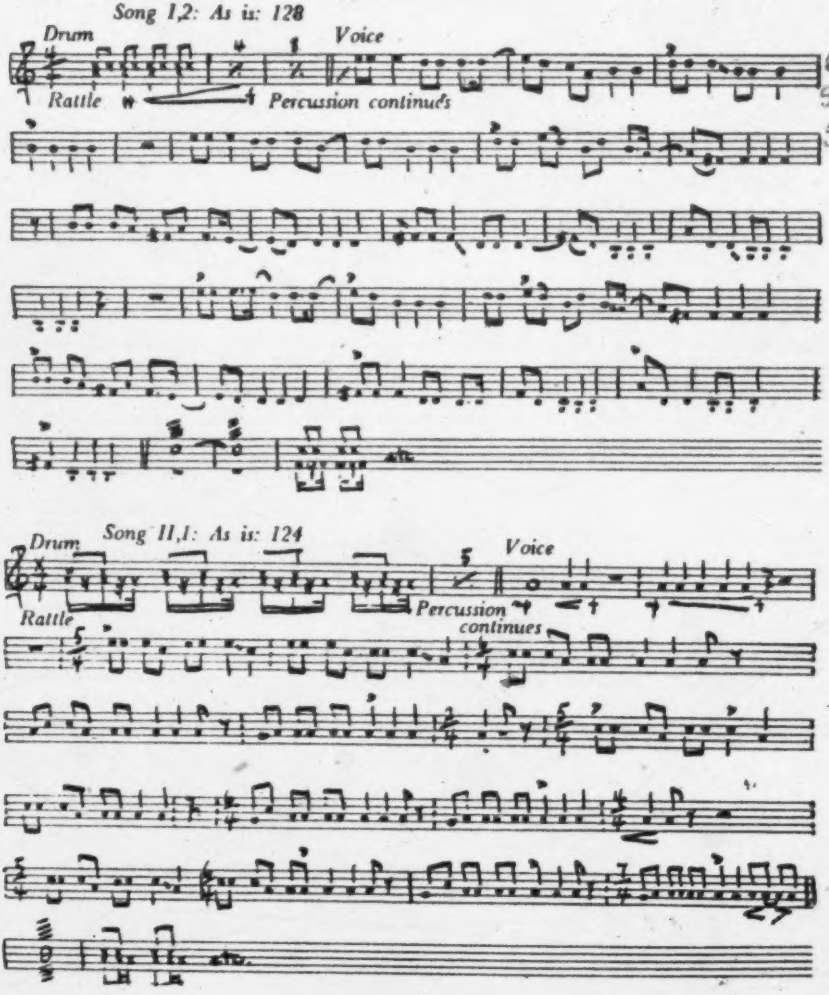
In addition, the dip or "double portamento," in which a pitch is established, allowed to slide downward for variable distance, and then returned to its original frequency, is found in three songs. The bend, a less marked version of the dip, appears in one song. No auxiliary tones are used as such.

Some use of dynamics is evident in both instrumental and vocal lines; the former is discussed elsewhere in this paper. Strong dynamics on the part of the singer are found in two songs; in II,3, a closing *sforzando* on the final tone; in song II,2, a definite decrescendo in a long falling phrase which is repeated in subsequent renditions. While strong dynamic ranges are not characteristic

[text continues on p. 634]



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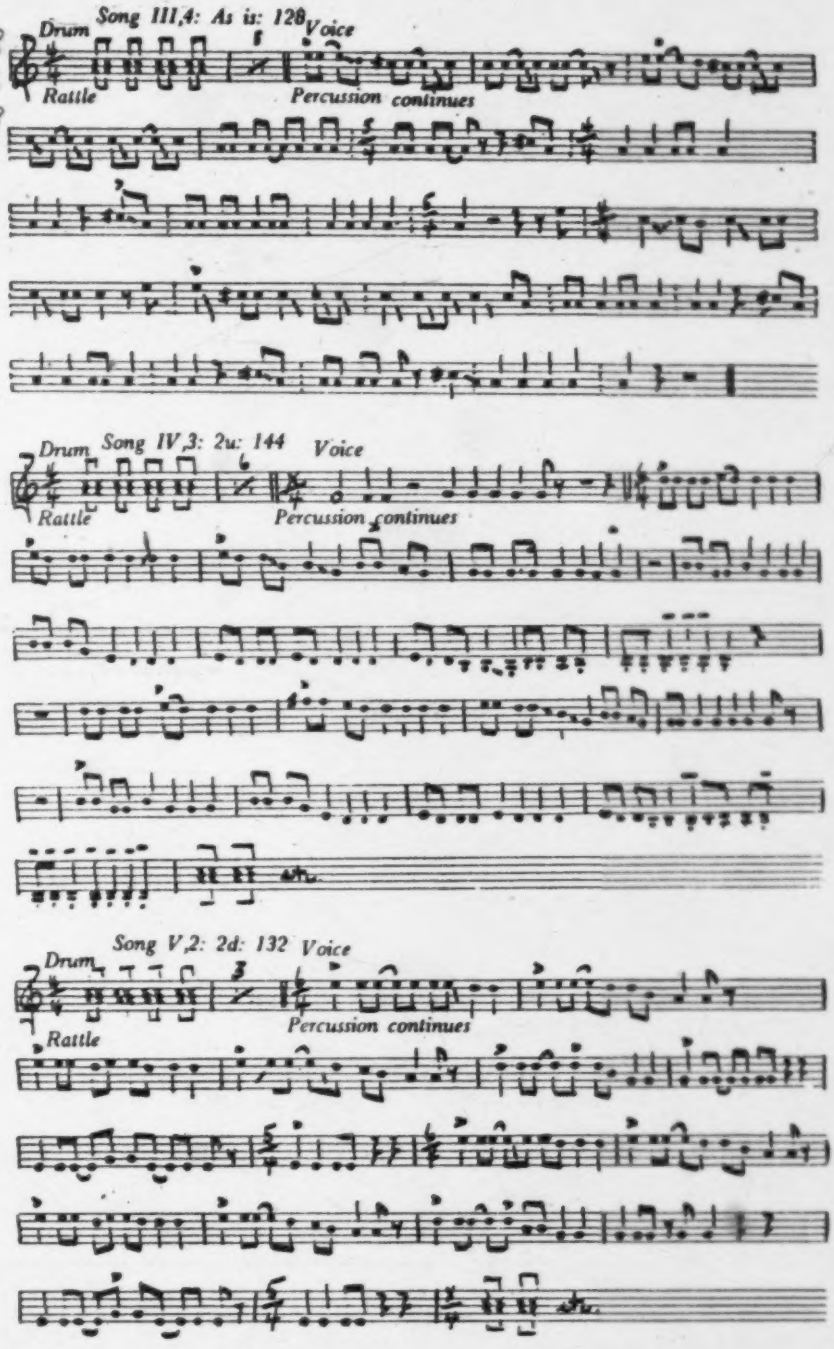

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of the Washo songs, they are used for special effect and emphasized by the use of heavy accent which helps structure the melodic phrases. 668* 533*

Melodic intervals

Of a total of 336 ascending intervals, the major second, used most frequently, accounts for 44.3 percent, the minor third for 24 percent, the major third for 12.8 percent, the perfect fourth for 11 percent, the minor second and perfect fifth for 3.8 percent each. Of a total of 715 descending intervals, the major second accounts for 48.1 percent, the minor third 31.6 percent, the major third 10.8 percent, the perfect fourth 5.4 percent, minor second 3.7 percent, and perfect fifth .3 percent.

Thus of a total of 1051 ascending and descending intervals, the major second is most frequently used, 46.9 percent, followed by the minor third 29.2 percent, the major third 11.4 percent, the perfect fourth 7.2 percent, the minor second 3.8 percent, and the perfect fifth 1.4 percent.

This indicates a very high percentage of major seconds, which is a characteristic pattern for the Plains Indian area. It should also be noted that only five kinds of intervals are used and that none is wider than a perfect fifth, a very limited usage. Further, exactly the same kinds of intervals are used both ascending and descending, and in the same proportion. In general, a relatively conservative use of intervals seems to be indicated.

Sixty-eight percent of the total intervals used are descending, and 32 percent ascending, a marked differentiation which is again characteristic of Plains style. 79.9 percent of the intervals are narrow, that is, a minor third or less; 11.4 percent are medium, that is, a major third; and 8.7 percent are wide, that is, more than a major third. These proportions are striking in the heavy use of narrow intervals as opposed to wide.

Eight of the 21 songs use no wide intervals whatever. Three songs use only two types of intervals ascending, and one song uses but one ascending interval, a major second. On the other hand, song I,4, uses all intervals, both ascending and descending, with the exception of the minor second in both cases.

Melodic interval patterns

Usage of patterns of intervals wider than seconds is quite restricted in the Washo songs. Triadic split fifths (for example, CEG consecutively in the melodic line) appear in six songs, mf and Mf. Pendular thirds (for example, CECE) also appear in six songs, patterns including mfrf, Mfrf, mfrfrfr, and mfrfrfrf. Pendular fourths, a relatively unusual formation, are found in five songs, rf, fr, frf, frfrf, and frfrfr. And finally, pendular fifths, rf, appear in one song.

No single song, however, seems to be dominated by patterns of this kind, not even song II,5, for example, which uses three pendular fourth patterns and two pendular third patterns. This lack of emphasis again seems to reflect the predominance of use of major seconds as well as the contour of the melodic line in which the movement, steadily downward, does not allow for alternation

* [footnotes appear on p. 640 -- Analyst]

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and elaboration. The patterns which are found are few in number and slight in importance; other patterns such as interlocked intervals, which appear frequently in, for example, many African songs, are not used at all in the Washo Peyote songs.

The repetitive monotone—four or more successive tones sung on the same pitch—appears in almost every song as a characteristic phrase and especially as a song ending. It is not important in other respects.

Formal structure

The phenomenon of paired phrases in its strictest sense does not seem characteristic of the Washo Peyote songs. However, as internal pairing it appears in ten of the twenty-one songs; it is strong in six of these. The variation ranges from a very weak usage in II,1—as Aab Bcd Ce Bcc′ Cfe—to a strong usage, as in song III,4—Aaa Bbb′b″ Aa′a′ Bbb′b″.

There are three major types of formal structure used in the Washo songs. Taking them in an order most convenient for discussion, Type III is least important, consisting simply of two songs, II,3, and III,3, which are irregular in pattern. The former shows a structure of Aab Bcd C Bcd Def E; in this case, the only repetition is phrase Bcd which appears twice. The formal structure for song III,3, begins with Aab Bcd Cef, of which the first two phrases are then repeated, followed by new melodic material Dghii′h. Another unique melodic section follows—Ejk—succeeded by further repeat which is not fully realized. The total structure, then, is: Aab Bcd Cef Aa′b′ Bcd Dghii′h Ejk Aab′ Bcd Dghjk.

The Type I structure, repesented by five songs, is, in its "purest" form, a straight ABC pattern which may or may not be repeated. The simplest form is found in song V,2—Aaa B C Aaa B C—and the most complex in song IV,3—Aaa′ Bbc Cdef Dgh Aaa′ Bbc Cdef Dgh. A variation of this form, which may be designated Type Ia, appears in song IV,1, in which the ABC pattern is still basic but the order is varied. Thus X (an introductory phrase which never reappears) Aab Bcd Cef Bccd Aab Bd Cef Bcd, or A B C B A B C B with slight variation. A second divergence from the same basic type may be designated Type Ib; this is represented by two songs, and is perhaps the most esoteric type found. Again, the structure is essentially ABC, but in repetition the initial part of the phrase is condensed. Thus V,3 is first presented as Aaa B C; on repetition, however, some melodic material is dropped so that the phrase becomes A‡aa B C. This usage is identical in the two songs in which the pattern is found.

Most frequently used in the Washo Peyote songs is the formal structure Type II, which is clearly exemplified in nine songs and varied in two others. The form is also noted among Menomini Peyote songs (McAllester 1952: 682). In this particular type, melodic material stated in the first phrase of a song is not repeated, although subsequent material is. Thus, in simplest form (II,2) it may appear as A B C D B C D, with A never reappearing but B C D repeated. A more complex example (III,1) appears as: Aaa′ Bbb C′cc′ Bcc

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C'ccc', and the most complex (I,4) is: Aab Bcd Cef D E F G H Cef D E F G H. It is at least conceivable that a type of "paired" phrase is indicated here, with the pairing occurring in terms of combinations or groups of phrases; however, this seems to be too far from the original conception to allow reasonable use of the term. Finally, two variations of this form are found, the first (II,4) stated: Aaa' Bbb Ccd Bb'bb" Ccd, the variation to be noted in the addition of an extra subphrase, b. The second variation (II,5) is more distinct: Aa Bb C' D Bb' C D Aa' Bb" C D; in this case, almost a hybrid between Types I and II is formed.

It is of considerable interest in this connection to note the problem of what constitutes variation in the Washo songs. The Washo themselves distinguish three forms in listening to playbacks of their own recordings; these can be designated as follows: (A) a song is sung but once; (B) a song is sung and repeated; (C) a song is sung and is then varied. These seem to represent fairly clear-cut categories, but cursory inspection shows the formal structural analysis undertaken above simply does not coincide with Washo opinion. Thus, in the first cycle, the formal structures are, in order, Types Ib, II, II, II; the singers analyze all four songs as having been sung once, or their Form A. The problem becomes more difficult when it is noted that several songs which are Type II in structure are considered by the singers to be Form B, that is, an exposition and a repetition. Again, of the songs considered by the singers to be varied, that is, Form C, one is Type Ia and the other Type I in structure, both of which are almost straight repetitions. Further, another song considered by the singers as Form C with three variations falls clearly into Type II. It should be noted here that the singers, in studying their performances, were considering the total rendition in differentiating among variation, repetition, and a single singing.

Without laboring the point further, it is clear that while the principles upon which such differentiation is made may be clear to the Washo, they must be based upon something other than structure as it is conceived in Western music analysis. While these principles are not known to the present authors, some possibilities and also some contradictions may be discerned from comments made by the singers. Thus informant Y distinguished between a song that is repeated and one that is sung through only once by indicating that all Peyote songs begin on a high line and slowly descend to the end of the song. If the song is then being repeated, it returns to the highest beginning note; the same informant reports that if a song is "repeated" on a lower register, it is "part of the same song." At another time, this informant reported that one of his songs with a Type Ib formal structure was sung through only once: although it might sound as though it has been repeated once, "that's because the same tune is sung high and then low." Again, informant Y pointed out that "you can tell when a song is finished when the singer reaches that real heavy low voice. If he is going to repeat the song he starts up high again. If there is no pause this makes it all part of the same song." The point to be

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made, obviously of considerable importance in discovering the meaning of "variation" and "repetition" so far as the Washo are concerned, is that the informant was indicating that the melodic line, repeated in two registers, is the form of a complete single song and not two variations of the same song.

That there is some formulation of the principles involved is made clear from the comment of X, who, in hearing his version of a song, noted somewhat lamely that only one variation had been sung—"maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder. It ought to be sung twice (two variations)." Again, X noted that time is an important factor in making a song sound correct, and that a song has to be repeated or varied for a certain number of times over the "right" period of time to make it complete. It also seems fairly certain that aspects of song texts have some bearing on the problem—"it isn't the same song; the words are all different." "It is almost the same song as the second one . . . but it has a little different words."

It is finally of interest to report that comments of two singers on the songs of a third tend only to cloud the issue further. For the four songs of Cycle I considered, the following shows, in order, the type indicated by Western structural analysis, the form declared by informant Y, the form indicated by informant X: Song 1: Type II; Form B (repeated twice); Form B (repeated one and a half times); Song 2: Type I; Form C (two variations); Form B (repeated twice); Song 3: Type Ib; Form B (repeated twice); Form B (sung through one and a half times); Song 4: Type II; Form B (repeated six times); Form B (" he sings it one and a half times"). Further inquiry among other Peyotists and Peyote singers yielded the same confusing results; agreement on what constitutes repetition and/or variation is quite rare. This may perhaps indicate only the short period of time that the Washo have had Peyote songs; on the other hand, since the terms are at least verbalized, this may be a period in which such concepts with respect to music are only just emerging. Comparison of the Peyote with "ordinary" Washo songs could conceivably shed some light upon this problem.

The shortest phrase length is found in song I,4; it is four beats in duration. The longest phrase, 32 beats, is found in song I,1. The average length seems to center about approximately 14 beats. Phrases of odd numbers of beats are common, appearing in thirteen of 21 songs; such beat lengths as 9, 11, 17, and up to 29 are present, the most common—appearing in ten songs—being 13 beats.

Two songs (IV,1, and III,4) are constructed in what has been called the "broken triad" form, that is, exclusively on the three tones of a major triad. McAllester (1949:71) points out that 15 of his 84 examples are based on this type (17 percent plus) which, he says, is a higher percentage than normal. In the present case, two of 21 songs (9 percent plus) use the structure, and thus its significance remains to be determined. On the face of it, it would seem that this is a Comanche Peyote concentration, as posited by McAllester, rather than a Peyote concentration at large.

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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Scale, mode, duration tone, and subjective tonic

Confining discussion to the number of tones actually utilized within the octave, the majority of scales of the Washo songs is pentatonic; there are twelve such songs. Six songs are tetratonic; two are the relatively rare tritonic, and one is hexatonic. Modally, six songs are penta do, five penta la, and one penta sol; three are tetra la, one each tetra sol, tetra mi, and tetra re-mi; the duration tone of the tri types is do in both cases; the hexatonic is hexa sol. These are all quite normal types.

The subjective tonic and duration tones[2] are identical in 16 of the 21 songs, indicating again the normality of the modal structures. Further, the duration tone is found on the fifth of the subjective tonic scale in four of the remaining songs, indicating a tonic-dominant relationship, and on the sixth degree in the fifth, indicating a probable major-minor confusion on the part of the transcriber.

Tonality seems to be fairly well defined, although sometimes slightly confusing; there are no modulations.

Tempo

The range of tempi for the Washo songs is not especially wide, varying from 116 to 148 beats per minute, based on the quarter note; in addition, there is one drum tempo of 160 beats, which seems to be abnormal for the series. The average tempo may be placed in the range from 136–40.

The problem of tempo, however, is complicated by the fact that the tempi of voice, drum, and rattle are frequently dissimilar; the extreme example is song I,1, in which the melodic tempo is 120, that of the drum 160, and that of the rattle 148. In twelve of the songs, the vocal and rattle tempi are identical, but different from that of the drum—the largest disparity is 28 beats, the smallest 8. In eight songs the tempi of all three parts are equal.

The widest range of tempi noted above—116 to 148 beats per minute—is found in the drum. Vocal tempi range from 120–44, rattle tempi from 124–48.

McAllester (1949:76–8) has noted that Peyote songs are "prevailingly *faster* than most Indian music," in pointing out that the range of songs he studied was from 92 to 164 beats per minute. This contention seems to be borne out substantially by the present findings.

The Cycles

Since the songs are sung in sets or cycles, their relationship to one another within the cycle is of interest here. This relationship is quite close in one of the cycles, relatively distant in the others; there seems to be no basis for assuming a structural musical relationship.

Cycle I is rather remarkably homogeneous. Its meter is an unvarying 4/4 throughout the four songs; the tonal ranges are almost identical (17, 17, 19, 19); patterns of melodic direction show practically the same degrees of movement in the same directions; with the exception of song 1, phrases are very similar (Types Ia, II, II, II); the subjective tonic and duration tone are

2 [footnotes appear on p. 640 -- Analyst]

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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identical in three of the four songs; the distribution of interval usage is very similar; the modal structures are almost identical (3 penta do and 1 penta la). Whether by accident or design, the four songs in Cycle I are markedly homogeneous.

Cycle IV, as an example, shows considerable diversity in musical material. Metric changes are apparent not only within songs but between them; tonal range varies from 7 to 23 semitones; melodic direction patterns are fairly similar; phrase patterns are varied (Types II, I, I, II); subjective tonic and duration tone are identical in three of the four songs; distribution of interval usage is quite varied; the modal structures are by no means identical (tri, tetra, penta, penta).

It remains to be pointed out that Cycle V is considered by the singer to consist of four variations or repetitions of the same song; to the ear, the similarities among the versions is clear. In analysis, however, some differences are noted: meter varies; tonal range is fairly close, as is melodic direction; phrase patterns vary markedly; subjective tonic and duration tone are equal in two of four songs; interval usage is very similar throughout the cycle with no wide intervals used at all; modal structures are varied (penta, tetra, tetra, hexa).

The conclusion to be drawn is simply that the ethnographic evidence in the matter of choice of songs for a cycle is borne out by the musical evidence —the choice may clearly be cohesive or not cohesive musically, and the basis for choice seems to rest on considerations other than musical sound.

IV

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Comparison

A comparison of the songs under discussion here with the Washo songs analyzed by McAllester (1949:54–6) is slightly disturbing in the fairly consistent differences which appear between the two. Thus, McAllester speaks of uncomplicated structure, moderate tempo (106–36), simplicity of melodic line, short length, normalcy of five, six, or seven repetitions, no rhythmic changes at the ends of the songs, range almost never more than an octave and often as little as a fourth or fifth, most songs in the simple ABC pattern, and uniform phrase lengths; each of these is in almost direct contradistinction to the songs analyzed here. Some similarities are present, however, including the facts of no introductory formulae, time values of individual notes almost wholly restricted to eighth and quarter notes, general contour of melodic line, the division of each phrase into two sections, textual material consisting almost entirely of vocables, the sameness of these vocables, the use of something like *heya wana yo wana* in almost all songs, and the singing of one syllable to the note. So far as the present authors are concerned, the question of why these differences occur remains a problem for future research.

In comparison with the general characteristics of Peyote style summarized by McAllester (1949:80–2), there is considerably more agreement, and the Washo songs for the most part seem clearly to fall within the general pattern.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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1) In manner of singing, the Peyote style is lacking in the tenseness frequently noted as characteristic of American Indian singing in general. The Washo songs conform to the Peyote style in this respect.

2) Peyote songs are usually sung at a brisk tempo averaging approximately 130–140 beats per minute; moreover, this tempo is maintained throughout the song with little variation. The Washo songs conform to the Peyote style.

3) The characteristics of drum and rattle accompaniment noted by McAllester cannot always be applied to the Washo Peyote songs. Thus it is not true in the Washo songs that "these instruments are played at the same speed as the vocal part of the song," and that "it is clear that the intention is for [the voice and instruments] to be at least approximately together. . . ." In these respects, the Washo songs do not concur with McAllester's Peyote style.

4) Note values in the Peyote style are restricted almost exclusively to the quarter and eighth note; the Washo songs show this characteristic.

5) In structure, there are again some differences. In the following Peyote characteristics, the Washo songs do not conform: vocal introductions present, a tendency toward restricted range, and long flattened coda-like section at the end of the song. In the following respects, the Washo songs do conform: phrase patterns of Plains type; and an incidence of a type of paired phrases.

6) The cumulative use of the tonic in finals is partially apparent in the Washo songs.

7) There is considerable textual consistency in the Washo songs, including the use of variations of what seems to be the standard Peyote phrase, *he ne ne ye ne*.

In four of seven characteristics, then, the Washo songs are close to the general Peyote style indicated by McAllester. In the remaining three characteristics there are some marked differences, such as in structure, and some partial similarities, such as the cumulative use of the tonic in finals. It seems clear that the Washo songs are basically in the Peyote style with some individual idiosyncracies apparent.

NOTE ON THE TRANSCRIPTIONS

The songs notated are representative of the various cycles; each is headed with pertinent information in abbreviated form. Thus the legend for the fourth song, "Song IV,1: 2u: 144," indicates that the song is the third in the fourth cycle, that the original pitch was 2 semitones higher (2d would indicate the original pitch to be 2 semitones lower, in each case without regard for octave), and that the tempo of the vocal line is 144 beats per minute. The basis for the tempo figure is the quarter note; the songs are notated in that key in which the majority of notes falls within the limits of the regular staff liners. Special signs used are those standard in ethnomusicology.

NOTES

[1] Abbreviations used: M—major; m—minor; dim—diminished; r—rising, f—falling. Further explanations of the various interval patterns may be found in Kolinski 1936:498–501.

[2] Duration tone refers to that tone which is most heavily weighted throughout the song as defined by actual duration count. The subjective tonic designates the subjective criterion of a key feeling, or tonality, as observed by Western musicians in respect to Western musical traditions.

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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[For generalized information on the Washo-Peyote cult, see entire source, category 116, pp. 615-640.]

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[For information on Washo-Peyote music and song structure, see category 116, pp. 617-640.]

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UNIVERSITY OF UTAH
Department of Anthropology

ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

NUMBER 67 AUGUST, 1963

The Washo Indians of California and Nevada

Compiled and Edited by WARREN L. d'AZEVEDO

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CAROL C. STOUT, *Associate Editor*

UNIVERSITY OF UTAH PRESS
SALT LAKE CITY

Title Page

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL PAPERS

Department of Anthropology
University of Utah

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PREFACE

With the inception of the Ethnological Group Building Program in 1910, of the Milwaukee Public Museum, plans were made to represent in this graphic form each of the great culture areas of North America. One of these was that of the "Great Basin," that vast semi-desert, plateau lying between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountain Range. 121

The Paviotso branch of the Paiute were chosen as typical representatives of this cultural group. Work was concentrated in the western portion of this area where at that time (1915) there was surviving a better representation of that culture than could be found elsewhere.

Publications were in those days much fewer than we have now. There were, in fact, only a few trained workers in the anthropological field. Consequently, to get reliable data and information in sufficiently detailed form to permit accurate reproduction of a culture in group form, it was necessary that one go into the field and make his own personal observations, sketches and photographs. This required a thorough canvass of the culture area involved, which took months. At the end of this period, when the ethnographer had in hand all possible information needed to reconstruct the old life in the area, the chief artist was sent for. The two, together, spent a final month in the field building a scale model of the life-sized group -- also of any special dioramas or other exhibits needed as auxiliaries -- to be finally built in the Museum.

This rather extensive field procedure often furnished interesting special contacts. In 1915 one of these was my hasty contact with the Washo Indians in the region of Lake Tahoe. [114]

These, it must be remembered, were the days when automobiles were a rarity: the real old "horse and buggy days." Now the whole shore of Lake Tahoe is built up with resorts, hotels, motels and beautiful summer homes. Now you spin along in your car at any rate you please on the perfect highways and freeways. The beautiful surface of the lake itself is cut in every direction by the wakes of many motor boats. In 1915 I could walk mi'es at a stretch without meeting a soul, especially on the south shore, as I followed sketchy directions in trying to find some distant camp of a Washo family. When I finally arrived I would find some patriarch patiently chipping arrowheads or making a bow preparatory to going on a hunt for deer in the adjacent forest. We did not have to listen to tales of the olden times then. We had these "olden" times spread out before us for inspection. One can only regret that we had not more time to see all these things or that there were so few trained ethnologists to observe things.

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We are now most fortunate to have more workers to study the survivals of cultures and to publish the results of their labors. The several papers and analyses here presented are, we hope, only the beginning of more extensive publications on the Washo and on other tribes in this Great Basin area, one of the most interesting regions left in America.

S. A. Barrett
University of California
Berkeley, California
May 18, 1962

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an amateur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

and anticipated Kroeber's formal analysis of Washo in 1907, The Washo Language of East Central California. S. A. Barrett worked among the Miwok, the immediate western neighbors of the Washo, during the first decade of the 1900's. In 1917 he published the first ethnographic monograph on Washo culture, The Washo Indians. About the same time Edward Sapir published two definitive articles, The Status of Washo, and Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. In 1926 Lowie turned his attention briefly from the Shoshone, Ute and Southern Paiute to study the Washo. His Ethnographic Notes on the Washo appeared in 1939. An extensive collection of Washo myths has not yet been published. Grace Dangberg's Washo Texts appeared in 1927, and her field notes gathered over the many years of her residence in Carson Valley are a major ethnographic resource. 113

Though the published materials listed above constitute a valuable accumulation of data about the Washo people and their culture, no part of it represents the result of intensive field work or continuous interest in a particular group in the same sense that many other tribes in California or the Great Basin have been studied. In the 1930's two ethnologists worked for extended periods among the Washo directing special attention to the newly introduced Peyote Cult and to problems of acculturation. Omer Stewart's monograph, Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation, is an important contribution to studies of the diffusion of this cult, and is a classic description of its introduction among the Washo while the investigator was in the field. His culture element lists for Northern Paiute, Washo, and Achomawi were completed about this time and, along with his excellent survey, The Northern Paiute Bands, provide some of the best and most complete data available for the area. Edgar Siskin's dissertation, The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians, has been widely appealed to by recent students of the Washo for its detailed data concerning the last of the Washo shamans and its cogent analysis of the role of the Peyotists in the dramatic period of culture change in the late 1930's. [114]

No further field work or publication was carried out with regard to the Washo until the 1950's. During the past decade, important archeologic investigations have been undertaken in the region by Robert F. Heizer, Albert B. Elsasser, Martin A. Baumhoff, and others. Francis A. Riddell's archeologic and ethnologic work in the Honey Lake region has provided numerous data concerning the relations of the northern Washo and adjacent Paiute bands. During the same period William H. Jacobsen, Jr., gathered extensive linguistic materials toward a new analysis of the Washo language.

The collection of papers in the present volume represents all of the students who have made any ethnologic investigation among the Washo since 1952. Though some of the authors have published elsewhere on the group, 114 128

the materials they have presented in these pages provide a considerable advancement of our knowledge of these Great Basin people and makes this work easily available to the reader. It is hoped that an effort of this kind will stimulate further research in the Great Basin and encourage others to organize and present the results of field work from other sections of the area. 114 128

All of the contributors to this volume, with one exception, share a tradition of having conducted their first field projects among the Washo. We are honored by the preface from Professor Samuel Barrett whose interest in the Washo and other western American Indian groups goes back to the turn of the century, and whose monograph in 1917 was the first major study of this culture by a professional anthropologist. Professor Barrett resides in Berkeley, California, where he is Research Professor and Director of the American Indian Films project organized by him and the late Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California. His recent excursions among the Washo and other Indian communities have provided filmed records of customs and technologies that might soon have been lost to us forever. The resulting motion pictures are considered to be among the finest of their kind. 114

Ruth and Stanley Freed conducted field research among the Washo intermittently from 1952 to 1957. Their interests were directed primarily to social organization and acculturation. Stanley Freed's published dissertation, Changing Washo Kinship, is an important recent contribution to Great Basin studies. He is, at present, Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. Philip Leis, an assistant professor at Brown University, worked among the Washo in the summer of 1954 with particular emphasis on aspects of socialization, life cycle and personality. In the summer of 1955 Freda and Norman Scotch conducted intensive interviewing and testing of 100 Washo informants with a special concern for problems of diet, employment and health. Norman Scotch is a research associate in Anthropology at the Harvard School of Public Health, and Director of the Cross Cultural Disease Survey. John Price's master's thesis, Washo Economy, completed at the University of Utah and based upon field work during the summer of 1961, constitutes the fullest description of Washo economic life undertaken to date. He is now a doctoral candidate and National Science Foundation Fellow at the University of Michigan. James Downs, an assistant professor at the University of Rochester, did his field work among the Washo in the summer of 1959. In addition to the papers offered here, his dissertation, Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho, and a monograph, Washo Religion, are valuable new ethnologic sources. Warren d'Azevedo has worked among the Washo intermittently since 1953 with emphasis upon ethnohistory, social organization and Peyotism. The present volume of papers was compiled by him during the fall of 1961 and the spring of 1962 at the University of Utah, and is an expression of the mutual interest of the authors in a collective presentation of their current writings on the Washo.

The authors wish to acknowledge an indebtedness to a number of persons and institutions who have aided their work. Four of the contributors recall with gratitude the encouragement given to their first field projects by the late professors A. L. Kroeber, E. W. Gifford and R. H. Lowie. The atmosphere of excitement and dedication these men brought to the tasks of basic ethnographic research, and their unflagging interest in the cultures of western North America, were communicated to any student who chose to do field investigation in this region. Robert F. Heizer and Omer C. Stewart have continually made the results of their own extensive studies available, and represent an exemplary tradition of scholarship through their generous sharing of quantities of unpublished data with serious students. We wish also to thank Grace Dangberg and Juanita Schubert who, as permanent residents of Carson Valley in Nevada, have maintained continuing interest in local anthropological problems and have assisted many of those who came to study there. James W. Calhoun, Director, and Richard Shutler, Curator, of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City have made the facilities and collections of this center available to visiting scholars. The consistent cooperation of the staff of the Carson Indian Agency at Stewart, Nevada, has also been an important aid to research.

A special note of appreciation is extended to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. of the University of Washington who has given unstintingly of his time and expert knowledge of the Washo language. His phonemic system has been used by most of the contributors to this volume, and his forthcoming dictionary of the Washo language is eagerly awaited as a much needed reference work. The editor also wishes to acknowledge the aid of the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund which has done much to facilitate the presentation of these collected papers.

Finally, we wish to dedicate this volume to the Washo Tribe of California and Nevada, and to all those individuals who have cooperated with us to make our field work among them a rich and rewarding experience. Such experiences are not easily forgotten and will, for many of us, lay the basis of a lifelong friendship and undiminishing concern for the tenacious Washo people.

Warren L. d'Azevedo
University of Pittsburgh
November, 1962.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1952-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins *older* or *younger* sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is *older* or *younger* than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called *older* or *younger* brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins *older* or *younger* siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

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In the first descending generation, there are separate terms for son, daughter, brother's child, and sister's child. The younger Washo tend to classify brother's children and sister's children under a single term, but this is infrequent and occurs only five times in the group of 70 Washo.

Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. A person calls his father's father dibá·ba? (my father's father) and this relative calls him labá·βa? (my son's child) which can be approximately translated as "the one whose father's father I am." A single term is used for all relatives of the third ascending generation, and another term derived from the same stem for all relatives of the third descending generation.

The Washo do not have separate terms for reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) report none, and we have found none in our interviewing. Jacobsen, in personal communication, also corroborates this.

The Washo have a set of polite teknonymous terms which they use for most affinal relatives. The list given in Table 2 may not be complete, for we did not investigate all of the logical possibilities. For example, two terms are given for sister's husband (my sister's child's father and my older sister's husband) and only one for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother). The possible descriptive terms, older or younger brother's wife, were not given by our informants, but most probably this is because they simply failed to mention them. Despite the fact that Table 2 is incomplete, the essentials of the system of polite affinal terms are adequately presented.

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Table 1

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives[a]

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	digóy?	-góy
2.	mother	dilí?	-lí?
3.	parent	di?málu	-?málu
4.	parent	dityé·Lu	-é·Lu
5.	son	diŋá·m	-ŋá·m
6.	daughter	diŋámu?	-ŋámu?
7.	children	diŋá?miŋ	-ŋá?miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?á·tu	-?á·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?í·sa	-?í·sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	diwítsuk	-wítsug
12.	distant male relative or friend (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend (m. sp.)	di?uliŽáwlam	-Žáwlam

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14.	distant male relative or friend (w. sp.)	di?ulimeté·liwi?	...
15.	distant female relative or friend (w. sp.)	disú·	-sú·

Grandparent and grandchild class

16.	father's father	dibá·ba?	-bá·ba?
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·ba?	-bá·ba?
18.	mother's father	di?élel	-?élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?éleli?	-?élel
20.	father's mother	di?áma?	-?áma?
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la?á?ma?	-?áma?
22.	mother's mother	digú?u	-gú?u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú?yi?	-gú?u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibáka	-báka
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	lebákayi?	-báka
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	disáma?	-sáma?
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	lasá?ma?	-sáma?
28.	father's father's brother	disáksak	-sáksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	lasáksagi?	-sáksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di?é·bu	-?é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?é·pu?	-?é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dité?o	-té?o
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	laté?yi?	-té?o

Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class

34.	relative of third ascending generation	dipísew	-písew
35.	relative of third descending generation	lepísewi	-písew

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Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di?ɛ́wši?	-?ɛ́wši?
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimɛ́?sa	-mɛ́?ša?
38.	mother's brother	didɛ́?a	-dɛ́?a
39.	sister's child	dimɛ́·gu	-mɛ́·gu
40.	father's sister	diyɛ́·?	-yɛ́·?
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	dišémuk	-šémug
42.	mother's sister	dišášaʔ	-šášaʔ
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	lɛ́yuk	-ɛ́yuk
44.	son-in-law	dibuʔɛ́ŋalíʔ	buʔɛ́ŋalíʔ
45.	daughter-in-law	lɛ́yeš	-ɬyeš
46.	child's spouse's parents	lɛ́mɨk	ɛ́mɨg
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwlɛ́·dut	-wAlɛ́·dut
48.	husband's brother	dimeʔɛ́wši?	-meʔɛ́wši?
49.	sister's husband	didɛ́maw	-dɛ́maw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimašášaʔ	-mašášaʔ
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyɛ́ŋil	-yɛ́ŋil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumɛ́·liʔ	bumɛ́·liʔ
53.	husband	diʔmɛ́·š	-ʔmɛ́·š
54.	wife	dimlɛ́·yaʔ	-mlɛ́·yaʔ or -imlɛ́·yaʔ

[a] Source: adapted from Freed, 1960, 356-7.

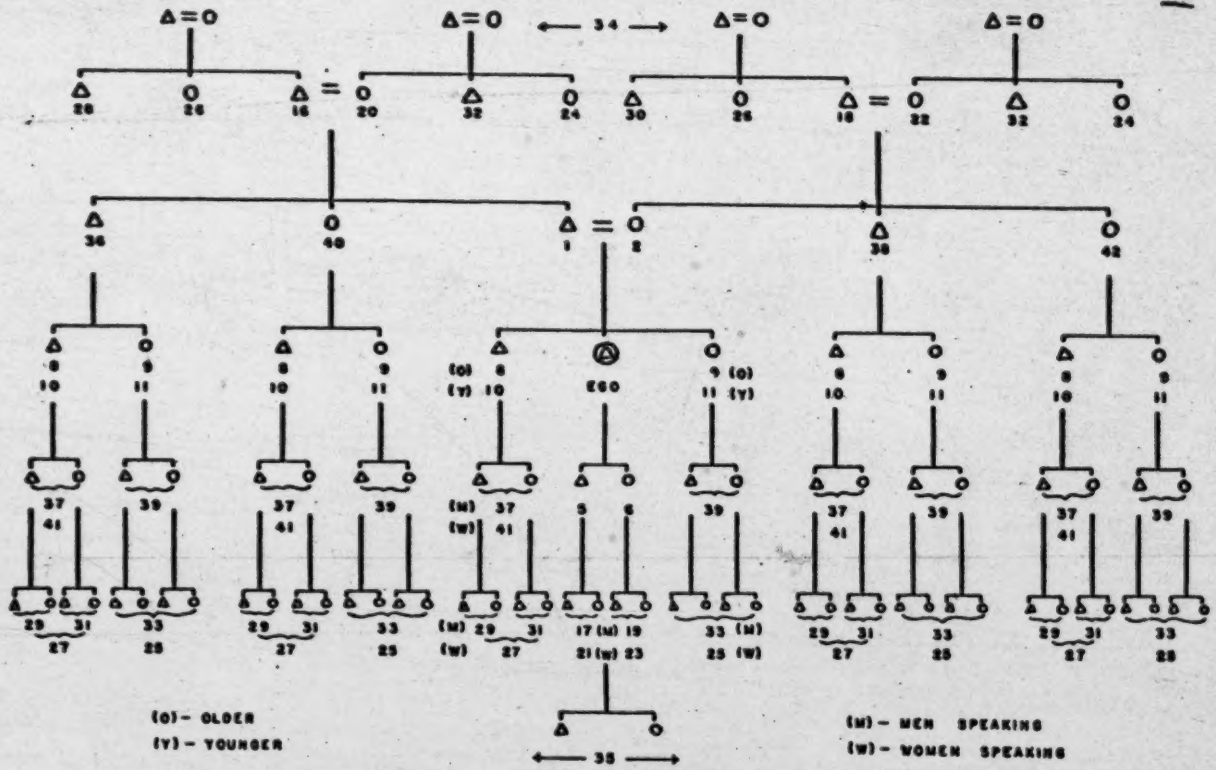

Fig.1. The aboriginal Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females; numbers refer to the terms in Table 1.
Source: Freed, 1960, 357.

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Table 2

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Polite Affinal Terms[a]

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English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law.	le?élelí? dagóy? (m. sp.)	daughter's child's father;
	legú?yí? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law. .	labá·ba? dalá? (m. sp.)	son's child's mother;
	legú?yí? dalá? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother
father-in-law . . .	dibumé·lí? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother. . .	diŋá?miŋ dadá?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.	diŋá·m de?ťwĕlí?	son's father's brother
sister's husband. .	dimá·gu dagóy?	sister's child's father
	di?í·sá? bumé·lí?	older sister's husband
brother's wife. . .	dimáš dalá? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife. . .	dišémuk dalá? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

[a] Source: Freed, 1960, 358.

Residence Rules

Residence rules were established from the published reports, the statements of our older informants referring to aboriginal times, and the census data and brief life histories provided by our group of 70 informants. Lowie reports that residence was matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple moved. Another of his informants says that residence following marriage could be either matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1930, 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality of a few weeks, after which the couple went to the husband's family. Many couples lived in either place alternately (Curtis, 1926, 97). On the basis of the information given by Lowie and Curtis, Washo residence is therefore bilocal with a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

Our informants report three kinds of residence: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. According to our older informants, no compelling rule governs the choice of residence. Most people spend the greater part of their lives near the parents or other close relatives of the husband or wife; neolocal residence occurs, but is usually of short duration and therefore relatively unimportant. Neolocal residence is reported as frequently by our older informants as by our younger ones, indicating that neolocal residence is not a recent innovation. Our data do not support a tendency toward initial matrilocality. Of 48 marriages reported by our informants, 17 were initially matrilocal. Since only three kinds of residence choices occur, on the basis of chance one-third of them would be matrilocal. The 17 initially matrilocal residence choices that occurred in the sample of 48 marriages do not differ sufficiently from the 16 that would be expected from chance alone to suggest a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

It is not entirely clear whether or not data from the modern Washo indicate that changes have occurred in Washo residence patterns since aboriginal times. I believe that none have occurred -- that the apparent differences between the reports of Lowie and Curtis and the data collected by my wife and myself arise from differences in field procedure. Lowie and Curtis interviewed only a few people, whereas we interviewed many. Residence data gathered from a large number of people will show greater variability than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule. Modern Washo residence is best described as bilocal, and probably no change has occurred since aboriginal times (Freed, 1960, 360-1).

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

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brief description of the behavior of relatives separated by two or three generations is included. This is based upon observations and a few rather general statements of informants.

The administration and analysis of the role profile tests and the characteristics of the group of people who took them are described in Freed (1960). The role profile test asks 16 questions probing various features of interpersonal behavior. The questionnaire is given below. All the questions are related to four general qualities of interpersonal interaction: dominance, submission, affiliation and hostility. The strongest and purest expressions of these qualities are in questions one (dominance), five (affiliation), nine (submission), and 13 (hostility). The questions between any two of these attempt to combine their qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (question two) combines dominance and affiliation; "to respect" (question eight) combines affiliation and submission; "to nag" (question 12) combines submission and hostility; and "to refuse help" (question 15) combines hostility and dominance. The data of the role profile test can be quantified, and this permits an objective description and comparison of roles. The quantitative treatment of roles and their similarities and differences is given in Freed (1960). This paper will describe roles only in qualitative terms.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

(The words in parentheses were useful in improving the informants' understanding of the questions)

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?

2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?

3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?

4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?

5. Which relative is specially fond of you?

6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?

125 602 554 7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

125 157 554 602 Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

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rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish).

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

125 questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates
157 comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed
554 (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organ-
602 ization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, espe-
128 cially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men co-
544 operate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the
476 society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social
128 structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by
104 a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952; and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance; Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

769 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

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844 Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[154] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off.
846 Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
844 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[812] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two
[514] weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

846 178 852 [302] (431)

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

881 [461]

The girl's puberty dance (ʔiʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 308) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed
(824) by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 98) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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10 to 19 age group who had attained the menarche had been given a dance. In addition, several mothers with girls between the ages of 11 and 13 told us they planned to give their daughters a dance when they came of age.

Table 1

Occurrence of Girl's Puberty Dance among 38 Washo Women by Age

Age Group	Number	Given Dance	No Dance	No Information
10-19	9	8	1	
20-29	7	3	1	3
30-39	3	2		1
40-49	8	4	3	2
50-59	4	3		1
60-69	2	2		
70-79	3	1	1	1
80-89	2			2
TOTAL	38	23	5	10

The modern girl's puberty dance closely resembles the aboriginal rite. All of the basic elements have been retained: the beliefs that the girl is shaping her future life and that she is supernaturally potent and must not touch men, the four days of fasting; the constant activity; the prohibition on eating meat, grease or salt; the climbing of the mountain and the building of the fires; the symbolism of the pole; the ceremonial race; the dance; the painting; the bathing; the giving away of baskets; and the feasting.

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body.

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance.

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as 178 formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal [768] property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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[535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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[624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabi?ai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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[616] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race. 526 527

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing. 526 527 616 [754] [302]

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game. 526 527

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser. 524 527

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket. [887] [114]

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[415] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[222] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop
[782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
[262] Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

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A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegeléyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other; and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

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Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears. 778 [789] [821] [754]

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams. 778 787

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing. 778 [755]

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[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelé́yu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelé́yus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelé́yu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelé́yu. It is interesting that only water wegelé́yu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

[834] Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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[753] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukú́shkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukú́shkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukú́shkush. Welukú́shkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukú́shkush had the water-baby for his wegelé́yu. Welukú́shkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukú́shkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukú́shkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

715 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[92] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukúshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegelégu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans;

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegelóyu and the bone his Hindu wegelóyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although [755]
the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegelóyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath. [515]

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face [283]
of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Wéiwáshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his [754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans [755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some- [775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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888 were active workers of malevolence, witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelfyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelfyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"...Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can- [158]
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 421). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently bewitch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

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deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 615-18; Stewart, 1944, 82-3).

Notes

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128 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Ishbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticized early drafts of the paper.

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WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of aggression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness. But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative, there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

178 154 668 [754]

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625). [533] [578]

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study. 154 [273] [861] [829] [162]

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case. 114 154 754 178

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any 121 128 154

2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

121 128 154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

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SOCIAL FACTORS IN HYPERTENSION AMONG THE WASHO[1]

by Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

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Essential hypertension, accounting for 85 to 95% of all hypertension, is a disease of unknown etiology. Many factors have been studied in relation to its development, among them, 1) heredity, 2) constitution, 3) diet, and 4) social and psychological stress. It is unlikely that any single factor is wholly responsible for hypertension, and medical scholars currently view the disease from a multi-causal framework.

For at least three decades physicians have suspected a relationship between social factors and the presence or absence of hypertension, or elevated blood pressure. This suspicion has not been buttressed by substantive research, at least until recently, so that systematic research on the possible relation of social factors to the disease is highly desirable. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies of blood pressure measurements have been carried out among many societies throughout the world. Though these studies are not always strictly comparable for a variety of reasons (e.g., different criteria for hypertension, different instruments, sampling problems, etc.) they do give some indication, at least, of the distribution of blood pressure levels throughout the world. Thus one can rate societies on the basis of mean blood pressure levels. Furthermore, one can refer to actuarial studies of the normal limits of blood pressure levels in order to evaluate whether or not the mean levels are "pathologically" high; that is, whether such levels are indications of increased morbidity and mortality.

[114]

This paper reports the findings of a pilot study undertaken by the authors among the Washo Indians in the summer of 1954. The whole project was conceived as a small-scale forerunner of a later, larger study to be conducted in South Africa, the results of which have been published elsewhere (Scotch, 1960). Because of the exploratory nature of the Washo research, plus certain methodological difficulties, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

Methods

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Material for the analysis that follows comes chiefly from interviews conducted among Washo adults during which certain social data were collected (religion, employment, education, etc.). Blood pressure determinations were

Blood pressure determinations were
126 made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five
141 minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews
124 were conducted in the homes of respondents.

124 It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo
114 communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

147 For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during
128 the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

147 The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in
158 Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

TABLE 1

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
35 and below	124/78	(5)	119/78	(13)
36 - 45	137/90	(19)	133/78	(20)
46 - 65	153/88	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(8)
TOTAL	139/91	(45)	133/82	(53)

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Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance:

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education.

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5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups:

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alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[4(3]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

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9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
648 schools, or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroborated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

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158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which gripe the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

Notes

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1. This paper is based on materials appearing in the doctoral dissertation of the senior author (An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies, Northwestern University, 1957). The authors wish to thank the Graduate School, Northwestern University and the Cardiovascular Research Department of the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, for generous financial support which made the field work on which this paper is based possible. Thanks are due for the advice and support of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Professor M. J. Herskovits and Professor William Bascom.

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory.

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

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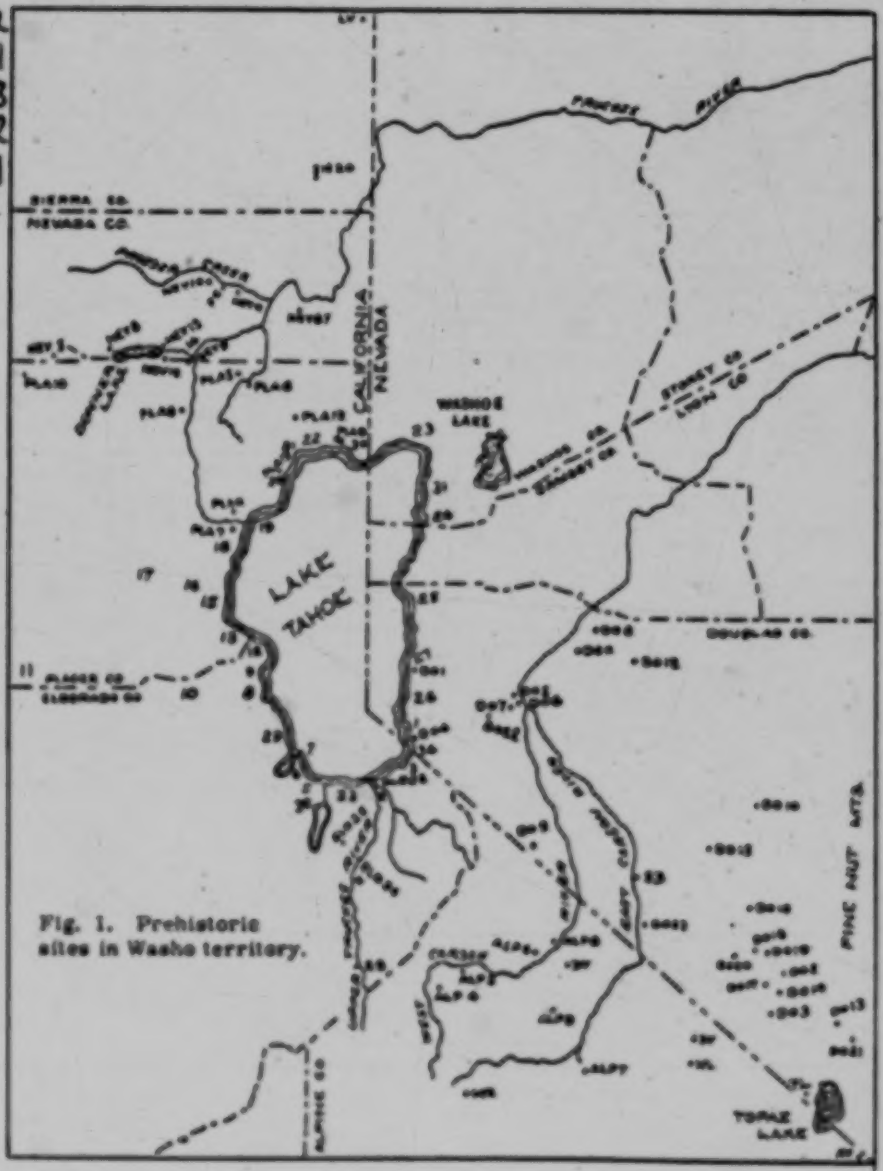

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

The Washo speak a Hokan language; their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 60 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago.

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more."

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora, Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959).

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped withe hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list.

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving techniques; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pifion (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 28) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1935 and 1936 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-3 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93--Analyst]

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The Kings Beach complex type site, Pla-9, runs along the beach of the northern shore of Lake Tahoe in the vicinity of the towns of Kings Beach and Tahoe Vista.

Although Martis complex materials were not found stratigraphically below Kings Beach materials, the Martis complex was assigned a much earlier date. These authors suggest (1953, 21) that "the Martis Complex may have flourished some time in the first two millennia B.C." while the Kings Beach complex is equated with the historic Washo and "had a relatively shorter duration and perhaps 1000 A.D. is about all the age we can now assign to it."

The great time depth of Martis was assigned on the evidence of the use of basalt for flaked implements and the recovery of a boatstone (boat-shaped spear thrower weight) at the Martis type site. Since their report another boatstone has been found at Dangberg Hot Springs (Do-8) at a depth of 18 in. This hot spring was a favorite Washo campground, and has yielded a number of artifacts of both the Martis and Kings Beach complexes.

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Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 22) explain the lack of stratified sites in their highland survey as based on "a tendency for people to settle in a spot which has not before been used." Their evidence is mainly that the sites are in open areas and that local supernatural beliefs indicate a fear of previously occupied spots. This tendency clearly breaks down in the case of spring sites in the lowlands.

The following elements are listed for the two complexes:

Martis

"1. Basalt preferred material for chipped implements.
2. Obsidian and chert used very rarely.
3. Projectile points fairly large and heavy, roughly chipped, variable in form.
4. Mano and metate for seed-grinding.
5. Cylindrical pestle and bowl-mortar (?).
6. Boatstones (and atlatl ?).
7. Economic emphasis on hunting and seed using.
8. Basalt flake scrapers with pressure-retouched edge abundant.
9. Expanded-base finger-held flaked drills or punches common.

Kings Beach

"1. Obsidian and siliceous flint preferred for projectile points.
2. Basalt used very rarely for chipped implements.
3. Bedrock mortar for seed-grinding (site Eld-24, Eld-25).
4. Projectile points small, light, side-notched.
5. Economic emphasis on fishing and seed-using.
6. Probably ascribable to late prehistoric Washo tribe.
7. Bow and arrow offensive weapon (inferred).
8. Scrapers rare; drills absent."

Martis complex sites are Pla-5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13; Nev-8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; and Alp-5. King Beach complex sites are Pla-9, 10; Eld-24, 25, 26; Alp-4, 6, 7, 9; Plu-7; and Do-1.[2]

The separation of these sites into two complexes appears to be warranted, but the classification is not always consistent. For example, a Desert Side-notched (DSN) projectile point was found at the Martis site Pla-6 (excavation by G. Arnold in 1957) at the 18-24 in. level (Elsasser, 1960, 71). The DSN point is characteristic of Kings Beach and yet was found at depth in a Martis site. Also, Elsasser (1960, 38) excavated Nev-16 and found three DSN points stratigraphically below Martis points.

Sites in Douglas County, Nevada

With the exception of Do-1, none of the sites of the Heizer and Elsasser survey mentioned above were in Nevada. A number of sites have been added recently to the University of California Archaeological Site Survey Records for Douglas County, Nevada, by George E. Haigh, Albert B. Elsasser, Robert F. Heizer and Gordon L. Grosscup. Since this material has not been published, a brief description of each site is given below. When the California records are incomplete this writer has made the appropriate additions.

Do-2 was an important Washo winter campground around a spring where a crescent and a scraper plane were found. The Schubert collection includes a 7 1/2 in. bifacial mano from the site.

Do-3 is a smoke-blackened rock shelter where a historic trade bead, a mano, a metate, and obsidian and chert chips were collected by the University of California Archaeological Survey. The Schubert collection (see below) includes two mortars about 9 in. in dia. and an oval mano of the same length.

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[103] D'Azevedo recorded the Washo name "hanawuywuyanal" for this site. William C. Brown excavated a portion of this site in 1960 for the Nevada State Museum.

Do-4 is a bedrock mortar site, probably the same as #1 from Freed's Survey.

Do-5, 6, and 7 are three large sites in a group, where stone chips, broken metates, bits of shell, metates, manos, hundreds of projectile points, a piece of worked bone, a charmstone and a human skull were found. A local collector has also reported finding a round blue glass bead here.

Do-8 is a campsite below a hot spring where a local collector found a boatstone at a depth of about 18 in. The boatstone was donated to the Nevada State Museum.

Workshop chips and points were found here by the University of California Archaeological Survey along with broken metates and manos. This site was excavated by S. M. Wheeler for the Nevada State Park Commission in 1939. The site yielded projectile points, bones, scrapers and a mano.

W. L. d'Azevedo's notes report that the site seems buried under sand with most of the artifacts found on the slope near the hot stream. The Schubert collection from this site contains 3 manos, 1 drill, 4 scrapers, 6 blades and the following projectile points: 4 DSN, Martis types 1b-2, 3c-2, 4c-1, and 5c-1; 3 small leaf-shaped; 1 triangular; 1 small side-notched with a convex base; 1 small barbed with a concave stem; and 2 shouldered with flat based stems.

Do-9 is a bedrock mortar site beside a small creek.

Do-10 is a campsite where several points, a basalt scraper, workshop chips and a bedrock mortar were found.

Do-11 is a campsite where approximately 50 points and numerous workshop chips were found.

Do-12 is a campsite below a hot spring. Elsasser (1960) excavated this site and found Martis complex projectile points and other artifacts to a depth of 30 in. with one point recovered from a 48-51 in. level. The excavated materials and private collections from this site include 1 obsidian crescent, 1 mortar fragment, 1 stone discoidal, 1 bone awl, 1 bone dagger, 1 incised bone fragment, 2 unshaped pestle fragments, 48 manos, 49 basin

metates, and 385 identifiable projectile points or fragments. One DSN point was taken from the surface, and 10 Humboldt Concave Base A, 3 Humboldt Basal Notched, and 1 B-11 (Yosemite) points were found within the first 12 in. of fill. 174

Elsasser suggests (1960, 60) that "The culture disclosed at Do-12 is an outlying manifestation of the Martis Complex" although "there seems to be a dearth of the crudely chipped basalt blades and scrapers which are so characteristic of the northern sites." He also suggests (1960, 59) that "the Tamarack Complex, in Yosemite National Park, appears to be the candidate for the successor or at least the representative of the terminal Martis period in the Carson Valley."

Do-13 is a campsite where a 93 year old Washo woman, Susie Dick, now residing in Minden, used to live with other families when she was young (around 1885). Later on she moved to Double Spring (Do-2). The Schubert collection from this site includes 8 scrapers, 1 point fragment, and 1 basalt side-notched point (Martis type 4a).

Do-14 is a campsite on a mountain slope northeast of Do-13.

Do-15 is a burial site.

Do-16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are Washo campsites near pinenut gathering areas and streams or springs. Obsidian chips, projectile points, metate fragments, a bedrock mortar, and a chopper are among the artifacts found at these sites.

Do-22 is a bedrock mortar site near a spring with associated petroglyphs.

Do-23 is a campsite on a high terrace above a river where scattered chert and obsidian chips were found.

Other Recorded Sites

The author is aware of archeological sites in Washo territory recorded by the University of California Archaeological Survey and the Nevada State Museum in addition to those described above. These are principally in Ormsby and Washoe counties of Nevada, and Sierra and Plumas counties of California.

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Sie-20 is an extensive campsite in Sierra County, California. Elsasser (1960) found that the surface collection and excavation here indicated another Martis complex site.

A number of sites have been found around Washoe Lake, Washoe County, Nevada. Schellbach (1927) described an extensive site to the east of the lake. Gordon L. Grosscup (personal communication) reported that the east shore of the lake consists, essentially, of one large sand dune broken by washes. Nearly every wash contains artifacts, and has been recorded as a site. The material (manos, metates and other artifacts) appears to come from a thin buried layer within the sand dune. There is also a bedrock mortar site near the south end of the lake.

Other sites have been reported for Washoe County near Steamboat Springs, on the mountain slopes west of Reno, and in Idlewild Park in Reno. Historic sources indicate an intensive Washo use of the Truckee River, so a survey should reveal the existence of sites there as well.

In addition to the recorded sites, there are many unrecorded archeological sites in Washo territory. Bedrock mortars are known to be located near the various contemporary Washo communities. Private collectors have also found a number of sites.

Private Collections

Three of the private collections of artifacts taken from Washo territory are reported here. These sites are indicated on the site map by initials, which are abbreviations of each site's locale.[2]

A. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada, has a collection of 281 stone artifacts from 11 sites in Washo territory. Artifacts from sites included in the California Survey have already been listed. All the sites listed here, except the Sheep Bridge site, are in California.

1. The site that yielded the largest collection is near Prosser Creek (PC) and may be considered as part of the same group of sites as Nev-10 and Nev-11 reported by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 7). The Schubert collection from this site contains 143 artifacts, all of basalt except for 11 obsidian and two chert pieces. The artifacts are essentially the same as those reported by Heizer and Elsasser. In a classification of this collection it was necessary to add the subtype "leaf shaped with square base" to the Martis classification by Elsasser (1960).

2 [See footnote on p. 92-93 -- Analyst]

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3. The Bagley Valley (BV) site is in a flat 1 mi. north of Heenan Lake and 1 1/2 mi. east of Monitor, California. Three projectile points 1 1/4 to 2 in. in length were found, one with a concave-sided blade and convex-based stem; one with a long blade, barbs, and an expanding stem; and one with large barbs and a contracting stem.

3. The Heenan Lake (HL) site is along the north shore of Heenan Lake. Two white chert scrapers, an obsidian blade, and 14 projectile points were collected here. The single basalt projectile point could be classified as Martis 4a. There are four DSN, 1 Humboldt Cave Base B, 1 rectangular, 2 leaf-shaped, 1 side-notched with a straight base, 2 shouldered, 1 with large barbs and no stem, and a 2 1/2 in. shouldered point with a serrated blade.

4. The Mokelumne River (MR) site is along the headwaters of the river 1 1/2 mi. southwest of Ebbetts Pass and 1 1/2 mi. down a dirt road south of State Highway 4. The collection of 35 artifacts from this site consists of 2 manos, 4 scrapers, 3 blades, 1 point fragment, a 6 in. point classifiable as Martis 1b, 6 DSN, 4 leaf-shaped with concave base; and obsidian and basalt forms classifiable as Martis types 1a-1, 3c-3, 3d-1, 4a-1, 4d-1, 5b-1, 5c-1, 5d-1, 5f-1, and 5g-1.

5. The Antelope Valley (AV) site is on the east side of this valley about 3 mi. southeast of the town of Topaz. A single white chert DSN point with a notched base was found here.

6. The Long Valley (LV) site is 2 3/4 mi. south of the town of Chats and 1/4 mi. west of U.S. Highway 395 on a foothill slope overlooking Long Creek. A 1 1/2 in. basalt drill and a 3/4 in. triangular point tip were found here.

7. The Sheep Bridge (SB) site is on the east bank of the East Carson River 1/4 mi. south of Horseshoe Bend. The collection from this site consists of a mano, five scrapers, and a blade.

B. Harry Hawkins of Markleeville, California, has a collection of artifacts from a Washo campsite along a stream on his ranch at the head of Diamond Valley (DV) and 1/2 mi. east of California State Highway 4. Mr. Hawkins' father remembered Washo camping at this site. The site contains 32 bedrock mortars.

The collection from this site consits of 37 points of less than 2 in. in length and two points about 3 in. in length. There are 2 leaf-shaped, 17 triangular with concave or straight bases, 8 shouldered, 1 small barbed, 1 stemmed with a concave-sided blade, 2 large barbs, and 8 DSN. A 3 in.

172 circular arrowshaft straightener of steatite with a slanting 1/2 in. hole through the center was found here and is in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Utah.

C. Iva Ashurst of Topaz, California, has collections from two sites west of Topaz Lake (TL) and U.S. Highway 395 in Douglas County, Nevada, close to the Nevada-California state line.

1. A cache of 21 leaf-shaped obsidian blades was found, on the south slope of a wash about 50 ft. west of U.S. 395 and 1/4 mi. north of Topaz Lodge. The blades, which were found stacked flat, range in length from 3 1/4 in. to 7 7/8 in., in width from 1 5/8 in. to 3 in. Their mean length is 4 1/4 in.; mean width is 2 in.

2. At a site 1/4 mi. west of TL-1, and at the foot of the mountain west of Topaz Lodge, more than 1000 glass trade beads were found in an area about 6 by 6 ft. In one spot of this site was a deposit of wood ash where a number of the beads had melted together. The beads were found scattered throughout the first 6 to 8 in. of deposit and apparently covered an area the size of a house floor with a fireplace in the center. The beads may have been used as a cremation offering.

Historic Washo Artifacts

172 4 11

In the Nevada State Museum there are projectile points from the Dr. Lee collection made by two Washo Indians, Lame Tom and Poker Charlie. Most of these are of obsidian although some are of glass, basalt, chert, or white porcelain. In one typical display circle of 24 points 16 are side-notched, 7 shouldered, and 1 barbed. Most of the points are the General (obsidian, 0-26 mm., concave base) and Delta (not obsidian, 27+ mm., V-shaped base) subtypes of the Desert Side-notched (DSN) points as defined by M. A. Baumhoff and J. S. Bryne (1959). In a sample of 100 of these historic Washo points not one was of the Redding (bell-shaped base and comma-shaped notch) or Sierra (basal notched) subtypes of the DSN.

All of the modern Washo points presented by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, Fig. 1), and attributed to H. N. Rust, are the General subtype of DSN. The DSN points found in the 1953 survey by Heizer and Elsasser at the Kings Beach type site are the General or Delta subtypes, or some variant of them. Two of the DSN points found at Eld-24 may be Sierran. Of the 23 DSN points in the Schubert and Hawkins collections at least four are the Sierran subtype. Elsasser (1960) claims that the Sierran DSN occurs throughout the Sierra

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 [412]

Scheilbach (1927, 400) reported a 5 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

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532 A study by the author of the elements in 12 of the 23 petroglyph groups in or adjacent to Washo territory was made from Steward's data. This indicated that, although seven sites were included from California and only five from Nevada, the Nevada sites have a greater variety and larger number of design elements.

L. Arthur Payen (1959) reported that the petroglyphs in the area around Donner Summit were in the typical Great Basin style with a great variety of elements in zigzags, diamond series, human forms, animal forms, and "rain symbols." Payen postulated that the combination of pecking and rubbing is more frequent in the "Valley Sierran" style than in the Great Basin.

At the Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group near Virginia City, Nevada (26-St-1 or Steward's number 208), Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958, 3) found that "The techniques employed in producing the petroglyphs were pecking, scratching, and rubbing, in that order of importance."

It was possible to demonstrate with statistical significance that two distinct art styles were present at the Lagomarsino site and a chronology was assigned to the two styles. Certain elements occur more often on the cliff face; others occur more often on the talus boulders. The "cliff face style" includes the elements of plant form, bird track, gridiron, rake, dots and crosshatching with a general tendency toward angularity. The "talus boulder style" includes the sun figure, polliwog, asterisk (or star), concentric circles, circle, and curvilinear line with a general tendency toward the curvilinear. Both styles are considered part of the Great Basin geometric style of Steward's Area A.

172 With a petroglyph style from the Grimes site (26-Ch-3 or Steward's number 207) at Fallon, Nevada, included as earlier, the following chronology of petroglyph styles was presented by Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958).

1. Beginning some time before 7000 years ago. A groove-and-pit style now found heavily patinated at the Grimes site.

2. Beginning 3000 to 4000 years ago. Great Basin curvilinear ("talus boulder" at Lagomarsino) style found throughout the Great Basin.

3. Beginning about 1000 years ago. Great Basin rectilinear ("cliff face" at Lagomarsino) style found along the western margins of the Great Basin.

It is doubtful whether any of the petroglyphs mentioned here were made by the Washo Indians or their ancestors within the last 150 or more years.

The Washo, Northern Paiute, and other Great Basin Indians generally deny that they made petroglyphs. 172

Heizer and Baumhoff (1959) state that petroglyphs found along the Walker, Carson and Truckee rivers are generally lacking in associated occupational debris, are along routes of deer migration, and are probably connected with hunting magic. Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958) found a slightly different picture for the Lagomarsino site farther away from game trails. For this site the hypothesis presented was that it was ideally situated for a summer or early fall camping spot and the petroglyphs were probably made by shamans, possibly seeking power or in food increase rites. The interpretation of petroglyphs as maps was deprecated. Kroeber (1958) suggests that if native art serves ceremonial purposes the act of presenting the symbols, rather than communication, was the important thing.

A petroglyph group, recorded by d'Azevedo (1956), in Carson Valley has associated occupational debris. This is at 26-Do-22 in Taylor Canyon west of Foothill Road in western Douglas County. D'Azevedo's Washo informants knew of the historic use of this site by Washo, but were unaware of the petroglyph group associated with it.

Summary Comments

Elsasser (1960) drew several conclusions from his survey and excavations in Washo territory. Five of his points are presented below.

1. The Martis complex was located in the north-central Sierra Nevada largely in the transition or mid-altitude life zones (optimum altitudes 2500 and 6000 ft., depending on the side of the mountain range, west and east, respectively).

2. The greater number of Martis complex sites are on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, possibly a result of more intensive survey on the eastern side.

3. There is (1960, 72) "evidence of the strong resemblance of Martis Complex points with those recovered from the Middle archaeological Horizon of central California . . . it remains possible that the known high- or mid-altitude Martis sites represent a summer occupation of a basically central Californian culture."

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4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

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174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

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172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Dod was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

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The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [123] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

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A pregnant woman (dawšaš?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

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[224]

A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women to stay away from hunters.

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[162]
[621]

Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

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When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugéliyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

ɡ̊ɬiaɬ gep̊mi? miɬ'gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
ɡ̊ɬiaɬ gepimi? miɬ'gihi.	Hurry up, Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
meiɬ?mi, miɬ'gimeiɬ?mi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ɬ̊muyi hahi.	For sure that's the way.
ɡ̊ɬiaɬ hihi miɬ'gi?iqawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dóʔa?) was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tšaʔ ʔíʔ) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

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would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil).[3] Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

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In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saawišan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (ʔawgan ʔəmluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabert personal communication - literally "she (or they) feed the baby" acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

4. [illegible]

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431 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
603 mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
852 ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

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302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dibek).

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854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk.
751 The hood or sunshade (mabó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
531 Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
754 One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

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847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 A Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisāsum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses. [753]

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

[752] [785] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (dee6? was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (tá·du? ɓ́ɓu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a sym- [574] bol to all who saw them that a girls dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

881 535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

881 533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: hówi·yé·ʔi, ʔimíʔhó·ʔiya, nélosáne, and héyaya.

881 535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The [562] men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 80 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilahlal chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[462] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyíle, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[824] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sedíli, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (?uwí'ya, melehéhe? and [ɛ́ɬwé?we?]), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

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594 women started the circle dance (le?wé?we?) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a.m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a.m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a.m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p.m. to eight by
[535] 5:30 a.m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a.m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been important as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not men-
[178] tion it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own. 881 224

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer. [777]

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck. [515] [782]

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways. 584

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it [527]

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

691 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dinal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time.

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo."

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919.

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return."

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

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[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dime? dé·gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterw[illegible].

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764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them
[765] should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweat potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come [775] and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result. [787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.' [782]

Notes

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1. Grace Dangberg's informants were Agnes Pete, Susie Dick, Manta, and Dave Cheney. The author's principal informants were Bertha Holbrook, Clara Frank, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Roy James from Woodfords, California.

2. From Indian Balsam, Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication.

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., personal communication.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes," Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication.)

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i.e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

The Aboriginal Situation: The Paiute

182 22 [177] At the time of first contact the subsistence activities of the Paiute were based on an exploitation of a none-too-provident environment. The small groups of Paiute who lived together -- with the exception of those occupying the fertile Owens Valley -- appear to have been on the move almost constantly. Harvests of seed had to be made within a few days or weeks at the most, before the ripened seeds were scattered on the ground. Roots, berries, rodents, snakes, fish and insects were sought. Of primary importance were the pinenuts of the mountain areas. These provided a major source of food for survival through the winter. A general survey of foods available suggests that the area could support a larger number of people than 161 it actually did (Steward, 1938, 14-33). Population figures show a high density in the Owens Valley (2.1 sq. mi. per person) to a low at Beatty (44 sq. mi. per person). In the area immediately to the north of Washo country -- called vaguely the Humboldt River country, in which the Carson Sink, Pyramid Lake and Humboldt Lake are located -- density ranged from 2.5 sq. 132 mi. per person at Battle Mountain to 5 sq. mi. per person at Halleck and 161 Wells (Steward, 1938, 48-9). The sporadic rainfall of the area was a lim- 22 iting factor, often failing completely and reducing plant harvests, so that 182 population appears to have been geared to the minimum rather than the maximum food supply.

224 [226] [222] I have included rodents, fish and insects under the gathering aspects of Paiute life. The pronghorn antelope, the jack rabbit, the mule deer and mountain sheep were the animals most frequently hunted. The first two species appear to have been hunted largely in communal drives. The mule deer was hunted occasionally by groups who drove the animals into ambush or over cliffs (Stewart, 1941, 366, 422). Dogs were used by some bands to aid in deer hunting (Stewart, 1941, 422). Deer were also hunted by individuals or small groups of stalkers, a method that appears to have been the only one used to take mountain sheep where these animals were available.

Rabbits were perhaps the most important hunted species because of their relative abundance. Antelope herds were almost totally depleted by a single drive and could not be hunted in the same area for a number of years. [476] The antelope and rabbit were significant in terms of social organization be- [571] cause the communal hunts were among the few occasions when any large number of Paiute assembled in the same place. This, however, was limited by the period of time the captured game could support a large group of people.

182 22 In general the ecological adaptation of the Paiute was one of small groups of people shifting within relatively wide areas in response to the appearance of various wild crops and animals. The pinenut appears to have

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [825] [771]

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W [361]

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W [183] [476] [574] [735]

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source,

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo

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175 The history of the Paiute War of 1858 as presented in Angel (1958)
648 gives some significant information about the earliest stages of this development of hostility as a response to white contact. The first raids on white horse herds and ranches appear to have been conducted by Shoshoni, part-Shoshoni or Bannock visitors among the Pyramid Lake Paiute. These interlopers were aided by a number of Paiute men but the general Paiute reaction was to make every effort to stop the raids in order to avoid trouble with the white men, the Paiutes having already learned that disputes among whites as well as between whites and Indians often led to gunplay and bloodshed. In at least one case the Paiutes murdered a Shoshoni who refused to stop his raiding (Angel, 1958, 150).

However, the fat was in the fire after the early raids and any missing stock, whether strayed, taken by a white man or a single Indian, or actually lost to a raiding party, was credited to the Indians and punitive action was taken. Armed posses raided Indian camps in retaliation for real and fancied wrongs. The Indians began to reply in kind, and the skirmishing hostility
[62] developed into full scale war. The formation of war bands among the Paiute
[178] led to increased band size, the development of leaders with real authority and at least some interband rivalry. Definite territories became associated
[423] with particular bands and real band identity developed (Steward, 1938, 249; Stewart, 1941).

In 1858 a volunteer regiment of miners, ranchers and citizens of the various settlements mounted an expedition against the Paiute and, as is often the case with volunteer regiments, was soundly defeated. In 1870 the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations by federal troops.

177 Julian Steward (1938, 1955) has postulated that the introduction of the
114 horse was largely responsible for the formation of what he has called com-
231 posite raiding bands from a society formerly organized in bilateral hunting
178 groups. Although the horse certainly played an important role in this develop-
621 ment, Steward's theory leaves a number of questions unanswered. Foremost is the question of why a similar pattern failed to develop among the similarly organized Washo confronted with almost identical situations. This question is intensified when we realize that the hunting and gathering Pit River people did not adopt the horse ("because they were afraid of horses") until the late 1860's although the animal was available (de Angulo, 1950, 331). Thus, of the tribes that confronted the white man in western Nevada and eastern California, only the Paiute adopted the horse and reorganized their society into war-oriented bands.

This fact is significant in theoretical terms and equally significant in explaining the course of acculturation in this area in the period after 1870.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

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The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

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Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

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Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game. N 177 [231]

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and well developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations. N 177 648

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 22

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

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N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. W [648] However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. W [18] [623] Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

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In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

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Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

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N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected, by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [106] N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

W 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

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489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

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177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably also aboriginally.

2 [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The [178] Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224
[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, [492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

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464
484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
154 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[771] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 muse̊ge, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently muse̊ge; but a deer, or even a squirrel, is muse̊ge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

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The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

Notes

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1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

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2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

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The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

ANTHROPOLOGY

113

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See pp. 89-90 for a Washo flood myth; p. 170 for "Nevada" idea of a great Spirit; pp. 524-5 for "Nevada" ideas on life after death; p. 568 lists Washo as "Utah"-speaking members of the "Shoshones."

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Baumhoff, M. A., R. F. Heizer and A. B. Elsasser
1958 The Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group (Site 26-St-1) Near Virginia City, Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 43, Pt. 2, pp. 1-17.

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Beals, Ralph L.
1933 Ethnology of the Nisenan. UCPAAE, Vol. 31, No. 6, pp. 335-414.

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Bennyhoff, James A.
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1951 The Problem of the Early Peopling of the Americas as Viewed from Asia. In The Physical Anthropology of the American Indian, William S. Laughlin (Ed.), pp. 1-68.

On pp. 48-9 Washo are included with Pomo, Karok, Shasta, Achomawi, Atsugewi, Yana and other peoples tentatively classified as Hokan-speaking who are "notable for absence of Ainu-like traits" among Great Basin and California groups.

Bright, William
1960 Animals of Acculturation in the California Indian Languages. University of California Publications in Linguistics, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 215-46.

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Cartwright, William D.
1952 A Washo Girl's Puberty Ceremony. Proceedings of the Thirtieth International Congress of Americanists, pp. 136-42. London.

(See also "Peyote," pp. 143-8 of the same volume.)

Cohn, C. Amy
1909 Arts and Crafts of the Nevada Indians. Nevada Historical Society Biannual Report, Vol. 1, pp. 75-9.

P. 77 includes war with the Paiutes and the technique of basket making used by Dat-So-La-Lee.

Cook, Sherborne F.
1941 The Mechanism and Extent of Dietary Adaptation among Certain Groups of California and Nevada Indians. Ibero-Americana, Vol. 18, pp. 1-59.

Washo food preferences and practice of "begging" for food.

Culin, Stewart
1907 Games of the North American Indians. BAE-AR, Vol. 24, No. 199.

Includes Hudson's notes on Washo games.

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Curtis, Edward S.
1928 The North American Indian, Vol. 15. Plimpton Press, Norwood, Mass. (In 20 vols. published from 1907-1930.)

For location of Washo see pp. 57, 89; population, pp. 91-2; war, pp. 67, 76, 90, 96; land use, pp. 94-5; political organization, p. 95. Also see pp. 123-56 for myths of Mono, Paviotso and Washo; pp. 167-72 for ethnographic summaries; pp. 182-92 for vocabularies.

Dangberg, Grace
1927 Washo Texts. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 3, pp. 391-443.

Daugherty, Richard D.
1954 Notes and News: Pacific Coast. American Antiquity, Vol. 19, No. 3, p. 310.

Passing reference to UCAS ethnographic work with Washo and the connection between Kings Beach complex and Washo.

Davis, James T.
1961 Trade Routes and Economic Exchange among the Indians of California. UCAS-R, No. 54.

Washo trade items in exchange with neighboring groups, p. 42; two maps of trade routes, p. 71 ff.

DeWitt-Warr, Vernille
1913 Destitute Nevada Indians. In The History of Nevada, Sam P. Davis (Ed.), pp. 132-61.

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Dixon, Roland B.
1902 Maidu Myths. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 11, pp. 33-118.

See pp. 33-4 for information on Washo-Maidu contact.

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1905 The Northern Maidu. American Museum of Natural History Bulletin, Vol. 17, Pt. 3, pp. 119-346. (The Huntington California Expedition.)

Pp. 124-5 give location of Washo, Washo land use and location of Maidu (with map); Washo-Maidu trade, p. 201.

Dixon, Roland B., and Alfred L. Kroeber

1903 The Native Languages of California. AA, Vol. 5, No. 1, pp. 1-26.

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Pp. 104-12 present evidence for including Washo in the Hokan family.

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A valuable recent study of Washo religious beliefs and ritual.

1961 Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho. Ph.D dissertation, University of California, Berkeley.

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Driver, Harold E.

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Includes Washo form of this rite from Stewart's (1941) data in a general statistical study.

113 Driver, Harold E., and William C. Massey
1957 Comparative Studies of North American Indians. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, n.s., Vol. 47, Pt. 2, pp. 165-456.

Brief comparison of Washo "moieties" with those of the Pomo, Mono and Eastern Yokuts, p. 411.

DuBois, Cora
1939 The 1870 Ghost Dance. UC-AR, Vol. 3, No. 1, pp. 1-151.

See p. 1.

Eichler, Lillian
1924 The Customs of Mankind. Doubleday, Page and Co., New York, N. Y.

Description of Washo girl's puberty dance, pp. 172-73.

Elsasser, Albert B.
1960 The Archaeology of the Sierra Nevada in California and Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 51, pp. 1-93.

A major work on archeology in the Washo area; reviews the Martis-Kings Beach sequence and describes three excavated Martis complex sites. Includes photographs of 171 artifacts (mostly stone points) from Washo territory; extensive bibliography.

Freed, Stanley A.
1960 Changing Washo Kinship. UC-AR, Vol. 14, No. 6, pp. 349-418.

A detailed study of Washo kinship behavior and changing terminology. An outstanding study of Washo social organization and of the ethnology of the western Great Basin.

Gatschet, A. S.
1882 Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories. Magazine of American History, Vol. 8, pp. 254-63.

One of the earlier statements about the Washo language. Location of the Washo and discussion of local Indian-white relations, p. 255.

1890 Ethnographic Sketch of the Klamath People. Contributions to North American Ethnography, Vol. 2, Pt. 1. 113

Location of Washo boundary, p. xiv.

Gifford, Edward W.

1922 California Kinship Terminologies. UCPAAE, Vol. 18, No. 1, pp. 1-285.

Mono kinship terminologies, pp. 45-52; grandparent and cousin terms of Washo and Paviotso, pp. 130, 163.

1926 Californian Anthropometry. UCPAAE, Vol. 22, No. 2, pp. 217-390.

Includes the measurement and description of 16 living individuals of purported Washo descent and several others of mixed Washo descent, in a general survey and classification of California anthropometric types.

1951 California Indian Physical Types. In The California Indian: A Source Book, R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple (Eds.), pp. 82-7. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

Gordon, G. B.

1919 The Richard Waln Meirs Collection. The Museum Journal, Vol. 10, Nos. 1 and 2, pp. 26-8.

Illustrates Washo baskets with comments on their raw materials and designs. Also states the location and population of Washo.

Haglund, E. A., et al.

1961 The Washoe, Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Nevada. Nevada Department of Education, Carson City, Nevada.

A summary of the history, education, and health of the Nevada Indians.

Heizer, Robert F.

1958 Aboriginal California and Great Basin Cartography. UCAS-R, No. 41, Paper 63, pp. 1-9.

113 Heizer, Robert F., and Albert B. Elsasser
1953 Some Archaeological Sites and Cultures of the Central Sierra Nevada. UCAS-R, No. 21, pp. 1-42.

An important archeological statement on Washo territory. Describes pre-Washo (Martis) and Washo (Kings Beach) archeological complexes from a brief survey in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Appendices: Boatstones in California; High Altitude Occupation in the Yosemite Region, by J. A. Bennyhoff; Chips from an Indian Workshop, by B. P. Avery; Ethnographic Notes on Washo Culture, S. L. Lee.

Hinkle, George, and Bliss Hinkle
1949 Sierra-Nevada Lakes. The American Lake Series. Bobbs-Merrill Co., Indianapolis.

See pp. 48, 114, 134-7, 256-62, 270-1 for references to Washo.

Hodge, Frederick Webb (Ed.)
1910 Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico. BAE-B, No. 30, Vol. 2.

Location of Washo and Washo "war" with the Paiutes, p. 920.

Jacobsen, William H., Jr.
1958 Washo and Karok: An Approach to Comparative Hokan. IJAL, Vol. 24, No. 3, pp. 195-212.

James, George Wharton
1902 Indian Basketry. 2nd ed., Henry Malkan, New York, N. Y.

Brief mention of Paiute and Washo basketry, especially that of Dat-So-La-Lee.

1903 Basket Makers of California at Work. The Basket, Vol. 1, No. 3, pp. 2-18. Pasadena, California.

Intrusion of Paiutes into California, Washo basketry, pp. 6-8. Includes a few illustrations of Washo baskets.

1921 The Lake of the Sky, Lake Tahoe. 2nd ed., Radiant Life Press, Pasadena, California. Reprinted in 1956 by Powner Co., Chicago, Ill.

Pp. 26-71 claims the use of rock "inscriptions" as boundary markers by the Washo and Paiute; supposed Paiute prohibition of Washo use of horses; also see pp. 111-12 and pp. 191-2 for mention of Washo. 113

Kennedy, K. A. R.

1959 The Aboriginal Population of the Great Basin. UCAS-R, No. 45, pp. 1-84.

A survey of Great Basin anthropometry and a comparison with peripheral areas; includes Gifford's Washo sample.

Klimek, Stanislaw

1935 Culture Element Distributions: I, The Structure of California Indian Culture. UCPAAE, Vol. 37, No. 1, pp. 1-70.

Includes Washo in a survey of languages, coefficients of cultural similarity, and historical depth.

Kroeber, Alfred Louis

1907 The Washo Language of East Central California and Nevada. UCPAAE, Vol. 4, No. 5, pp. 251-318.

A morphological sketch of Washo language. Location of Washo, pp. 252-3; location of neighbors, p. 253; narrative of a Washo-Paiute battle while hunting deer, pp. 302-3.

1908 On the Evidences of the Occupation of Certain Regions by the Miwok Indians. UCPAAE, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 369-80.

Miwok-Washo boundary problem, p. 376.

1916 California Place Names of Indian Origin. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 2, pp. 31-69.

Lake Tahoe, p. 60, and Tallac, p. 61, mentioned as Washo.

1917 California Kinship Systems. UCPAAE, Vol. 12, No. 9, pp. 339-96.

Washo discussed, pp. 362-5.

1920 Games of the California Indians. AA, Vol. 22, No. 1, pp. 272-7.

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Mentions Washo double ball game, and the regular and four stick hand game.

1922 Elements of Culture in Native California. UCPAAE, Vol. 13, No. 8, pp. 259-328.

Washo noted as having the Plains form of sweat house, cremation, counting by 5's and 10's, the Ghost Dance of 1890, and the girl's ceremony at adolescence with singing and dancing.

1947 Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America. UCPAAE, Vol. 38, pp. 1-242.

Washo placement in areas, territory size, population density, pp. 53, 191, 207, 137.

1953 Handbook of the Indians of California. California Book Company, Berkeley. (Photolithographic facsimile of the work published in 1925 as BAE-B, No. 78.)

Brief summary of Washo ethnology (affiliations, habitat, numbers, culture, basketry, dress and implements, buildings, religion and society) pp. 569-73; comparison of girls' puberty ceremony among Washo and California Indians, pp. 864-5; ritual numbers and numerical system, p. 877; Washo population in California, pp. 883, 886.

1955 Linguistic Time Depths So Far and Their Meaning. IJAL, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp. 91-104.

Includes an evaluation of the glottochronology of the Hokan superstock which shows Washo as off the Pacific axis of Hokan languages and "split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45 C or more."

1957 Ethnographic Interpretations 1-6. UCPAAE, Vol. 47, No. 2, pp. 191-234.

See pp. 218-25 for "California Indian Population About 1910."

Lee, Simeon Lemuel

1934 Dr. S. L. Lee Collection, Nevada State Printing Office, Carson City, Nevada.

Includes some notes and anecdotes from the Washo, Shoshoni and Southern and Northern Paiute from Lee's articles and diary, along with an anonymous biography of Dr. Lee, a list of his collections, and a section entitled "Indian Stories and Legends."

Littlejohn, Hugh W.
1929 A Northeastern Californian Dug-Out Canoe. AA, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 777-9.

Warfare between Northeastern Maidu and Washo, p. 779.

Lowie, Robert H.
1923 The Cultural Connection of Californian and Plateau Shoshonean Tribes. UCPAAE, Vol. 20, pp. 143-56.

See pp. 154-5 for brief note on Washo kinship terms, and a tale of the Weasel brothers with a Shoshoni-Washo parallel.

1939 Ethnographic Notes on the Washo. UCPAAE, Vol. 36, No. 5, pp. 301-52.

A brief but major ethnographic source on the Washo. Particularly useful for material culture, myths, and general social and religious practices.

Macdonald, Claire
1929 Lake Tahoe, California. William E. Rudge, Mt. Vernon, New York. (privately printed)

Photograph of Washo basketmaker, Suzie, and seven baskets, p. 24.

MacGregor, Gordon
1936 Washo Indians of the Sacramento Jurisdiction. Office of Indian Affairs, Applied Anthropology Unit, Department of the Interior, Washington, D. C. (8 pp. mimeographed)

Problems of and recommendations concerning the Woodfords, Alpine County, California, community of the Washo in 1936.

Mallery, Garrick
1893 Picture-Writing of the American Indians. BAE-AR, No. 10, 1888-1889, pp. 1-822.

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Includes a number of petroglyph sites in western Nevada; Pyramid Lake, Reno, Truckee River, Carson River, Hopkins Soda Springs, Fallon, Virginia City, etc. P. 93 reads "This region has been roamed over by the Washo Indians from a remote period, but none of them know anything of these works."

Mason, Otis T.

1904 Aboriginal American Basketry: Studies in a Textile Art without Machinery. United States National Museum, Annual Report for 1902, Vol. 1, pp. 171-784; Vol. 2, Pls. 1-248.

Washo basketry, Vol. 1, pp. 466-7; Vol. 2, plates.

McAllester, David P.

1949 Peyote Music. Viking Fund Publication in Anthropology, No. 13, pp. 1-104.

Discussion of Washo Peyote songs, pp. 54-6; text and scores of Washo Peyote songs, Appendix, pp. 31-40.

Merriam, Alam P., and Warren L. d'Azevedo

1957 Washo Peyote Songs. AA, Vol. 59, No. 4, pp. 615-41.

Washo Peyotism, the instruments and criteria of musical performance, and an analysis of the Peyote song-cycles.

Merriam, C. Hart

1905 The Indian Population of California. AA, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp. 594-606.

Washo mentioned in population estimate for 1834.

1907 Distribution and Classification of the Mewan Stock. AA, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 338-57.

Map on p. 338 shows North Miwok at Grizzley Flats; Washo boundary, p. 334.

1955 Studies of California Indians. Department of Anthropology, University of California (Ed.). University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles.

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Brief mentions of Washo basketry, trade, and territory, pp. 50, 62, 122, 154. See pp. 71-6 for "The Mono Paiute," pp. 66-70 for "The Mewuk."

Mooney, James

1896 The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890. BAE-AR, No. 14, 1892-1893, Pt. 2.

Brief mentions of Washo and Northern Paiute throughout. Western Nevada origin of Ghost Dance, pp. 701-4, 764-76; Washo population and distribution, p. 804; contradictory population and distribution figures, pp. 1051-2. Also Washo-Paiute relations, Washo subsistence activity, impact of whites.

1928 The Aboriginal Population of America North of Mexico. Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 80, No. 7.

Washo population for 1845 and 1907, p. 30. Mentions extensive epidemics, wars, and large-scale murders and massacres decimating the Indian population between 1845 and 1869.

Murphey, Edith Van Allen

1959 Indian Uses of Native Plants.

Contains some Washo names and uses of plants in a sketchy ethnobotanical report on Nevada.

Myles, M. T.

1930 Washo Baskets. Overland Monthly, No. 88, p. 265.

Olmsted, D. L.

1959 Palaihnihan and Shasta III: Dorsal Stops. Language, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 637-44.

Contains Washo words taken from Jacobsen, 1958, and Kroeber, 1907.

Park, Willard Z.

1938 The Organization and Habitat of Paviotso Bands. In "Tribal Distributions in the Great Basin." AA, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 622-8.

Location of Paviotso and Washo, Washo-Paviotso wars over territory, and Paviotso land use and ownership.

113

1941 Culture Succession in the Great Basin. In Language, Culture, and Personality, Leslie Spier (Ed.), pp. 180-203.

Deals with the nature and diffusion of dances in the Great Basin including Paviotso, Washo, Shoshone and South Paiute.

Payen, L. Arthur
1959 Petroglyphs of Sacramento and Adjoining Counties, California. UCAS-R, No. 48, pp. 66-83.

Pettitt, George A.
1946 Primitive Education in North America. UCPAAE, Vol. 43, No. 1, pp. 1-182.

See p. 62 for Washo use of nicknames.

Powell, John Wesley
1891 Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico. BAE-AR, No. 7.

See p. 131 for discussion of "Washo language family."

Powers, Stephan
1875 The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes. Unpublished MS, Bureau of American Ethnology, catalog no. 808.

See p. 1.

1876 Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California. Smithsonian Institution, Annual Report, pp. 449-60.

Location and population of Washo, Paiutes and Mono, Washo-Paiute war, Paiute pinenut locations and rules of trespass, pp. 452-3.

Riddell, Francis A.
1960 Honey Lake Paiute Ethnography. Nevada State Museum, Anthropological Papers, No. 4.

Numerous references to Washo use of Honey Lake area; Washo ethnogeographic notes, p. 82.

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Royce, Charles C.
1896-7 Indian Land Cessions in the U.S. BAE-AR, No. 18, Pt. 2, pp. 521-949, and maps.

Location of Washo and government reserves, pp. 836-7 and Maps 8, 43. (Identifying number on maps for Washo is 473.)

Rust, H. N.
1897 Tom the Arrowmaker. Land of Sunshine, Vol. 8, pp. 13-15. (Essentially the same material in "Survivals of the Stone Age," The Antiquarian, Vol. 1, pp. 284-5, 1897, by the same writer, and quoted in Squier, 1953, p. 24.)

The works of one of the last of the Washo bow and arrow craftsmen.

Sample, L. L.
1950 Trade and Trails in Aboriginal California. UCAS-R, No. 8, pp. 1-30.

Washo and Maidu trail data from notes by W. Evans and F. Riddell, and data on Washo trade with Maidu and Miwok from S. A. Barrett and E. W. Gifford.

Sapir, Edward
1917 The Status of Washo. AA, Vol. 19, No. 3, pp. 449-50.

Linguistic relations of Washo and Hokan.

1921 Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. IJAL, Vol. 2, pp. 68-72.

Schellbach, Louis
1927 A Bone Implement of the Washo. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes, Vol. 4, No. 4, pp. 400-3.

Scotch, Norman A.
1957 A Methodological Model for the Anthropological Study of Disease: Essential Hypertension in Three Societies. Ph. D dissertation, Northwestern University, Evanston.

The section on the Washo contains ethnographic and medical information based upon direct field observation and testing.

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Simpson, J. H.
1869 The Shortest Route to California, Illustrated by a History of Exploration of the Great Basin of Utah with Its Topographical and Geological Character and Some Account of the Indian Tribes. J. B. Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia.

Washo location, population, land use, and Paiute location, pp. 48-9.

Siskin, Edgar E.
1938 Washo Territory. AA, Vol. 40, No. 4, pp. 626-7.

Location of Washo, land use and seasonal round, territorial divisions, location of neighboring peoples.

1941 The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians. Ph. D dissertation, Yale University, New Haven.

Squier, Robert J.
1953 The Manufacture of Flint Implements by the Indians of Northern and Central California. UCAS-R, No. 19, Paper 20, pp. 15-32.

Washo method according to H. N. Rust, 1897, p. 24.

Steward, Julian H.
1929 Petroglyphs of California and Adjoining States. UCPAAE, Vol. 24, No. 2, pp. 47-238.

Petroglyphs in Washo territory, pp. 65-70, 139-45..

1933 Ethnography of the Owens Valley Paiute. UCPAAE, Vol. 33, No. 3, pp. 233-350.

Location of Washo, p. 235.

Stewart, Omer C.
1939 The Northern Paiute Bands. UC-AR, Vol. 2, No. 3, pp. 127-49.

Aboriginal Washo territory -- Northern Paiute boundary.

1939 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism. Proceedings of the Fifth Pacific Science Congress, Vol. 6, No. 4, pp. 65-8. Toronto.

1941 Culture Element Distributions: XIV, Northern Paiute. UC-AR, Vol. 4, No. 3, pp. 361-446.

An important source, includes a listing of Washo culture elements in addition to Northern Paiute and Achomawi.

1944 Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation. UCPAAE, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 63-142.

Swadesh, Morris

1954 Time Depths in American Linguistic Groupings. AA, Vol. 56, pp. 361-4.

Indicates the divergence of Washo-Comecrudo and Washo-Jicaque.

Tax, Sol (Ed.)

1960 The North American Indians, 1950 Distribution of Descendants of the Aboriginal Population of Alaska, Canada and the United States. Map prepared by the Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago.

Dresslerville population given as 170, Washo population given as 799. Some of the figures given are misleading and inaccurate.

Taylor, Alex S.

1960 The Indianology of California. The California Farmer, Vol. 13, June 22, 1960, 138.

Location and population of Washo.

Train, Percy, James R. Henricks and W. Andrew Archer

1941 Medicinal Uses of Plants by Indian Tribes of Nevada. Contributions Toward a Flora of Nevada, No. 33. U. S. Department of Agriculture. (mimeographed)

Data on medicinal use of Nevada plants by Washo and other groups; short Washo word list, pp. 26-7.

A3

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1944

Program of the Carson Indian Agency Jurisdiction, Nevada-California. (mimeographed)

Agency records, summary of program, description of Washo social and economic conditions, history of the reservation areas and Federal programing, economic data on families, differences arising between Washo and Nevada stockmen regarding Pinenut Range lands.

U.S. House of Representatives, Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Public Lands
1950 A compilation of Material Relating to the Indians of the United States and the Territory of Alaska, Including Certain Laws and Treaties Affecting Such Indians, June 13, 1950, Serial 30.

Washo reservation acreage and population estimated in the 1930's, p. 91; history of Washo reservation and land allotments, pp. 240-1; statistics on lands, resources, employment, health, education, and material conditions of the Washo, pp. 846-7, 853; description of the charter and constitution of the Washo Tribe of Nevada and California approved January 24, 1936, p. 1044.

Weltfish, Gene
1930 Coiled Gambling Baskets of the Pawnee and Other Plains Tribes. Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, Indian Notes, Vol. 7, No. 3.

Comparative statement on the use of baskets for dice games and Culin's (1907, p. 199) information on the Washo use of a winnowing basket for their dice games, p. 293.

1932 Problems in the Study of Ancient and Modern Basket-Makers. AA, Vol. 34, No. 1, pp. 108-17.

See p. 115 for note on Washo basketry.

Wissler, Clark
1931 Observation on the Face and Teeth of the North American Indians. American Museum of Natural History, Anthropological Papers, Vol. 33, Pt. 1, pp. 1-33.

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

UNPUBLISHED

Anonymous
n. d. The Lost and Forgotten Tribe: The Washoe Indian Tribe. Mimeographed and distributed by Fritz L. Kramer, Department of Geography, University of Oregon.

An unusual and important document written by a young Washo woman as a university term paper. It constitutes the only instance -- within the knowledge of the bibliographers -- of a written description of modern Washo life and attitudes by a member of the group.

Bancroft, Hubert Howe
1881 Early History of Carson Valley. MS, 5 pp. (call no. P-F 18, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 67, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Deals with the period 1850-1857.

Bigler, Henry William
1872 Diary of a Mormon in California--Discovery of Gold 1848, MS. (call no. C-D 45, Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Complete journal with extracts concerning missionary experiences and an account of life in "The Union" on microfilm no. 76, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Notes taken from the author's diary between 1846 and 1848 concerning prospecting on the American River, Mormon wagon trains from Salt Lake City to California; immigrants and Indian raids.

Blackburn, Abner
n. d. Reminiscences. MS. Quoted in The Humboldt, Dale L. Morgan (1943).

n. d. Narrative of Experiences, 1837-51, MS. (call no. C-D 5007, Bancroft Library, Berkeley.)

Comments by an early settler in Carson Valley.

Conover, Peter Wilson
n. d. Journal, 1840-1878. MS. Utah State Historical Society, Salt Lake City.

113 Accounts of the recall of Mormons from Carson Valley to Salt Lake City.

Cradlebaugh, William M.
1883 Nevada Biography, San Francisco. MS, 3 pp. (call no. P-G 3, Bancroft Library, Berkeley; microfilm no. 65, Treasure Room, University of Utah Library.)

Notes concerning early settlements and mining in western Nevada.

Dangberg, Grace
1917-1920 Field Notes: language, folklore, material culture, social organization, and shamanism.

1919 Ethnographic Field Notes on the Washo Indians. MS.

d'Azevedo, Warren L.
1952-55 Field Notes: general ethnological data, social organization,
1959-60 territorial distribution, peyotism.

1956 Washo Place Names. MS.

n.d. A Contribution to the Ethnohistory of the Washo. (In preparation.)

Dodge, J. (Indian Agent)
1859 Letter to Jacob Forney, Esq., Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Utah Territory, Jan. 4, 1859. B.I.A., Utah Superintendency, L.R. 1859, D-635.

Downs, James F.
1959 Field Notes.

n.d. Non-Herders: The Washo, Part II: The Effects of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes. (In preparation.)

n.d. Washo Hunting Techniques. (In preparation.)

Freed, Stanley A.
1952-57 Field Notes.

General ethnographic data regarding aboriginal and modern Washo culture. An emphasis on social organization.

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1954 Washo Habitation Sites in the Lake Tahoe Area. MS. (6 pp. and map on file, Dept. of Anthropology, California Archaeological Survey, University of California, Berkeley.)

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Freed, Ruth S.
1953-57 Field Notes.

Unpublished data on social organization, modern teen-age Washo, and life histories.

Grosscup, Gordon L.
1954 Northern Paiute Archeology. MS.

A compilation of regional archeological site materials pertinent to prehistoric occupation of Northern Paiute.

Hamlin, Alfred Street
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/For festive activities associated with the pinenut dance, see category 535./

[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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[601]
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A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

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The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

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Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

[124]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[221] [785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people [574] of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 [415] [42] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing [846] mother to produce milk.

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 366-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Millon, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Yapparagari, Mrs. Juanita Schubert, and Mrs. Lois Buck of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shulter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

[P. 365, B]

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1981 MT20 Washo MT20

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

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In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

[126]

Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seemingly mystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

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773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangwawiwi. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

7:Freed E-6 (1868-1967)1960 NT30 Washo NT30

[P.349, A]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

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This paper presents a study of Washo social organization and of the changes which have occurred within it since the end of the aboriginal period. It is particularly concerned with discovering the causes of a number of alternate kinship terms which together appear to constitute a new, emerging system of kinship terminology. The hypothesis here advanced to account for the alternate kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules or rules of descent. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or roles, and that these roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given kind of social organization. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

In order to test the assumption of a close correlation of role behavior and kinship terminology, I have devised a technique, called the role profile test, which yields an objective description of role behavior. The data from the role profile test show that Washo role behavior agrees closely with the emerging system of kinship terminology. The close correlation of role behavior and terminological system and the occurrence of changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology despite a relatively stable social structure support the hypothesis that roles may vary markedly within the limits set by a given type of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of social organization.

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The study is based on six months of field work among the Washo living in Carson City and Dresslerville, Nevada, and Woodfords and Markleeville, California. Four trips were made: during the first two,

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7:Freed E-8 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

TrPmed B-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P 363, A]

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

PREFACE

With the inception of the Ethnological Group Building Program in 1910, of the Milwaukee Public Museum, plans were made to represent in this graphic form each of the great culture areas of North America. One of these was that of the "Great Basin," that vast semi-desert, plateau lying between the Sierra Nevada and the Rocky Mountain Range. [121]

The Paviotso branch of the Paiute were chosen as typical representatives of this cultural group. Work was concentrated in the western portion of this area where at that time (1915) there was surviving a better representation of that culture than could be found elsewhere.

Publications were in those days much fewer than we have now. There were, in fact, only a few trained workers in the anthropological field. Consequently, to get reliable data and information in sufficiently detailed form to permit accurate reproduction of a culture in group form, it was necessary that one go into the field and make his own personal observations, sketches and photographs. This required a thorough canvass of the culture area involved, which took months. At the end of this period, when the ethnographer had in hand all possible information needed to reconstruct the old life in the area, the chief artist was sent for. The two, together, spent a final month in the field building a scale model of the life-sized group -- also of any special dioramas or other exhibits needed as auxiliaries -- to be finally built in the Museum.

This rather extensive field procedure often furnished interesting special contacts. In 1915 one of these was my hasty contact with the Washo Indians in the region of Lake Tahoe. [114]

These, it must be remembered, were the days when automobiles were a rarity: the real old "horse and buggy days." Now the whole shore of Lake Tahoe is built up with resorts, hotels, motels and beautiful summer homes. Now you spin along in your car at any rate you please on the perfect highways and freeways. The beautiful surface of the lake itself is cut in every direction by the wakes of many motor boats. In 1915 I could walk mi'es at a stretch without meeting a soul, especially on the south shore, as I followed [illegible] directions in trying to find some distant camp of a Washo family. When I finally arrived I would find some patriarch patiently chipping arrowheads or making a bow preparatory to going on a hunt for deer in the adjacent forest. We did not have to listen to tales of the olden times then. We had these "olden" times spread out before us for inspection. One can only regret that we had not more time to see all these things or that there were so few trained ethnologists to observe things.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT28 Washo NT28

[2] We are now most fortunate to have more workers to study the survivals of cultures and to publish the results of their labors. The several papers and analyses here presented are, we hope, only the beginning of more extensive publications on the Washo and on other tribes in this Great Basin area, one of the most interesting regions left in America.

S. A. Barrett
University of California
Berkeley, California
May 18, 1962

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1924), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1952-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-78). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952, and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1924), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1924, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelέyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

754 154 121

The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the
[178] question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course,
154 members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

121 128 154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

SOCIAL FACTORS IN HYPERTENSION AMONG THE WASHO[1]

by Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

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Essential hypertension, accounting for 85 to 95% of all hypertension, is a disease of unknown etiology. Many factors have been studied in relation to its development, among them, 1) heredity, 2) constitution, 3) diet, and 4) social and psychological stress. It is unlikely that any single factor is wholly responsible for hypertension, and medical scholars currently view the disease from a multi-causal framework.

For at least three decades physicians have suspected a relationship between social factors and the presence or absence of hypertension, or elevated blood pressure. This suspicion has not been buttressed by substantive research, at least until recently, so that systematic research on the possible relation of social factors to the disease is highly desirable. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies of blood pressure measurements have been carried out among many societies throughout the world. Though these studies are not always strictly comparable for a variety of reasons (e.g., different criteria for hypertension, different instruments, sampling problems, etc.) they do give some indication, at least, of the distribution of blood pressure levels throughout the world. Thus one can rate societies on the basis of mean blood pressure levels. Furthermore, one can refer to actuarial studies of the normal limits of blood pressure levels in order to evaluate whether or not the mean levels are "pathologically" high; that is, whether such levels are indications of increased morbidity and mortality.

[114]

This paper reports the findings of a pilot study undertaken by the authors among the Washo Indians in the summer of 1954. The whole project was conceived as a small-scale forerunner of a later, larger study to be conducted in South Africa, the results of which have been published elsewhere (Scotch, 1960). Because of the exploratory nature of the Washo research, plus certain methodological difficulties, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

Methods

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Material for the analysis that follows comes chiefly from interviews conducted among Washo adults during which certain social data were collected (religion, employment, education, etc.). Blood pressure determinations were

TABLE I:

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance: 147 158 121

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [271]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

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[273]
[771]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory.

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 000"; Kroeber (1925, 844) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 616) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [123] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawŠkaÏ?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With [162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child {621} arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 30 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugÉiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-6.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 388-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Miller, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Tappenagari, Mrs. Jeanne Schubert, and Mrs. Lena Burk of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shutter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

?Freed S-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

In the summers of 1953 and 1955, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture: during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by cupparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

The authors wish to acknowledge an indebtedness to a number of persons and institutions who have aided their work. Four of the contributors recall with gratitude the encouragement given to their first field projects by the late professors A. L. Kroeber, E. W. Gifford and R. H. Lowie. The atmosphere of excitement and dedication these men brought to the tasks of basic ethnographic research, and their unflagging interest in the cultures of western North America, were communicated to any student who chose to do field investigation in this region. Robert F. Heizer and Omer C. Stewart have continually made the results of their own extensive studies available, and represent an exemplary tradition of scholarship through their generous sharing of quantities of unpublished data with serious students. We wish also to thank Grace Dangberg and Juanita Schubert who, as permanent residents of Carson Valley in Nevada, have maintained continuing interest in local anthropological problems and have assisted many of those who came to study there. James W. Calhoun, Director, and Richard Shutler, Curator, of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City have made the facilities and collections of this center available to visiting scholars. The consistent cooperation of the staff of the Carson Indian Agency at Stewart, Nevada, has also been an important aid to research.

A special note of appreciation is extended to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. of the University of Washington who has given unstintingly of his time and expert knowledge of the Washo language. His phonemic system has been used by most of the contributors to this volume, and his forthcoming dictionary of the Washo language is eagerly awaited as a much needed reference work. The editor also wishes to acknowledge the aid of the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund which has done much to facilitate the presentation of these collected papers.

Finally, we wish to dedicate this volume to the Washo Tribe of California and Nevada, and to all those individuals who have cooperated with us to make our field work among them a rich and rewarding experience. Such experiences are not easily forgotten and will, for many of us, lay the basis of a lifelong friendship and undiminishing concern for the tenacious Washo people.

Warren L. d'Azevedo
University of Pittsburgh
November, 1962.

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 389-78) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 615-18; Stewart, 1944, 83-3).

Notes

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128 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticised early drafts of the paper.

Notes

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1. This paper is based on materials appearing in the doctoral dissertation of the senior author (An Anthropological Study of Essential Hypertension in Three Societies, Northwestern University, 1957). The authors wish to thank the Graduate School, Northwestern University and the Cardiovascular Research Department of the Michael Reese Hospital, Chicago, for generous financial support which made the field work on which this paper is based possible. Thanks are due for the advice and support of Dr. Jeremiah Stamler, Professor M. J. Herskovits and Professor William Bascom.

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4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

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174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

● 122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

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172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo ● 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dowšaalí?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With [162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [621] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugíiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Wenner-Gren Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

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DBD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-8).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

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The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticised parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

G. C. E.

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can break up a developing pattern is an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us <u>what</u> is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Sur-
554 prisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [478] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [179] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
124 pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
231 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
825 lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

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[271] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm
[262] water. In the old days anything that she gathered
[263] anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat
sweet or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the
same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct
[124] questions and does not reflect special Washo truths.
[262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for
four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as
[202] much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[356] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure
[824] the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal [782] prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown [431] into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu[178] ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few [302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the [574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lewis witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

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224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[789] [764] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 344, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] [177]

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[P.382, B]

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"This prayer[1] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more."[2]

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"Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

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Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mogal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

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Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of seminunity and prosperity.

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Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

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Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[1] Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used nominally.

[2] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they become eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

● [124]

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1933), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1958). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

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The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

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Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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ALTERNATE TERMS

Terminological change was determined by comparing modern usages with the standard kinship system. In the course of seventy genealogical interviews, at least a few variant kinship usages could probably have been collected during aboriginal times. However, the conditions of modern Washo life make variant usages in genealogical interviews almost inevitable. Some informants speak Washo poorly and may guess at terms; others do not understand English well and may misunderstand the investigator's questions. The problem is to separate the alternate usages due to mistakes and misunderstandings from the ones which may indicate that the terminological system is changing.

[P.359, B]

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Two criteria are available for this purpose. First, usages arising from change in the terminological system should occur more frequently than other "alternate" usages which appear to represent erroneous information. Second, the alternate terms of the new, emerging kinship system should form an internally consistent system.

Analysis of the Wasko genealogical data showed the following alternate usages.

1. Thirteen informants called some or all of their cousins by terms distinct from the sibling terms. The terms used are numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in table 1.
2. Five informants called their brother's children and sister's children by a single term.

[P.359, C]

TABLE 3

Incidence of Washo Kinship Usages in Ego's and Adjacent Generations

Kinship usage*	Age group of informants							
	10-19 (10)†	20-29 (13)	30-39 (7)	40-49 (12)	50-59 (8)	60-69 (6)	70-79 (4)	80-89 (3)
Siblings								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	6	4	2
Term unknown	2							
Miscellaneous	3	1						
Cousins								
Standard	3	3	4	8	7	7	4	
By own age	4	4	1	1	1			
Alternate	3	3	1	3	3	3		1
Term unknown	8	6	2		1			
Miscellaneous	1			2				
Uncles								
Standard	6	11	6	10	7	6	5	2
Alternate	3							
Term unknown	7	1				1		
Miscellaneous				1				
Aunts								
Standard	8	8	6	10	7	7	4	2
Term unknown	6	1	1					
Miscellaneous		3						
Nephews and nieces								
Standard	9	8	6	11	8	6	5	2
Alternate	1	2	2					
Term unknown	2	2						
Miscellaneous	1	1			1			
Father and mother								
Standard	13	13	7	13	8	6	5	2
Term unknown	2							
Son and daughter								
Standard	1	9	6	9	7	5	4	2

*The meanings of "standard" and "by own age" are clear from the text. "Term unknown" means the informant did not know the term. "Alternate" refers to the terms of the new terminological system. "Miscellaneous" includes all alternate usages regarded as nonsignificant; these are listed in the text. If a single informant gave different kinds of usages (e.g., standard and alternate) for a single kind of relative (e.g., cousins), he was counted twice. If he gave more than one different kind of "miscellaneous" response for any one kind of relative (as for example to call one aunt "grandmother's sister" and the other aunt "great-grandparent"), he was counted only once.

†The number in parentheses is the number of informants in the age group.

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3. Three informants called their mother's brother and father's brother by a single term.

Two alternate usages were given by two informants: mother's brother's child was called brother's child, and older brother was called younger brother. A considerable number of alternate usages were given by only one informant: father's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's sister was called great-grandparent, mother's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's brother was called older brother, brother's son was called younger brother, mother's sister's son was called sister's child, and older sister was called younger sister. One woman used the male speaking term for brother's child instead of the female term. One informant used brother's child (man speaking) for sister's son and brother's son, and sister's child for sister's daughter and brother's daughter. This is what Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d., p. 43) call a "loose translation," that is, the Washo terms have been equated with the English nephew and niece terms.

The three alternate usages which occur most frequently appear to represent change in the terminological system. They form a consistent system: the new terminology is of the lineal type in all generations. The alternate cousin terms and the terminological merging of brother's child and sister's child show a significantly higher frequency than all other alternate usages. The merging of father's brother and mother's brother occurs only slightly more than other, nonsignificant alternate usages; but it is included with the other two primarily because it conforms to the trend toward a lineal terminological system in the three generations under study.

The alternate terms appear to represent a new system of kinship terminology rather than survivals from an older system. From the breakdown of Washo kinship usages given in table 3, it can be seen that the alternate uncle and nephew-niece terms are used by individuals in the younger age groups; and this leads to the inference that they are recent. The alternate cousin terms are spread rather evenly throughout the generations, but they too appear to be part of a new terminological system. This is indicated from the terms used for children of cousins. Older people generally use the terms meaning brother's child and sister's child in spite of the fact that they no longer call their cousins siblings. Younger people tend to use the cousin terms for the children of cousins. The terms for cousins apparently are first changed in ego's generation, and the change is then extended to the first descending generation. Thus the use of the alternate cousin terms is becoming more firmly embedded in the terminology. Another reason for believing that the cousin terms are part of a new kinship system is that the older people who use them state that sibling terms are also correct whereas the younger people are unaware that sibling terms may be used. The greater frequency of the alternate cousin terms compared to the alternate nephew-niece and uncle terms and their greater age as indicated by their occurrence among older persons is in accord with Dole's observation that when terminological patterns change, the cousin terms change first (Dole, MS, p. 428). The Washo data indicate that terms of the first descending generation may be the next to change, followed by changes in the parental generation.

Most people who use the standard cousin terms declare that the alternate cousin terms are incorrect.

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 1 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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The informant is provided with slips of paper containing Washo kinship terms written quasiphonetically for all the relatives he possesses in first ascending, ego's, and first descending generations. These, of course, differ from person to person. The informant is then asked to arrange the slips of paper in a column in response to each of the sixteen questions. The relative ranking highest in the behavior questioned is to be placed at the top of the column; the remainder are to be ranked in descending order, with the one ranking lowest in the behavior in question to be placed at the bottom. The first few questions are for practice and designed to acquaint the informant with the kind of response desired. The investigator asks "which of your relatives weighs most . . . is tallest . . . is oldest" or some other similar question, and instructs the informant to arrange the slips of paper, helping him if necessary. Once the "set" of the experiment is established, the questionnaire is administered. The questions are explained to the informant, using examples if necessary; they are not read mechanically. The informant's responses are noted for each question, and the paper slips are shuffled before the next question is given. The result is a test protocol ranking a person's relatives in each of the sixteen categories of interpersonal behavior.

Several precautions must be observed if the test results are to attain their maximum reliability. First, the investigator must determine the opportunity the informant has had for knowing and interacting with the relatives to be included in the test. If there has been a reasonable opportunity for interacting with a relative, he is to be included in the test even if the informant has had little interaction with him. If there has been no opportunity for interaction, the relative should be excluded. For example, if a relative has lived close to the informant for many years, he is to be included even though the informant rarely sees him. In this case, the opportunity for interaction exists, and the fact that none has taken place may be an important feature of the role behavior. However, if a relative died when the informant was a baby, or lives at a great distance, or is feeble-minded, he is to be excluded, for the informant has had no opportunity to interact with him.

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Second, the same interpreter should be used for all informants. This should not be taken too literally, for feuds and hard feelings can make the presence of particular interpreters unpleasant to informants. In addition, if the interpreter is related to the informant, this might tend to influence the informant's responses. It is probably best to use an interpreter who is not related to the informant. This precaution could not be observed for two Washo informants owing to the prevailing rules of courtesy. These two informants were slightly deaf and it was necessary to shout at them. Among the Washo, it is considered impolite for a person to shout at a nonrelative. Therefore, relatives had to be used as interpreters.

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Third, the testing situation should be standardized. This means that as few relatives as possible should be looking over the informant's shoulder while he is taking the test. An easy way to shed distracting relatives is to conduct the interview in an automobile.

Fourth, the questions should be asked randomly. I suspect that there is some contagion from one question to the next. This is enhanced if, for example, all the questions probing dominance are asked one after the other. By randomizing the questions, the investigator

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can break up a developing pattern in an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us what is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1955-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

Residence Rules

Residence rules were established from the published reports, the statements of our older informants referring to aboriginal times, and the census data and brief life histories provided by our group of 70 informants. Lowie reports that residence was matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple moved. Another of his informants says that residence following marriage could be either matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality of a few weeks, after which the couple went to the husband's family. Many couples lived in either place alternately (Curtis, 1926, 97). On the basis of the information given by Lowie and Curtis, Washo residence is therefore bilocal with a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

Our informants report three kinds of residence: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. According to our older informants, no compelling rule governs the choice of residence. Most people spend the greater part of their lives near the parents or other close relatives of the husband or wife; neolocal residence occurs, but is usually of short duration and therefore relatively unimportant. Neolocal residence is reported as frequently by our older informants as by our younger ones, indicating that neolocal residence is not a recent innovation. Our data do not support a tendency toward initial matrilocality. Of 48 marriages reported by our informants, 17 were initially matrilocal. Since only three kinds of residence choices occur, on the basis of chance one-third of them would be matrilocal. The 17 initially matrilocal residence choices that occurred in the sample of 48 marriages do not differ sufficiently from the 16 that would be expected from chance alone to suggest a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

It is not entirely clear whether or not data from the modern Washo indicate that changes have occurred in Washo residence patterns since aboriginal times. I believe that none have occurred -- that the apparent differences between the reports of Lowie and Curtis and the data collected by my wife and myself arise from differences in field procedure. Lowie and Curtis interviewed only a few people, whereas we interviewed many. Residence data gathered from a large number of people will show greater variability than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule. Modern Washo residence is best described as bilocal, and probably no change has occurred since aboriginal times (Freed, 1960, 360-1).

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952, and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882, Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region, the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelfyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 238-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/ [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

SOCIAL FACTORS IN HYPERTENSION AMONG THE WASHO[1]

by Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

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Essential hypertension, accounting for 85 to 95% of all hypertension, is a disease of unknown etiology. Many factors have been studied in relation to its development, among them, 1) heredity, 2) constitution, 3) diet, and 4) social and psychological stress. It is unlikely that any single factor is wholly responsible for hypertension, and medical scholars currently view the disease from a multi-causal framework.

For at least three decades physicians have suspected a relationship between social factors and the presence or absence of hypertension, or elevated blood pressure. This suspicion has not been buttressed by substantive research, at least until recently, so that systematic research on the possible relation of social factors to the disease is highly desirable. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies of blood pressure measurements have been carried out among many societies throughout the world. Though these studies are not always strictly comparable for a variety of reasons (e.g., different criteria for hypertension, different instruments, sampling problems, etc.) they do give some indication, at least, of the distribution of blood pressure levels throughout the world. Thus one can rate societies on the basis of mean blood pressure levels. Furthermore, one can refer to actuarial studies of the normal limits of blood pressure levels in order to evaluate whether or not the mean levels are "pathologically" high; that is, whether such levels are indications of increased morbidity and mortality.

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This paper reports the findings of a pilot study undertaken by the authors among the Washo Indians in the summer of 1954. The whole project was conceived as a small-scale forerunner of a later, larger study to be conducted in South Africa, the results of which have been published elsewhere (Scotch, 1960). Because of the exploratory nature of the Washo research, plus certain methodological difficulties, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

Methods

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Material for the analysis that follows comes chiefly from interviews conducted among Washo adults during which certain social data were collected (religion, employment, education, etc.). Blood pressure determinations were

126 Blood pressure determinations were
141 made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five
124 minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews
were conducted in the homes of respondents.

124 It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo
114 communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

147 For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during
128 the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

147 The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in
158 Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying basketa), mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31 (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #28, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were 177 gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the 233 agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Sur-
554 prisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a 246 small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his 313 stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for 347 the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle 178 enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
124 pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
231 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
225 lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 24]) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[77] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ca. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

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42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off.

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

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Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake.

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These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region.

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CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

This paper presents a study of Washo social organization and of the changes which have occurred within it since the end of the aboriginal period. It is particularly concerned with discovering the causes of a number of alternate kinship terms which together appear to constitute a new, emerging system of kinship terminology. The hypothesis here advanced to account for the alternate kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules or rules of descent. This hypothesis is based on the assumptions that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or roles, and that these roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given kind of social organization. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

In order to test the assumption of a close correlation of role behavior and kinship terminology, I have devised a technique, called the role profile test, which yields an objective description of role behavior. The data from the role profile test show that Washo role behavior agrees closely with the emerging system of kinship terminology. The close correlation of role behavior and terminological system and the occurrence of changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology despite a relatively stable social structure support the hypothesis that roles may vary markedly within the limits set by a given type of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of social organization.

The study is based on six months of field work among the Washo living in Carson City and Dresslerville, Nevada, and Woodfords and Markleeville, California. Four trips were made: during the first two,

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> differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

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From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combinstion of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often coöperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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The informant is provided with slips of paper containing Washo kinship terms written quasiphonetically for all the relatives he possesses in first ascending, ego's, and first descending generations. These, of course, differ from person to person. The informant is then asked to arrange the slips of paper in a column in response to each of the sixteen questions. The relative ranking highest in the behavior questioned is to be placed at the top of the column; the remainder are to be ranked in descending order, with the one ranking lowest in the behavior in question to be placed at the bottom. The first few questions are for practice and designed to acquaint the informant with the kind of response desired. The investigator asks "which of your relatives weighs most . . . is tallest . . . is oldest" or some other similar question, and instructs the informant to arrange the slips of paper, helping him if necessary. Once the "set" of the experiment is established, the questionnaire is administered. The questions are explained to the informant, using examples if necessary; they are not read mechanically. The informant's responses are noted for each question, and the paper slips are shuffled before the next question is given. The result is a test protocol ranking a person's relatives in each of the sixteen categories of interpersonal behavior.

Several precautions must be observed if the test results are to attain their maximum reliability. First, the investigator must determine the opportunity the informant has had for knowing and interacting with the relatives to be included in the test. If there has been a reasonable opportunity for interacting with a relative, he is to be included in the test even if the informant has had little interaction with him. If there has been no opportunity for interaction, the relative should be excluded. For example, if a relative has lived close to the informant for many years, he is to be included even though the informant rarely sees him. In this case, the opportunity for interaction exists, and the fact that none has taken place may be an important feature of the role behavior. However, if a relative died when the informant was a baby, or lives at a great distance, or is feeble-minded, he is to be excluded, for the informant has had no opportunity to interact with him.

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Second, the same interpreter should be used for all informants. This should not be taken too literally, for feuds and hard feelings can make the presence of particular interpreters unpleasant to informants. In addition, if the interpreter is related to the informant, this might tend to influence the informant's responses. It is probably best to use an interpreter who is not related to the informant. This precaution could not be observed for two Washo informants owing to the prevailing rules of courtesy. These two informants were slightly deaf and it was necessary to shout at them. Among the Washo, it is considered impolite for a person to shout at a nonrelative. Therefore, relatives had to be used as interpreters.

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Third, the testing situation should be standardized. This means that as few relatives as possible should be looking over the informant's shoulder while he is taking the test. An easy way to shed distracting relatives is to conduct the interview in an automobile.

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Fourth, the questions should be asked randomly. I suspect that there is some contagion from one question to the next. This is enhanced if, for example, all the questions probing dominance are asked one after the other. By randomizing the questions, the investigator

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can break up a developing pattern in an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us what is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of nonsororal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Washo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Washo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

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CONCLUSION

The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Washo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

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A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

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brief description of the behavior of relatives separated by two or three generations is included. This is based upon observations and a few rather general statements of informants.

The administration and analysis of the role profile tests and the characteristics of the group of people who took them are described in Freed (1960). The role profile test asks 16 questions probing various features of interpersonal behavior. The questionnaire is given below. All the questions are related to four general qualities of interpersonal interaction: dominance, submission, affiliation and hostility. The strongest and purest expressions of these qualities are in questions one (dominance), five (affiliation), nine (submission), and 13 (hostility). The questions between any two of these attempt to combine their qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (question two) combines dominance and affiliation; "to respect" (question eight) combines affiliation and submission; "to nag" (question 12) combines submission and hostility; and "to refuse help" (question 15) combines hostility and dominance. The data of the role profile test can be quantified, and this permits an objective description and comparison of roles. The quantitative treatment of roles and their similarities and differences is given in Freed (1960). This paper will describe roles only in qualitative terms.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

(The words in parentheses were useful in improving the informants' understanding of the questions)

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?

2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?

3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?

4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?

5. Which relative is specially fond of you?

6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?

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7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

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Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish). 157 125 602 554

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

125 157 554 602 [128] [594] [476] questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 128 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 104 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

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In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine —a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing" —and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

Blood pressure determinations were
126 made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five
141 minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews
124 were conducted in the homes of respondents.

124 It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo
114 communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

147 For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during
128 the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

147 The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in
158 Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 366-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Millon, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Yapparagari, Mrs. Juanita Schubert, and Mrs. Lois Buck of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shulter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

[P. 365, B]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

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PREFACE

This study was approved in essentially its present form in April, 1962, as a Master's thesis by the University of Utah. Financial aid was provided by a Graduate Fellowship from the National Science Foundation, and is acknowledged with gratitude. The data were collected in the field from June to September of 1961 from informants representing all major sections of Washo territory. My major Washo informants were Hank Pete, Bertha Holbrook, George Snooks, and Clara Frank of Dresslerville Colony in Nevada and Roy James of Woodfords, California. In addition, Susie Dick, Richard Barrington, Earl James, Don James, and Tom Barber were helpful.

Several other residents of Douglas County, Nevada and Alpine County, California aided my study. They were Harry Hawkins, Mr. and Mrs. John Fettic, Grant Merrill, Ruth Kelly, Earl C. Brennen and Grover Krick. Special thanks are extended to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada for advice and the use of her Washo ethnographic notes and photographs made from 1917 through 1919. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada and Margaret Wheat of Carson City, Nevada shared with me their extensive experience in the area.

Professors Gordon L. Grosscup, B. Jack White, and Robert Anderson have helped me to refine this study. The advice and criticism of Warren L. d'Azevedo over the whole range of my research has been of great benefit.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

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In the summers of 1952 and 1953, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture; during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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The authors wish to acknowledge an indebtedness to a number of persons and institutions who have aided their work. Four of the contributors recall with gratitude the encouragement given to their first field projects by the late professors A. L. Kroeber, E. W. Gifford and R. H. Lowie. The atmosphere of excitement and dedication these men brought to the tasks of basic ethnographic research, and their unflagging interest in the cultures of western North America, were communicated to any student who chose to do field investigation in this region. Robert F. Heizer and Omer C. Stewart have continually made the results of their own extensive studies available, and represent an exemplary tradition of scholarship through their generous sharing of quantities of unpublished data with serious students. We wish also to thank Grace Dangberg and Juanita Schubert who, as permanent residents of Carson Valley in Nevada, have maintained continuing interest in local anthropological problems and have assisted many of those who came to study there. James W. Calhoun, Director, and Richard Shutler, Curator, of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City have made the facilities and collections of this center available to visiting scholars. The consistent cooperation of the staff of the Carson Indian Agency at Stewart, Nevada, has also been an important aid to research.

A special note of appreciation is extended to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. of the University of Washington who has given unstintingly of his time and expert knowledge of the Washo language. His phonemic system has been used by most of the contributors to this volume, and his forthcoming dictionary of the Washo language is eagerly awaited as a much needed reference work. The editor also wishes to acknowledge the aid of the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund which has done much to facilitate the presentation of these collected papers.

Finally, we wish to dedicate this volume to the Washo Tribe of California and Nevada, and to all those individuals who have cooperated with us to make our field work among them a rich and rewarding experience. Such experiences are not easily forgotten and will, for many of us, lay the basis of a lifelong friendship and undiminishing concern for the tenacious Washo people.

Warren L. d'Azevedo
University of Pittsburgh
November, 1962.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

Residence Rules

Residence rules were established from the published reports, the statements of our older informants referring to aboriginal times, and the census data and brief life histories provided by our group of 70 informants. Lowie reports that residence was matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple moved. Another of his informants says that residence following marriage could be either matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality of a few weeks, after which the couple went to the husband's family. Many couples lived in either place alternately (Curtis, 1926, 97). On the basis of the information given by Lowie and Curtis, Washo residence is therefore bilocal with a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

Our informants report three kinds of residence: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. According to our older informants, no compelling rule governs the choice of residence. Most people spend the greater part of their lives near the parents or other close relatives of the husband or wife; neolocal residence occurs, but is usually of short duration and therefore relatively unimportant. Neolocal residence is reported as frequently by our older informants as by our younger ones, indicating that neolocal residence is not a recent innovation. Our data do not support a tendency toward initial matrilocality. Of 48 marriages reported by our informants, 17 were initially matrilocal. Since only three kinds of residence choices occur, on the basis of chance one-third of them would be matrilocal. The 17 initially matrilocal residence choices that occurred in the sample of 48 marriages do not differ sufficiently from the 16 that would be expected from chance alone to suggest a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

It is not entirely clear whether or not data from the modern Washo indicate that changes have occurred in Washo residence patterns since aboriginal times. I believe that none have occurred -- that the apparent differences between the reports of Lowie and Curtis and the data collected by my wife and myself arise from differences in field procedure. Lowie and Curtis interviewed only a few people, whereas we interviewed many. Residence data gathered from a large number of people will show greater variability than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule. Modern Washo residence is best described as bilocal, and probably no change has occurred since aboriginal times (Freed, 1960, 360-1).

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952; and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance; Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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[412]
[484]
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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

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One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

[311]
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The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[3] [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

● 127

The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1/1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843

513 A pregnant woman (dawáka·ši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back
845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

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843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her
784 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows
[224] and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With
[162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child
[621] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

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The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

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a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women ... 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 26a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

PREFACE

This paper is the result of two and one-half months' field work among the Washo Indians of California and Nevada supported by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. In it I have tried to describe the religious beliefs and ritual activities of the Washo as they can be examined today. Where possible I have attempted to reconstruct the aboriginal patterns and trace the course of change between these two points in time.

A second purpose has been to supplement the culture element distribution lists prepared by Omer C. Stewart in 1936 (Stewart 1941). In a number of instances his findings were at variance with those of Smith, whose notes Stewart incorporated; I have been able to resolve some of the differences between Stewart and Smith. Where my own research has led me to disagree with the statements in the culture element distributions I have discussed the problem. In general my own work simply expands the rather sparse descriptions of the element lists (Stewart 1941, pp. 366-418). The culture element distribution list numbers which refer to traits dealt with in the various sections are indicated in parentheses following the headings. Where a trait or complex is dealt with in detail it is indicated by parentheses in the text. Statements not otherwise attributed are the result of my own field work.

I am indebted to Mr. W. L. d'Azevedo, who encouraged me to carry on field work among the Washo and who has made his own field notes and knowledge available to me. I have indicated information attributable to d'Azevedo by placing his name in parentheses in the text; where his name appears with a date, the reference is to a work published by him.

I also wish to express my thanks for the suggestions made by J. H. Rowe, R. F. Millon, and D. M. Schneider, who read this article before it went to press, and to acknowledge the final reading given the manuscript by the late A. L. Kroeber.

In addition, my thanks are owed to Mr. Frank Yapparagari, Mrs. Juanita Schubert, and Mrs. Lois Buck of Gardnerville and Minden, Nevada, to Mr. Richard Shulter of the Nevada State Museum in Carson City, Nevada, and to Mrs. E. M. Keenan of Paradise, California, who assisted in various ways in the progress of the investigation. Last, to the various members of the Washo tribe, who with patience and good humor bore the probing into their lives, my deepest gratitude.

James F. Downs

[Introductory, P. iii]

[P. 365, B]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

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In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

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Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

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PREFACE

This study was approved in essentially its present form in April, 1962, as a Master's thesis by the University of Utah. Financial aid was provided by a Graduate Fellowship from the National Science Foundation, and is acknowledged with gratitude. The data were collected in the field from June to September of 1961 from informants representing all major sections of Washo territory. My major Washo informants were Hank Pete, Bertha Holbrook, George Snooks, and Clara Frank of Dresslerville Colony in Nevada and Roy James of Woodfords, California. In addition, Susie Dick, Richard Barrington, Earl James, Don James, and Tom Barber were helpful.

Several other residents of Douglas County, Nevada and Alpine County, California aided my study. They were Harry Hawkins, Mr. and Mrs. John Fettic, Grant Merrill, Ruth Kelly, Earl C. Brennen and Grover Krick. Special thanks are extended to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada for advice and the use of her Washo ethnographic notes and photographs made from 1917 through 1919. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada and Margaret Wheat of Carson City, Nevada shared with me their extensive experience in the area.

Professors Gordon L. Grosscup, B. Jack White, and Robert Anderson have helped me to refine this study. The advice and criticism of Warren L. d'Azevedo over the whole range of my research has been of great benefit.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovives exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile tes
and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primar
see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

and their application to the status
and secondary kin relations,

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.349, B]

CHANGING WASHO KINSHIP

BY

STANLEY A. FREED

INTRODUCTION

114 In the summers of 1952 and 1953, an attempt was made to add to the data on aboriginal Washo culture; during the last two, in the summer of 1956 and the winter of 1956-57, Washo social structure and kinship terminology were intensively investigated to determine if they had changed appreciably as a result of white contact. My wife assisted me on these last two trips.

BGB I am indebted to a number of people for their help and encouragement. Professor Edward Norbeck, chairman of my thesis committee, introduced me to the study of kinship and has closely guided both my field research and the writing of this report. Professor David M. Schneider pointed out to me the usefulness of the role concept in the study of kinship and social structure. The hypothesis here proposed to account for the Washo kinship data was derived from the articles by Schneider and Homans (1955) and Schneider and Roberts (1956) and was elaborated and discussed in several long conversations with Dr. Schneider. Professor Mary R. Haas read the manuscript several times and offered a number of suggestions and criticisms. My thanks are also due Professor Josephine Miles and Martin A. Baumhoff, who read and criticized the manuscript. Professor Evelyn A. Fix suggested the statistical analysis used in this study, and the section on statistics was written under her supervision. Any errors of calculation or interpretation are, of course, the responsibility of the author. Unless otherwise noted, Washo words are written in a phonemic system developed for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley. Mr. Jacobsen advised me on all linguistic matters. The field research was supported by the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley.

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[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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The classification of kinship systems used in this study is the one proposed by Robert H. Lowie (1928). On the basis of the terminological usages in the parental generation, he defined four types of kinship systems: generation, bifurcate merging, lineal, and bifurcate collateral. In generation terminology, one term is used for all male relatives and another term for all female relatives in the parental generation. In bifurcate merging terminology there is a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister, but father's sister and mother's brother have separate terms. The lineal type of terminology distinguishes father from father's brother and mother's brother (who are designated by a single term) and mother from mother's sister and father's sister (who are also referred to by a single term). Bifurcate collateral terminology has six distinct terms for parents and their siblings. Lowie's four types "can be applied to any trio of kinsmen in the same generation and of the same sex, provided the second is a collateral relative of the first in the same line of descent and the third is related to Ego in the same manner as the second except for a difference in the sex of the connecting relative" (Murdock, 1949, p. 142).

THE TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The standard or aboriginal Washo kinship terminology is given in table 1 (pp. 356-357). The standard terminology is still used by the majority of modern Washo. It is a generation type of terminology in ego's generation and a bifurcate collateral type in the first ascending and first descending generations.

The morphophonemic analysis of kinship terms in table 1 is by William H. Jacobsen. The first column lists a number for each term; these numbers are the same as the ones used in the diagram of the standard Washo consanguineal kinship system appearing on figure 1. The second column gives the English translation for each term. The third column presents the singular form with the prefix indicating first person possessive. The final column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. If the stem is preceded by a hyphen, this indicates that it must always take a possessive prefix even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. The terms are given in approximately the order used by Lowie (1939).

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All cousins are called older and younger brother or sister depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. The relative ages of ego and his cousin do not affect the choice of terms; hence, a person may call a chronologically older cousin "younger brother," provided that his parent is older than his cousin's parent. Kroeber (1917) says that cousins are called older or younger siblings according to their own ages. This point was thoroughly checked with a number of informants and they all agree that terms applied to cousins depend on the relative ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than on the ages of ego and his cousins. Since Kroeber's

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

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the average value of X for all individuals who receive the rank r. For any given value of X, say x, the probability that you will get a sample of n in which exactly (r - 1) will have values of $X > x$ and (n - r) will have values of $X < x$ while one will have a value in the interval (x, x + dx) is

$$\frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} q_3$$

where q_1, q_2, and q_3 are the probabilities respectively for falling short of x, exceeding x, and falling in the interval (x, x + dx).

More precisely, to within terms of order dx,

$$q_1 = \int_{-\infty}^{x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_2 = \int_{x}^{\infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

The formula for the expected or mean value, μ_r, of the rth rank can then be written as follows

$$\mu_r = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} x \cdot q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

A table for the values of μ_r is given in Fisher and Yates (1953, pp. 76-77).

Admittedly in our data, the samples of n were not selected at random since they consist of all the relatives of the ranker in three selected generations. However, the Washo are a small, homogeneous, interrelated group; therefore, the relatives of one person are probably quite similar to the relatives of any other person. Taking this into consideration, it was thought that the relatives ranked by a given individual would have sufficient spread over the range of a characteristic to make the use of the metric μ_r meaningful. At the very least, the use of normal scores is a device which enables one to put rankings of, say, fourteen items and rankings of, say, seven items on numerical scales which are comparable.

If the kinship terms have no effect on the ranking within the categories, then the assignment of the kinship terms to the particular individuals being ranked would be at random. Thus, the rank of "father" would depend on the specific characteristics of the individual being ranked and not on the fact that he is called father. Consequently, it would seem that since individuals vary, the rankings of "father" would also vary from protocol to protocol. If, however, it were found that the rank of "father" is relatively constant, then it would seem that the kinship term "father" has a weight in determining rankings.

After normal scores had been assigned to the test rankings, the mean, standard error of the mean, and 95 per cent confidence limits were calculated for each

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P 369, A]

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate.

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

[P 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- An.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

and anticipated Kroeber's formal analysis of Washo in 1907, The Washo Language of East Central California. S. A. Barrett worked among the Miwok, the immediate western neighbors of the Washo, during the first decade of the 1900's. In 1917 he published the first ethnographic monograph on Washo culture, The Washo Indians. About the same time Edward Sapir published two definitive articles, The Status of Washo, and Supplementary Note on Salinan and Washo. In 1926 Lowie turned his attention briefly from the Shoshone, Ute and Southern Paiute to study the Washo. His Ethnographic Notes on the Washo appeared in 1939. An extensive collection of Washo myths has not yet been published. Grace Dangberg's Washo Texts appeared in 1927, and her field notes gathered over the many years of her residence in Carson Valley are a major ethnographic resource.

Though the published materials listed above constitute a valuable accumulation of data about the Washo people and their culture, no part of it represents the result of intensive field work or continuous interest in a particular group in the same sense that many other tribes in California or the Great Basin have been studied. In the 1930's two ethnologists worked for extended periods among the Washo directing special attention to the newly introduced Peyote Cult and to problems of acculturation. Omer Stewart's monograph, Washo-Northern Paiute Peyotism: A Study in Acculturation, is an important contribution to studies of the diffusion of this cult, and is a classic description of its introduction among the Washo while the investigator was in the field. His culture element lists for Northern Paiute, Washo, and Achomawi were completed about this time and, along with his excellent survey, The Northern Paiute Bands, provide some of the best and most complete data available for the area. Edgar Siskin's dissertation, The Impact of the Peyote Cult upon Shamanism among the Washo Indians, has been widely appealed to by recent students of the Washo for its detailed data concerning the last of the Washo shamans and its cogent analysis of the role of the Peyotists in the dramatic period of culture change in the late 1930's.

No further field work or publication was carried out with regard to the Washo until the 1950's. During the past decade, important archeologic investigations have been undertaken in the region by Robert F. Heizer, Albert B. Elsasser, Martin A. Baumhoff, and others. Francis A. Riddell's archeologic and ethnologic work in the Honey Lake region has provided numerous data concerning the relations of the northern Washo and adjacent Paiute bands. During the same period William H. Jacobsen, Jr., gathered extensive linguistic materials toward a new analysis of the Washo language.

The collection of papers in the present volume represents all of the students who have made any ethnologic investigation among the Washo since 1952. Though some of the authors have published elsewhere on the group,

the materials they have presented in these pages provide a considerable advancement of our knowledge of these Great Basin people and makes this work easily available to the reader. It is hoped that an effort of this kind will stimulate further research in the Great Basin and encourage others to organize and present the results of field work from other sections of the area. 114 128

All of the contributors to this volume, with one exception, share a tradition of having conducted their first field projects among the Washo. We are honored by the preface from Professor Samuel Barrett whose interest in the Washo and other western American Indian groups goes back to the turn of the century, and whose monograph in 1917 was the first major study of this culture by a professional anthropologist. Professor Barrett resides in Berkeley, California, where he is Research Professor and Director of the American Indian Films project organized by him and the late Alfred L. Kroeber at the University of California. His recent excursions among the Washo and other Indian communities have provided filmed records of customs and technologies that might soon have been lost to us forever. The resulting motion pictures are considered to be among the finest of their kind. 114

Ruth and Stanley Freed conducted field research among the Washo intermittently from 1952 to 1957. Their interests were directed primarily to social organization and acculturation. Stanley Freed's published dissertation, Changing Washo Kinship, is an important recent contribution to Great Basin studies. He is, at present, Assistant Curator of North American Ethnology at the American Museum of Natural History. Philip Leis, an assistant professor at Brown University, worked among the Washo in the summer of 1954 with particular emphasis on aspects of socialization, life cycle and personality. In the summer of 1955 Freda and Norman Scotch conducted intensive interviewing and testing of 100 Washo informants with a special concern for problems of diet, employment and health. Norman Scotch is a research associate in Anthropology at the Harvard School of Public Health, and Director of the Cross Cultural Disease Survey. John Price's master's thesis, Washo Economy, completed at the University of Utah and based upon field work during the summer of 1961, constitutes the fullest description of Washo economic life undertaken to date. He is now a doctoral candidate and National Science Foundation Fellow at the University of Michigan. James Downs, an assistant professor at the University of Rochester, did his field work among the Washo in the summer of 1959. In addition to the papers offered here, his dissertation, Effect of Animal Husbandry on Two American Indian Tribes: Washo and Navaho, and a monograph, Washo Religion, are valuable new ethnologic sources. Warren d'Azevedo has worked among the Washo intermittently since 1953 with emphasis upon ethnohistory, social organization and Peyotism. The present volume of papers was compiled by him during the fall of 1961 and the spring of 1962 at the University of Utah, and is an expression of the mutual interest of the authors in a collective presentation of their current writings on the Washo.

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 815-18; Stewart, 1944, 82-3).

Notes

114
115 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers
122 of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha
128 Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticized early drafts of the paper.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

121
128
154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being: aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

Blood pressure determinations were
made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews were conducted in the homes of respondents.

It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the 114 section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

AN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY OF WASHO SOURCES

by Warren L. d'Azevedo and John A. Price

Two major objectives have guided the preparation of this bibliography: (1) systematization of the sources of information concerning a little known group of the western Great Basin, and (2) demonstration of the value of intensive bibliographic research in disclosing the wide range of written comment and data that frequently remains unexamined in the course of standard ethnographic work. Though this bibliography can make no claim to exhaustive coverage, it does represent the product of a number of years of consistent interest in a specific people, and will prove to be a research aid of considerable utility for those conducting anthropological investigation in the area.

No attempt has been made to present complete annotation for all entries, or to evaluate them according to a scale of worth. When a work is sufficiently well known, or a title provides adequate description of content, editorial comment has not been added. This is also true of a number of entries included for the general background they afford regarding history and characteristics of the region the Washo have inhabited. Whenever the Washo have been referred to in significant context, however, note is made of this fact. Much of the annotation reflects the specialized interests of the compilers insofar as the material has been collected in connection with particular research projects over a period of time. For this reason, even the more lengthy and detailed descriptions can do no more than suggest the full value of the respective works as sources of data for other students.

The bibliography has been organized into five categories. The section entitled Anthropology contains sources that provide data concerning the ethnology, language, archeology, and anthropometry of the Washo. A following section of Unpublished materials has been included as a convenient guide to manuscripts, field notes and collections. The section on History comprises works in which the Washo are discussed in the context of early historical relations of the region or which offer evidence pertinent to a definition of their changing social milieu. The entries under Ecology have been found to be the most useful references on the physiographic and biological aspects of the area. The final section of General materials includes a wide variety of works concerning peoples adjacent to the Washo, or works that are especially significant for comparative purposes. Also included are a number of entries that were not appropriate to any of the other categories, but contain material of peripheral interest.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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The compilers wish to acknowledge the contributions of Stanely A. Freed, Omer C. Stewart and Gordon L. Grosscup, who generously shared the results of their own scholarship during initial preparation of this bibliography. The many hours of painstaking assistance provided at various times by Kay Sweeney and James F. Downs are also gratefully noted. Financial aid from the Bollingen Foundation and the University of Utah Faculty Research Fund has supported much of the basic research of which this bibliography is, in part, a result.

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Abbreviations

AA	American Anthropologist.
BAE-AR	Bureau of American Ethnology - Annual Report.
BAE-B	Bureau of American Ethnology - Bulletin.
IJAL	International Journal of American Linguistics.
JAFL	Journal of American Folk Lore.
UC-AR	University of California Anthropological Records.
UCAS-R	University of California Archaeological Survey Reports.
UCPAAE	University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

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W
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128 ●
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795*

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab 8: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

a meeting in 1939, "sponsored by two Winnebago women ... 'to thank Jesus' for their recovery from a recent sickness." A visiting Ogalala Sioux was chief drummer.

No C: Northern Cheyenne of Montana. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Cr 1, Cr 2: Montana Crow. Lists filled in and notes furnished by Fred Voget, of Yale University, in the course of ethnographic field work in 1939. Data on Cr 1 were supplied by a lay member; on Cr 2 by the Crow secretary of the Montana Branch of the Native American Church.

WRS: Wind River Shoshone. List filled in and notes supplied by D. Shimkin from observation and inquiry in the course of ethnographic field work, sponsored by the University of California, in Wyoming in 1939.

Ute: Ute of Utah and Colorado. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1937–1938 when doing field work sponsored by the University of California.

Gos: Goshute of Ibapah, Utah. List filled in and notes supplied by Carling Malouf, who attended a "tipi way" (Kiowa-Comanche) meeting in 1939 and talked with Arthur Johnson, an official in the cult. Goshute Indians make trips to Oklahoma. Before the "tipi way" was introduced, the Goshute practiced the old "Ute way" or "Sioux way," but members in either cult will visit meetings of the other. R. V. Chamberlain in conversation states that the Goshute used peyote at the time he made his ethnobotanical study among them in 1910, but the Indians say the ritual came to them from the Ute about 1920. Malouf's information was supplemented by an official "Program of the Native American Church" procured by A. L. Robertson while he was subagent at Ibapah and sent to me (see note 26a).

W-P: Washo-Northern Paiute. Observation and inquiry by the author in 1938. Field work sponsored by the University of California.

Taos: Taos of New Mexico. List abstracted from published accounts: Edward S. Curtis, The North American Indian, 16:53–59, 1926; and Elsie Clews Parsons, Taos Pueblo, GSA 2:64–66, 1936.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; s, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

13 The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude 133 within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 361 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys 133 east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock [137] vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

[137] In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe [241] climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of [457] sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry [233] in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important [234] agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

[313] Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very [36] abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 [16] as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every [13] direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory. [1]

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[1] [for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (waco, woco), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i''yeli ta''au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'yale'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmelt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 2:1-52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:391-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 265, 322 f., 325, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[301]

[P. 300 is blank]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'ləq) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gula by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

101 combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

131 The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the
133 arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

133 Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II)[2]; the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[3] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part
137 of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush,
[262] various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert mountains, by a particular species of pine, the piñon, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the

*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 347 and map 2, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 135, and pl. XXXVIII, 1905.

2 [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 116, p. 29 - An.]

3 [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 116, P. 29 - An.]

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131]

This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221]

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people

[574]

of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 [415] [42]

The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways

[846]

—roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[462] [222]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teresa's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teresa ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the breatsbe and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root metal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean game, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 MT20 Washo MT20

[P.365, A]
[Introductory, P.vi is blank]

WASHO RELIGION

by

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

114
131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobsen), peyotism (Siskin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

161 Most of the statements about the Washo give the im-
114 pression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cul-
101 tural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to trace the patterns of change among these people since
[115] the entrance of the white man into their area. To this
[114] end I spent a great deal of time with older informants, but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography." Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

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[1] W. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on these estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1861, was somewhat over 3,000.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; basketry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed]
--Analyst

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

1/1 [This plate has not been processed--Analyst]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (paiwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

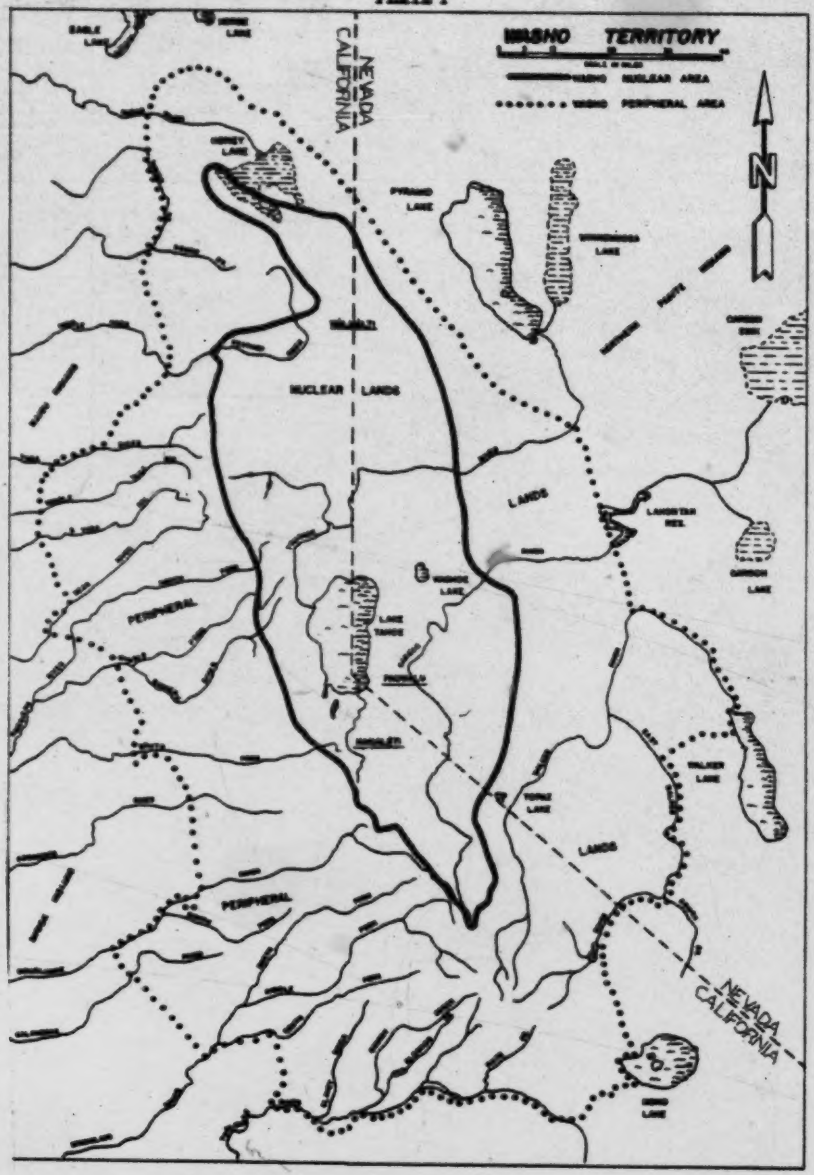
Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

103
102
● 131
133

PLATE I



[End Plate I]

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

[P.350, B]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1926, pp. 57, 89; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Siskin, 1938, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 86).

131

POPULATION

161

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1845, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 300 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1926, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

619

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called wélmelti?. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called pá·wa?lu?, and the California Washo are called hánalelti?, with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Simpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1926, p. 90). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the wélmelti? are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the wélmelti? camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The pá·wa?lu? lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed hánalelti? and pá·wa?lu?. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake.

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SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

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The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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AND
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Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory. 1/1

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

1/1 [for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

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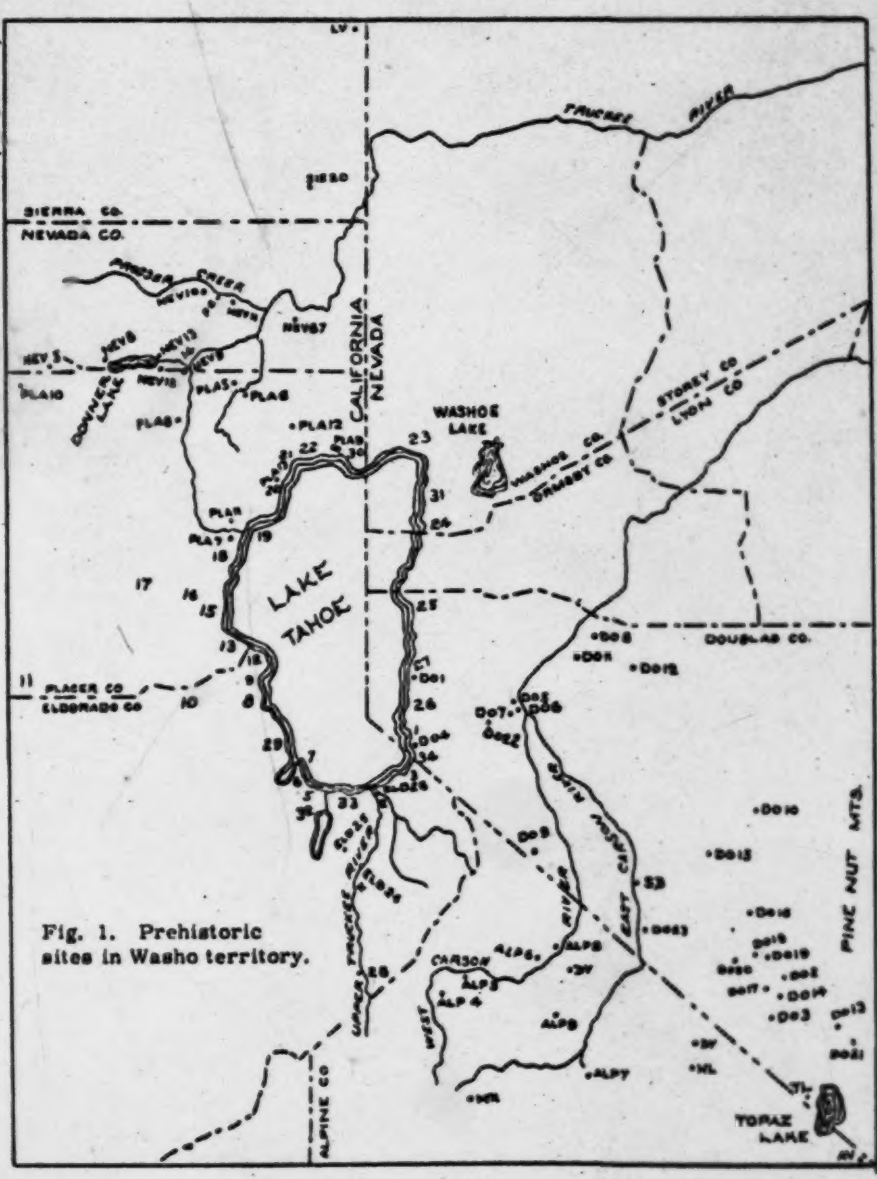

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

3[footnote appears on p. 93--Analyst]

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

N
101 7, Pa, Pakwi-dökadö, "chub eaters," on the S
131 shores of Walker Lake, in Soda Spring Valley, and at Hawthorne, Nevada.

N Informant.—Dan Voorhees (DV), age 66, born at
115 Hawthorne. Father was Toe; mother half Pakwi, half Kutsavi' (Mono Lake). Until DV was 30, he had lived at Hawthorne, then he moved to Schurz, Nevada (Walker River Reservation), where he was Indian policeman until 1935. His sight, hearing, and memory were good and he reads and writes English well. Although he seemed well informed, his information was probably equally true for the Agai (north Walker Lake) as for the Pakwi. He had acted as informant for Dr. C. Hart Merriam. He is the most Europeanized Indian I met. My attempts to interview other Indians at Schurz were fruitless.

W
●131 8, Wa, Washo (non-Paiute). Washo territory
101 was mostly in the Sierra Nevada Mountains surrounding Lake Tahoe. The valleys just at the eastern foot of the mountains—Truckee Meadows, Washo Lake Valley, Carson Valley, and others—served as winter homes. The territory extended from the southwestern shores of Honey Lake in the N to the North Fork of Walker River in the S. Gardnerville, Carson City, and Reno, in Nevada, W are the present Washo centers.

115 Informants.—Charlie Rube, age 76, born near Coleville, California, at the extreme S end of Washo territory; both parents Washo. He lived winters near Minden, Nevada, for many years, spending summers near Bijou, California, on the S end of Lake Tahoe, where I found him. Charlie's faculties seemed normal, but his knowledge of English and of Washo culture was limited.

Susie Rube, age ca. 65, Charlie's wife, acted both as informant and interpreter for Charlie, although she steadfastly refused to talk openly to me. Two other old Washo women "unofficially" participated and on many points the women reached a joint decision before giving me an answer. During the four-day interview, the three old women did not let their conversation interfere with their basketmaking.

Dick Bender, 76 years old; Indian policeman at Carson City for thirty-six years (until he went blind in 1930). Dick was used especially for ethnogeographic data. He lived at Carson.

N
101 9, At, Atsa'kudökwa-tuvimarai, "red-butte
131 dwellers," possessed the Quinn River drainage in northern Nevada; live now on the McDermitt Reservation in the same area.

N Informants.—Pete Snap, or Niso'o (PS), aged
115 ca. 60, half-breed, born at McDermitt. Mother an Atsa; during PS's youth she lived with her parents. PS lived most of his life at McDermitt, where I found him. Physically, he was sound in all respects. Although born after the establishment of Fort McDermitt, PS's family continued their nomadic life until he was about 14, so that he actually experienced much of the old culture. In fact, I consider my Atsa list one of the three best. PS was willing to tell all he knew and he had a very adequate command of English. I spent

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

NW 102 103 131 ● 133 197 491

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

Washo NT20

42) Daolulehlehk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off. W 103

43) Daogépehm - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road. W 103

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake. 124 W N 114 131

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region. W [124] N [423] W N [648]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226]

●[132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

[619]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 48) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "*California Diggers*" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semisdjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed]
--Handy 5-1

13 The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude 133 within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 36 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys 133 east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock [137] vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

[137] In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe [241] climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of [457] sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry [233] in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important [234] agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

[315] Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very [36] abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 [161] as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every [13] direction" (Sieber 1951, 142). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (w¢lyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dip¢k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley.

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglel¢l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolel¢l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair.

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them."

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a).

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the

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[for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II)[2]; the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[3] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush, various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert mountains, by a particular species of pine, the pifion, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the

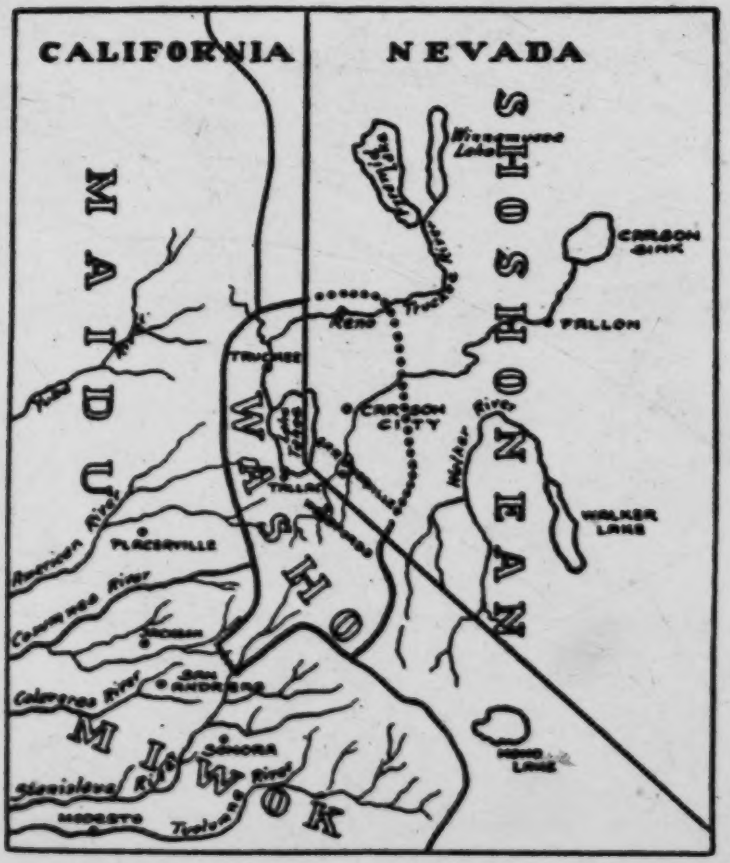
*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 347 and map 3, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 128, and pl. XXXVIII, 1905.

[2] [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 116, p. 29 - An.]

[3] [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 116, p. 29 - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the



Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element.

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

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[226] [132] [221]

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[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

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[619]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

Figure 1. The southern shore of Lake Tahoe and the mountains to the southeast, showing the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region.

Figure 2. The Sierra Nevada region at Woodfords, California. This is the eastern limit of the Sierra region and near the border of the semi-desert Great Basin area.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[P. 29]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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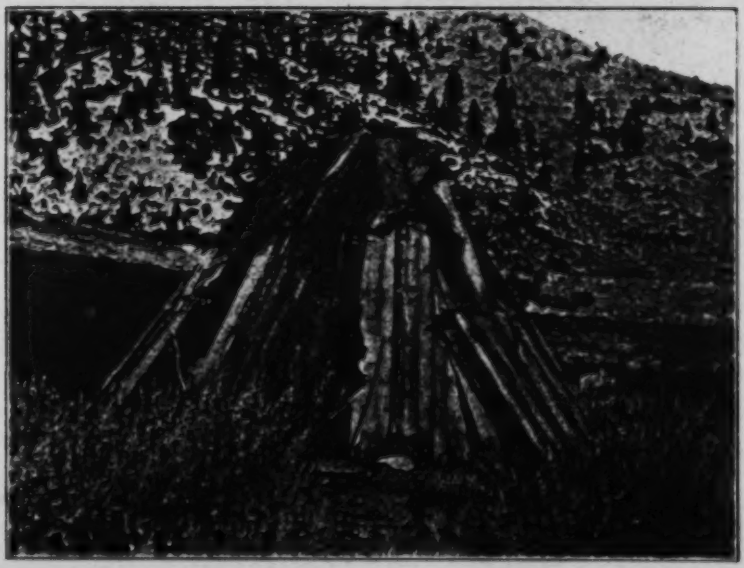

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[P.31]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; basketry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisil. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed] --Analyst

13
The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude 133 within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 361 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys 133 east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock [137] vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

[137] In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe [241] climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of [457] sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry [233] in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important [234] agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

[315] Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very [36] abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 [161] as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every [?] direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

433

lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

433 439 177 [133] [628]

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

433 178 [177]

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multifunctional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

433 592

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

433

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 80) defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Paiute-Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

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PLATE I

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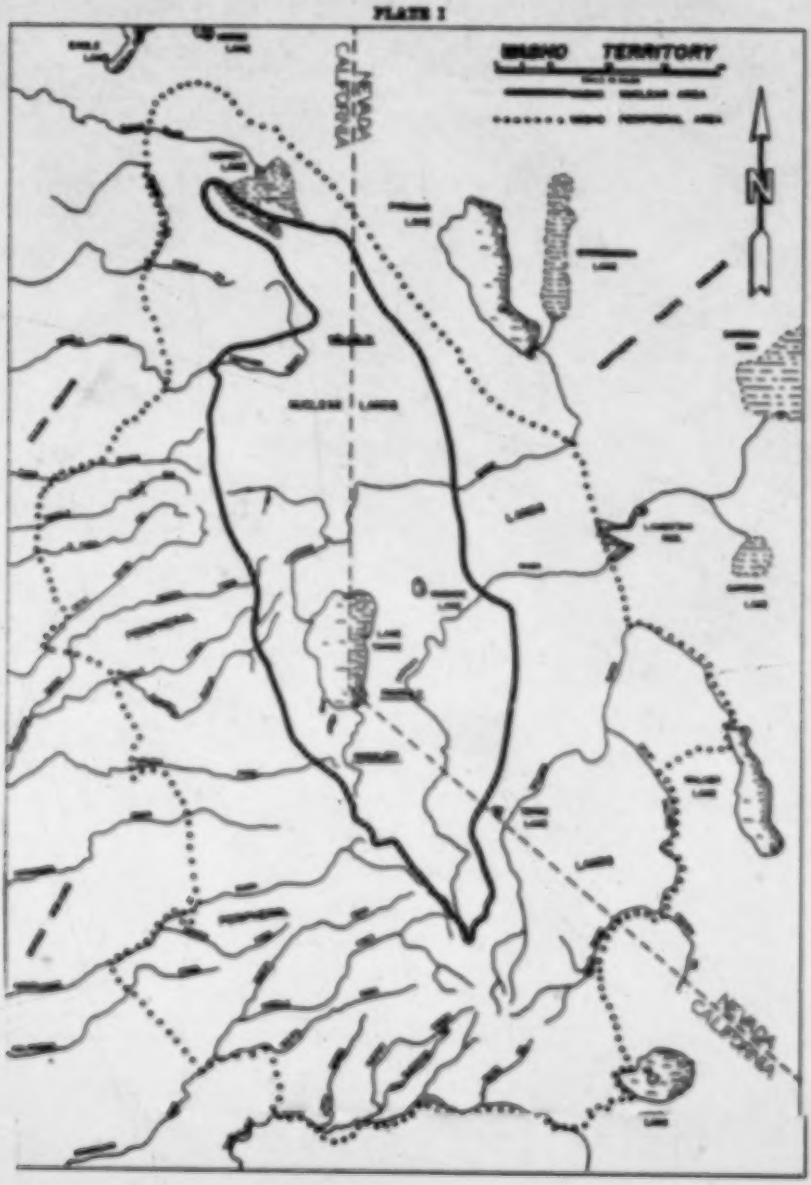

[End Plate I]

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory. 1

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

1 [for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

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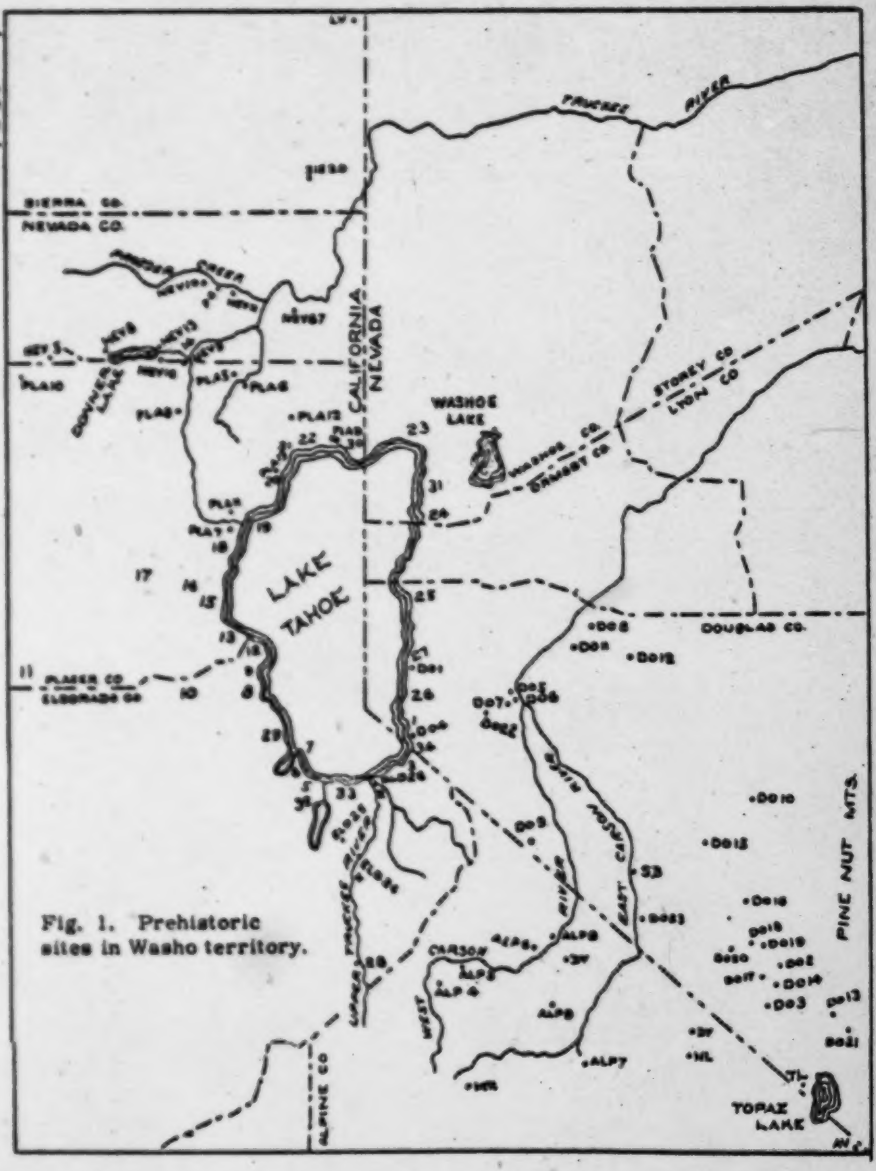

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees."

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311
[172] Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project,
[133] Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

172

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

[114] Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake
[124] Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317] Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at
[312] Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The headwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

N 484 177 489 W [135] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Kl: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1906. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

W [135] 1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 178] 1906. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tst-sikwŏkwa, or Tsi Ride Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1926a. To, Tg: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'ĭha'ᵂᵉ.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [574] 1960. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 754] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

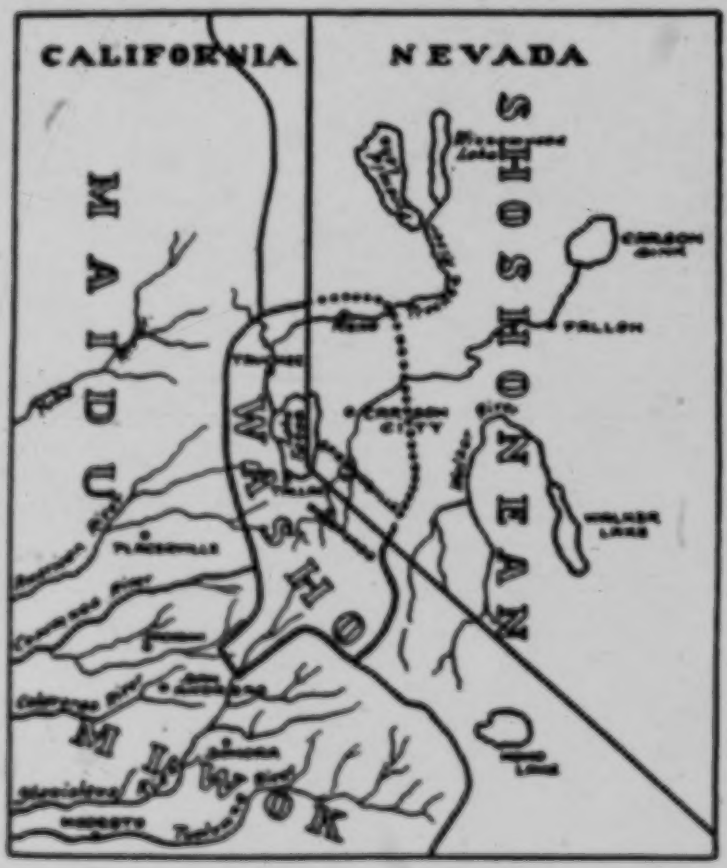
1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

N [281] 1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Saxa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N [178 759]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the
western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized 137
by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species 262
of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the 177



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Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element. 137 262 177

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized 136 ● 177

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

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[226] [132] [221]

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[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

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789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (588-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

[789]

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Antelope (371a-75).--There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

[136]

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few
> 224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and
> 789 sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
> [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (82-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
[237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
[136] in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.
[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
224 There was, however, a special leader who directed
624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [825] [771]

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W [361]

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

W N [177]

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History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

N 648
N [563]
N W [182]

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

N W 136 ● 182

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1951) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

N W 114 136 174 182

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

N W 136 174 182 114

Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182

If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N W [94]

N 231 197

The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ye	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	To	Pe	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
266. In weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
269. Held in hand	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
274. 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
275. 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
278. Torch or fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
280a. Angle	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281a. Of bone and wood	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
282. 1 barb at angle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
285. Pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
287. Grasshopper	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
288. Salmon egg	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
288a. Minnow	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
290a. Bait basket	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
291. Fly hook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
293. Poison (tobe wood) placed in stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
294. Stream dammed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
295. Creek diverted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
Animals Eaten														
297. Dog (ocrobaim) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297a. Mink (pai'uae) eaten	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297b. Mole (to6di' bo6o6va) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297c. Porcupine (toa'bonda or mbh8) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (bond) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakond) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tav6B) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungotaiva) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297h. Kangaroo rat (intai) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatai) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297j. Muskrat (pamond) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297k. Wood rat (tiha'oe) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kb. Woodchuck (kidB) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ihnd) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (hthb or kipe) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (wodn'o) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavini) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297q. Skunk (pmi) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297r. Rat (biya'bona) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297s. Elk (pata'buia) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297t. Raccoon (patakni) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Achomawi NS5

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	Kt	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	El	AK
297a.	Bobcat (wildcat) (tsim) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
297v.	Mt. lion (kagvidshin) eaten	◆	–	◆	–	–	–	◆	–	–	–	–	–	◆	–
297w.	Fox (wagi'i) eaten	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	–	–
297x.	Badger (hunu) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
297y.	Wolf (tsa) eaten	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297z.	Coyote (idtsa'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297aa.	Buffalo (pagutsa) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	–
298.	Grizzly bear (pahna'a) eaten	◆	–	◆	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	◆	–
299a.	Beaver (kobi) eaten	◆	–	–	◆	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	–
299b.	Mt. sheep (koop') eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
299c.	Antelope (tsaa) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
299d.	Deer (mule) (tsha'iya) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
299g.	Lizard, large only, eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–
299h.	All lizards eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
299n.	Frog eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Birds Eaten or Used														
299.	Dove (ihavi) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
	299k. Feathers used	◆	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
301.	Blackbird (paha'roga) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
302.	Owl, screech (pahi), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
302a.	Owl, horned (mahu'), eaten	–	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	–	◆
	302b. Owl feathers used	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
303.	Kingfisher (tsada'mugit) eaten	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	?	?	?	–
304.	Woodpecker (adza'waga) eaten	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆
305.	Magpie (mahka'kahai) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
	305. Feathers used	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
306.	Raven (aha) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	–	–
309.	Crow (wiaha) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	–	–
310.	Meadowlark (patsidoha) eaten	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
311.	Robin (saga) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
312.	Blackbird (pidaya) eaten	◆	–	–	–	–	–	◆	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆
313.	Duck (oahaso'o) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
	314. Feathers used	–	–	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
315.	Hooking bird (tava saga) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
316.	Quail, mountain (tuota), eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
317.	Quail, valley (sikigi), eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
318.	Hellidiver (grebe) (papuha) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
319.	Loon (patsinaya) eaten	–	◆	–	–	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–
320.	Sea gull (hana'ata) eaten	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
	321. Eggs used	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
322.	Pelican (panaxa) eaten	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
	323. Eggs used	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆
324.	Duck (pida) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
	325. Eggs used	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
326.	Goose (sag'uta) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
	327. Eggs used	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
	328. Young	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
329.	Heron (mana) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	–
	330. Eggs used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
331.	Bittern (shitopaha) (tawawai'hadih) eaten	–	–	–	–	◆	–	◆	–	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–
332.	Crane (sarhida) eaten	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	–
	332a. Eggs used	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	–
333.	Mud hen (coot) (saipa') eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
	333a. Eggs used	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
334.	Avocet (pakwikwit) eaten	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	–	◆	–
335.	Snipe (sahita) eaten	◆	◆	◆	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–
336.	Killdeer (pahi'tsingi) eaten	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–	–	–	◆	◆	–	–	◆	–
336a.	Ruffed grouse (hahin) eaten	◆	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
336b.	Prairie chicken (pahoha) eaten	◆	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆
336c.	Sage hen (hoshi) eaten	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆	◆

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kt	Ka	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Ow	Tg	Wi	Kl	Ag
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (pisgs) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	-	-	-	-
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	°	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	-	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	-	-
340. As food	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	-	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	°	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	-	-	+	+	°	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
344. Cicada (locust) (hiu) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
*348. Cricket (nija or nija) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
348a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
352. Grasshopper (natata'a) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
353. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
354. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
356. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
357. Ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
358. Stored, buskskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	-	-	°	°	-
361. Fetus taboo	-	+	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-	°	°	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
363. To young	-	-	-	+	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	°	-	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
369. First kill taboo, if shot	°	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
369a. If trapped	-	-	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
377. To mother	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
378. Hunter distributes game	+	°	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
379a. To anyone	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*383. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	-
383. 5 nights' continence	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
383a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*382. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
382. Smoking during hunt without special effect	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	°	-
383. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
384. Sweat bath	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
385. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
386. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-
387. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	°	°	°	°	-

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

101 combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

131 The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the
133 arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

133 Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II[2]); the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[3] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part
137 of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush, various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert mountains, by a particular species of pine, the pifion, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the
[262]

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*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 341 and map 3, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 135, and pl. XXXVIII, 1905.

2 [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 116, p. 29 - Ann.]

3 [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 86; p. 29 - Ann.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the
western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized 137 ●
by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species 262
of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the 177

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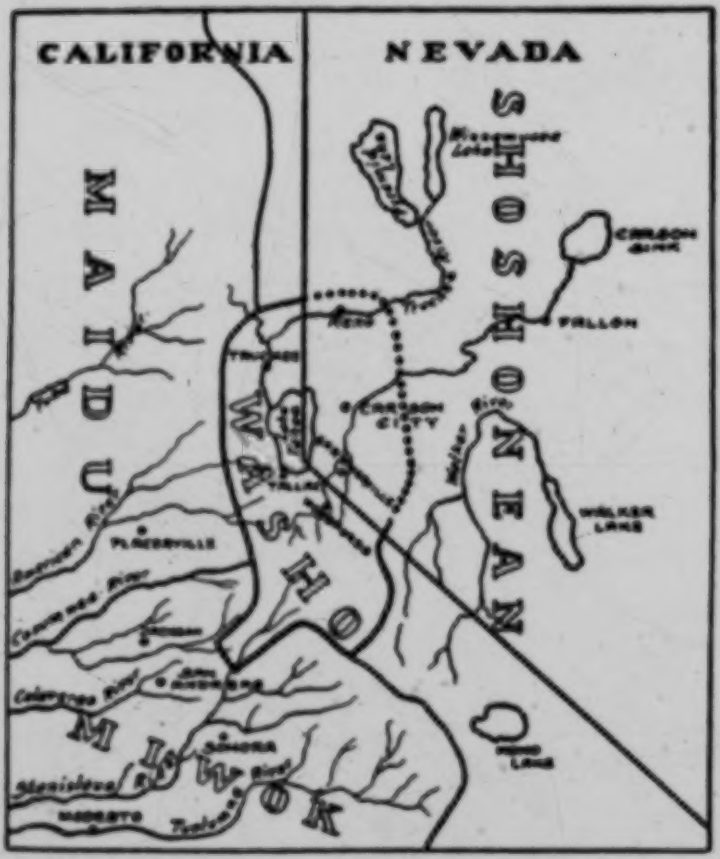

Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequois and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as 137
food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element. 262
177

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, 136
similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized 174

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV.[1] The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsŭm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yŭ), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mŭm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Au.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285 [171] [482]

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Pavioţso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[1] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[2] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII,[4] figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

285 824

The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used. [439] [137]

285 192

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	hîmû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53 -- An.]
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]
[4] [see cat. 116, p. 51 --

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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137

EXPLANATION OF PLATE I.

Figure 1. The southern shore of Lake Tahoe and the mountains to the southeast, showing the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region.

Figure 2. The Sierra Nevada region at Woodfords, California. This is the eastern limit of the Sierra region and near the border of the semi-desert Great Basin area.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[P. 29]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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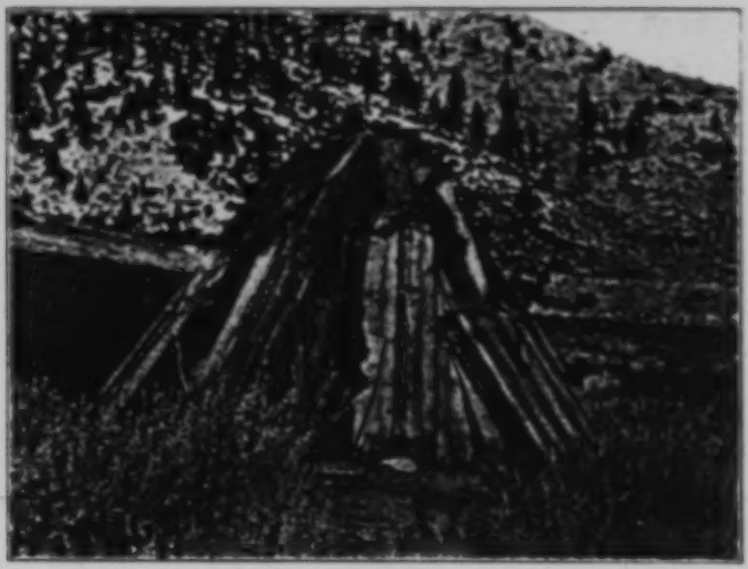

2

[P.31]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[P. 33]

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Kroeber 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory.

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

Northern Paiute NRB

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[161]

number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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177
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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white men shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 87) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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[137]

The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

	Yo	KL	KH	Kla	Yo	Ya	Pa	Wa	Ac	So	Tg	Wi	El	AS	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															
*471. "Usas" or reed sugar (pikavi)	-	+	+	+	+	°	°	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	222
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	252
474. Willow-sap sugar	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
475. White pine pitch as sugar	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
477. Pikes pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
482. Pitch	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Other Plants and Seeds Used															
*482c. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482h. Sunflower (shhpi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482h. Sunflower (pasi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482c. Sunflower (shi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482d. Sunflower (kwainka)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482e. Sunflower (kwaipasi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482f. Pinkweed (kukwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482g. Sego lily or painted cup (tapavagi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482h. Sego lily or painted cup (seamsh)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482i. Saltbrush (shhi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482kh. Rabbit brush (mogohtsigi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482m. Ingbone (milkweed) (ethsut)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482o. Blazing-star (kuhe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482p. Wild tobacco (paivame)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482q. Sorrel (atsa) paste	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482r. Bulrush or tule (siave)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482s. Cattail (toe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482t. Spike rush (pamsiwe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482v. Ingebrush (somava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482w. Saltbrush (wasin)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482x. wasai	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482y. wasaisigi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482z. kiavi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484. Joint fir (tsadegi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484a. saiagava	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484b. Indian balsam (tsoa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484e. pagé	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484f. tsagagi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484g. tsava	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484h. tsvasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484i. Indian potatoes (sumsa?) (sego or bigo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*484j. Indian potatoes (apatsé)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Gathering Implements															
*485. Digging stick (pave)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	232

[P. 375]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{12}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{13}O_3N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychnine-like and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

	FI	NI	CI	St
I. Low-faced. Found among the Yuki and a few surrounding groups of the north-central coast.	80-	80+	80-	160- 141
II. High-faced.	80+			
1. Californian			80+	
A. Narrow-nosed Extends from northern California, along the Sierra Nevada, in extreme southern California, and parts of the coast.	80+	80-	80+	170-
B. Tall Found among the Mohave and Yuma.	80+	80+	80+	170+
C. Broad-nosed Essentially north-central in distribution.	80+	83+	80+	170-
2. Western Mono Restricted to Western Mono and Tubatulabal.	80+	78-	78-	170-

A few comments on this classification are pertinent to the Washo. The Washo are grouped with the narrow-nosed subtype of the California type although their average height, according to this sample, is greater than that of the tall subtype. Gifford pointed this out (p. 227) in a discussion of the "tall" subtype "Broadheaded peoples of equally great stature, but relatively narrow-nosed, are the Washo (6 men averaged 173 centimeters)...The Mohave and Yuma measured 171 and 172 respectively."

Gifford used Hrdlička's (1904) reproductions of Broca's color scale for 142
determining skin color. "Observations were usually made upon the unexposed area. The general skin color of the unexposed skin in California Indians is number 24, with slight variations. There seem to be no tribal differences in this respect, although there is some individual variation." Three of the Washo sample of 16 had skin color readings of 24 while the rest were slightly darker with an average for the group of 25.5.

Washo hair tends to be straight, coarse, and black. Color of the iris is 141 ●
dark brown. Size of ear lobes varies (8 small, 5 medium, 3 large). Attachment of ear lobes varies (11 attached, 3 intermediate, and 2 separate). "Darwin's point" on the ears was absent in all but one. The forehead showed a moderate slope in 9, intermediate in 4, and vertical in 3. Prognathism was

absent in 7 and slight in 9. Lip thickness ranged from 3 medium thin, to 8 medium to 4 medium thick, and 1 thick. Chin prominance showed as 9 prominant, 3 medium-prominent, and 4 medium. 141

The Washo sample of 16 contained little anthropometric variation from one individual to the next. In a table of standard deviations by Gifford on the cephalic index, facial index, and nasal index of 15 groups with samples of 10 or more individuals, the Washo were next to being the least variable with a mean of standard deviations of 3.81. The most variable group had a mean of 6.71. This implies a relatively stable inbreeding population for the Washo. [161]

Kennedy (1959) included Gifford's data on the Washo in a general survey of Great Basin anthropometry. Kennedy (p. 13) described five physical type areas with the Washo in the "Western Area." "The Western Area (California from the Oregon line to the southern periphery of the Great Basin) contains people with broader heads than are to be found in the Northern Area, and brachycephaly is common for females. The faces are euryprosopic. The nose is mesorrhine, but as one moves southward the nose becomes broader."

Kennedy found the majority of the highest absolute mean values for all measurements and indices and the greatest degree of variability in the Western Great Basin. He also found a tendency toward brachycephaly, broader faces, and higher stature in the west.

Kennedy's averages for Great Basin living male crania are included for comparative purposes in the following anthropometric description of the Washo from Gifford's material. The measurements from two groups that border Washo territory are also included, the Central Miwok to the west and the Northern Paiute to the east. All three of these groups were classified by Gifford as belonging to the "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "California type" in the "high-faced" division. The "Sa" refers to the sample size.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Cephalic index	16	84	16	80	16	88	79.51
Facial index	10	82	11	83	16	84	82.28
Nasal index	11	77	11	78	16	79	78.94
Stature - men	6	173	6	169	4	165	166.9
Stature - women	5	158	3	160	1	152	
Ear index	16	51	13	50	6	48	
Reach index - men	6	102	6	104	4	101	
Reach index - women	5	103	3	99	1	104	
Head length - men	6	190	6	195	9	184	192.24
Head length - women	5	181	5	185	7	177	
Head breadth - men	6	158	6	155	9	162	153.17
Head breadth - woman	5	152	5	145	7	156	
Face length - men	6	125	6	125	9	129	119.92

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

Blood pressure determinations were
126
141 made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews
124 were conducted in the homes of respondents.

124 It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo
114 communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 190 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

147 For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during
128 the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

147 The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in
158 Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

	FI	NI	CI	SI
I. Low-faced. Found among the Yuki and a few surrounding groups of the north-central coast.	80-	80+	88-	168-
II. High-faced.	80+			
1. Californian			80+	
A. Narrow-nosed Extends from northern California, along the Sierra Nevada, in extreme southern California, and parts of the coast.	80+	88-	80+	170-
B. Tall Found among the Mohave and Yuma.	80+	80+	80+	170+
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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

N
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534

W
[791]
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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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PLATE 2

a. Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

b. "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

c. Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

d. School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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[P. 141]

PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

NW 745* 142 516

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
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Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

The Washo speak a Hokan language; their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 60 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago.

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more."

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora, Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959).

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped withe hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list.

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving techniques; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of piñon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

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TABLE I

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

147

Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance: 147 158 121

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [871]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

147
158
121
[273]
[77]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
648 schools, or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroberated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

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158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative, there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

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Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

881 252 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approxi- [415] mately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [291] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were [432] dressed alike.

881 Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others con- [302] tinued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [632] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

One use in deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 615-18; Stewart, 1944, 82-3).

Notes

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115 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers
122 of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha
128 Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticized early drafts of the paper.

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[64] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
754 gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
754 But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
776 would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the
[19] remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

[P 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine —a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing" —and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

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Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 626
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 562
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [154]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

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We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 273
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 177
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 626
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1 [footnote appears on p. 66 - Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
● [154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[754] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
[754] But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
[778] would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the
[19] remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative, there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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154 cultural study concerned with process, but the explicit investigation of education as an adjustive mechanism, as an instrument for replacing institutions with new ones in a situation of cultural change, still requires further attention. In the case of the Washo one of the functions of education had broken down, at least for the time being; aggressions were not being redirected toward acceptable scapegoat objects, nor were there opportunities to express them in any other way. The fear of witchcraft and antagonism toward sorcerers had not been replaced, and aggression had been internalized in a seemingly self-destructive fashion. The problem was epitomized in an answer given by a young boy when asked what he would like to be when he grew up. He replied, "An Indian" -- as in the movies. Whether the Washo can retain their cultural identity and still develop institutional outlets for their aggressions, or find some other means besides the self-defeating ones they had at the time we visited them, remains to be seen.

Notes

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128 1. An abridged version of this paper was read at the meeting of the Central States Anthropological Society, May, 1957. My thanks are due Alan P. Merriam for his helpful criticisms of an earlier draft of this paper.

154 2. Erikson has stated that if an individual cannot release his aggressions, they "can only turn inward to threaten the aggressor himself" (quoted in Kluckhohn, 1944, 51).

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
● 154 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative, there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

125 7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

602 8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

554 9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

125
157 Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

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Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

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rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish).

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

[128]

The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

762
cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father.
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the [626]
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can- [154]
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood."

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Philleo Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worth while to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration." Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[n] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[u] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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778
[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegeléyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegeléyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegeléyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegeléyu. It is interesting that only water wegeléyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

[834] Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

755
756
778
[158]
[753] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegeléyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

SOCIAL FACTORS IN HYPERTENSION AMONG THE WASHO[1]

by Norman A. and Freda L. Scotch

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Essential hypertension, accounting for 85 to 95% of all hypertension, is a disease of unknown etiology. Many factors have been studied in relation to its development, among them, 1) heredity, 2) constitution, 3) diet, and 4) social and psychological stress. It is unlikely that any single factor is wholly responsible for hypertension, and medical scholars currently view the disease from a multi-causal framework.

For at least three decades physicians have suspected a relationship between social factors and the presence or absence of hypertension, or elevated blood pressure. This suspicion has not been buttressed by substantive research, at least until recently, so that systematic research on the possible relation of social factors to the disease is highly desirable. On the other hand, cross-cultural studies of blood pressure measurements have been carried out among many societies throughout the world. Though these studies are not always strictly comparable for a variety of reasons (e.g., different criteria for hypertension, different instruments, sampling problems, etc.) they do give some indication, at least, of the distribution of blood pressure levels throughout the world. Thus one can rate societies on the basis of mean blood pressure levels. Furthermore, one can refer to actuarial studies of the normal limits of blood pressure levels in order to evaluate whether or not the mean levels are "pathologically" high; that is, whether such levels are indications of increased morbidity and mortality.

[114]

This paper reports the findings of a pilot study undertaken by the authors among the Washo Indians in the summer of 1954. The whole project was conceived as a small-scale forerunner of a later, larger study to be conducted in South Africa, the results of which have been published elsewhere (Scotch, 1960). Because of the exploratory nature of the Washo research, plus certain methodological difficulties, the findings must be interpreted with caution.

Methods

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Material for the analysis that follows comes chiefly from interviews conducted among Washo adults during which certain social data were collected (religion, employment, education, etc.). Blood pressure determinations were

Blood pressure determinations were made by the senior author at least three times during each interview, at five minute intervals. Heights and weights were also determined. Interviews were conducted in the homes of respondents.

It was hoped at the outset that each adult member of the three Washo communities of Dresslerville, Woodfords and Carson City would be included in the survey. However, the pressures of time limited the series to 100 persons, representing approximately 50% of the adult population of these three communities. All but two or three of the Washo contacted agreed to participate in the study. Nonetheless, the possibility that the interviewed group was biased in some manner, such as being more geographically accessible and therefore socially "different" from non-contacts, suggests that results be interpreted with caution.

For the analysis that follows, a diastolic blood pressure, taken during the initial interview, of 90 mm. Hg. or more was defined as an indication of hypertension. Tests of significance used in the analysis are based on Chi squares or T-tests. Findings significant at or beyond the 10% level of confidence are reported.

Results

The mean blood pressure levels of the Washo studied are set out in Table I by age and sex. It will be noted that in this sample blood pressure increases with age, that the males have higher pressures in the younger ages and the females higher pressures in the older ages. Further, Washo blood pressures are high in terms of the criterion traditionally used as an indication of hypertension -- a reading of 90 mm. Hg. or more for the diastolic -- as indicated by the fact that the mean pressures, particularly of the older groups, are either very close to, or above, the upper limits of "normal."

TABLE I:

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

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Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance:

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [871]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

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[273]
[77]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[43]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[23]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
648 schools, or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroborated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

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158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> "... perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

" See Appendix III for statistics.

" Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 18131-18141, 18202.

" Willie Sunkey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . is a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a sow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[*]

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[**] Except when persistently

[*] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[**] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Beeone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

1936 Proselyter Ben Lancaster

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stage-coach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[a] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

[a] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting broncbos" near Red Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine salesman.[8] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[9] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)"

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

[8] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[9] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[10] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

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CONVERTS AMONG WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realised that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

N W 159 755 *795 797 [276]

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[16] The In-

[16] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N W 159 755 795* 797

dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

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Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[10] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[10] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Colgville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[n] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[n] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[n] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[n] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[72] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[72] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (waco, woco), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i''yeli ta''au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'ɣalɛ'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmɛlt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 2:1–52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:391–443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569–573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 265, 322 f., 325, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[P. 300 is blank]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.365, A]
[Introductory, P.Vi is blank]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

114
131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobson), peyotism (Siskin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

161 Most of the statements about the Washo give the im-
114 pression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cul-
101 tural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to trace the patterns of change among these people since
[115] the entrance of the white man into their area. To this end I spent a great deal of time with older informants,
[178] but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography." Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

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[1] W. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on these estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1881, was somewhat over 3,000.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46, 1/1) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

1/1 [this plate has not been processed]
--Analyst

13 The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude 133 within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 361 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys 133 east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock [137] vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

[137] In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe [241] climate (Eisasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of [457] sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry 233 in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important [234] agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

[35] Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very [36] abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 16 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every [13] direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

absent in 7 and slight in 9. Lip thickness ranged from 3 medium thin, to 8 medium to 4 medium thick, and 1 thick. Chin prominance showed as 9 prominant, 2 medium-prominant, and 4 medium. 141

The Washo sample of 16 contained little anthropometric variation from one individual to the next. In a table of standard deviations by Gifford on the cephalic index, facial index, and nasal index of 15 groups with samples of 10 or more individuals, the Washo were next to being the least variable with a mean of standard deviations of 3.81. The most variable group had a mean of 6.71. This implies a relatively stable inbreeding population for the Washo. [161]

Kennedy (1959) included Gifford's data on the Washo in a general survey of Great Basin anthropometry. Kennedy (p. 13) described five physical type areas with the Washo in the "Western Area." "The Western Area (California from the Oregon line to the southern periphery of the Great Basin) contains people with broader heads than are to be found in the Northern Area, and brachycephaly is common for females. The faces are euryprosopic. The nose is mesorrhine, but as one moves southward the nose becomes broader."

Kennedy found the majority of the highest absolute mean values for all measurements and indices and the greatest degree of variability in the Western Great Basin. He also found a tendency toward brachycephaly, broader faces, and higher stature in the west.

Kennedy's averages for Great Basin living male crania are included for comparative purposes in the following anthropometric description of the Washo from Gifford's material. The measurements from two groups that border Washo territory are also included, the Central Miwok to the west and the Northern Paiute to the east. All three of these groups were classified by Gifford as belonging to the "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "California type" in the "high-faced" division. The "Sa" refers to the sample size.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Cephalic index	16	84	16	80	16	88	79.51
Facial index	10	82	11	83	16	84	82.28
Nasal index	11	77	11	78	16	79	78.94
Stature - men	6	173	6	169	4	165	166.9
Stature - women	5	158	3	160	1	152	
Ear index	16	51	13	50	6	48	
Reach index - men	6	102	6	104	4	101	
Reach index - women	5	103	3	99	1	104	
Head length - men	6	190	6	195	9	184	192.24
Head length - women	5	181	5	185	7	177	
Head breadth - men	6	158	6	155	9	162	153.17
Head breadth - women	5	152	5	145	7	156	
Face length - men	6	125	6	125	9	129	119.92

	Washo		No. Paiute		C.Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 64 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jim's band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

western Nevada (Thompson and West 1881, 87). Overgrazing depleted Washo food in grass seeds and permanently effected the ecological balance in this period. 175 648

1861 - Warren Wasson, U. S. Indian Agent at Carson Valley Agency, in reports to Governor Nye of Nevada Territory in July and August wrote "within the limits of this Agency...the Washoes number 550...have no property of any kind...they have no schools...They have learned that the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them or help to do so at least. There is great justice in this request. The streams in which they formerly fished are now all spoiled for that purpose by the operating of the miners and the washing of the ores and metals. They are indeed most all diverted from their original courses, or dammed so frequently that the fish have disappeared from them. Lake Bigler, lying in the country of the Washoes, and from which they formerly obtained large quantities of the best kind of fish, is now taken possession of by the whites, and has become a watering place, to which large numbers from this Territory and California resort, and from which this poor tribe are virtually excluded. The hills and plains over which roamed plenty of game are now occupied by the Whites, and the game has fled, like the Indians from their presence" (Ingalls 1913, 35). [161] [171]

U. S. Congress approved Nevada Territory under pressure of the slavery question and the wealth of Comstock mining. 175

1862 - "By 1862 Burke and Company were using a half-mile seine to take tons of Tahoe trout daily from the waters of Boundary Bay" (Scott 1957, 443).

1863 - Silver Mountain (first known as Koenigsberg) was a mining boom town in the 1860's with a population of 3,000. (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959, 3).

1864 - Statehood proclaimed for Nevada, 36th state.

1868 - First transcontinental railroad, Central Pacific, completed through Nevada. With the coming of the railroad new towns sprang up as centers for ranches and farms.

A Washo shot by a homesteader for setting a fish trap on a creek leading into Lake Tahoe (Scott 1957, 64). [648]

1870 - 11,500 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River.

consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop....Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

621 433 22 171

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

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This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistance to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

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The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

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237
Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical 513
houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather
while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather. 342

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the 592
basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared 22
together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual
obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in
a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If
the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pine-
nuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they
went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here,
a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next
place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time
consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was 462
some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were
the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear.
Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the
baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463]
in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of 43
Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups
that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing
that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger
demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic
aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution
such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. 433
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161]
the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less [439]
trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language
isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423]
in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips
and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and [251]
inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The 114
data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo
culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174]
unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny
of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began
to disappear over 100 years ago.

7:Powell E-5 (1952-1967)1980 MT20 Washo MT20

[P.350, B]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

131

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1924, pp. 97, 99; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Siskin, 1956, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 66).

POPULATION

161

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1845, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 300 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1924, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory.

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

619

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called wɨlmalíl'. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called ɸá·wa'la', and the California Washo are called hɨqalalíl', with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Kimpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1924, p. 98). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the wɨlmalíl' are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the wɨlmalíl' camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The ɸá·wa'la' lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed hɨqalalíl' and ɸá·wa'la'. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake.

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SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

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The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

ALAN P. MERRIAM
Northwestern University
AND
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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO PREHISTORY: A REVIEW OF RESEARCH

by John A. Price

Anthropological research dealing with the Washo Indians and their aboriginal territory has produced a considerable body of descriptive data, much of it amassed in the past decade. This paper will review that portion of the data pertaining to prehistory in Washo territory. [1]

Washo territory in the middle 1800's centered on Lake Tahoe in California and Nevada and the areas immediately to the north, east and south. Except for occasional wider ranging for gathering or trade, Washo territory extended from the south shore of Honey Lake south to Sonora Pass and the West Walker River in California. East to west their territory extended from the Pinenut Mountains in Nevada to several miles west of the main crest of the Sierra Nevada in California.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of climate, flora and fauna resulting from the variations in altitude which occur within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada, a great tilted block, rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 ft. in altitude and drops abruptly on its eastern slope in Nevada to around 5,000 ft. in elevation.

The Washo territory is characterized by yellow pine and fir vegetation in the highlands and by pinyon and juniper in the lowlands, ranging through Boreal, Transitional and Upper Sonoran life zones. A humid microthermal climate with 20 to 35 in. of precipitation annually obtains in the mountains while an arid cold-steppe climate is found in the low valleys. In the mountains the summers are warm with rains through July, snows starting in November, and cold weather with freezing nights until April. Snow often reaches more than 15 ft. in depth in some places in the mountains.

There are several estimates of Washo population. Fairfield (1916, 13-14) wrote that "In 1859 Major Dodge, the Indian Agent, reported that they number about 900"; Kroeber (1925, 944) estimated around 1500 for A.D. 1770; Lowie (1939, 301) wrote that "recent figures indicate approximately 300"; and Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 615) wrote that "Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates."

[1] [for an additional note regarding the preparation of this paper, see p. 92 -- Analyst]

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R.F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source,

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

464 178 [434] [439] 881 178 745 177 361 [162]

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

846

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

[431]

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

844 846 178 [431] 881

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

[785] [262] [841]

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

[178]

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

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The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127

The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843

513 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841

843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

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Washo NT20 ●

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	359	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[text continues on middle of p. 123]

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(Concluded on next page)

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(Continued)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	35
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	130 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

TABLE 4

Analyzed Communities

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley		
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	3	51	3	3
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	8		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	1	
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2	
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1	
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1						
Mixed-blood households								2			1						
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1						
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1									
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2						
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			82	1	1	3		24		24		2
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			35	1		3		24		24		2
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9		
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1							
Mixed blood households								4		1							
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1		
Attended only other meetings	7							1									
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7		
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	113	3	23	1	1
Full-blood individuals	89	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	53		49		10		
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2		
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2		
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		3	2	2	1	1

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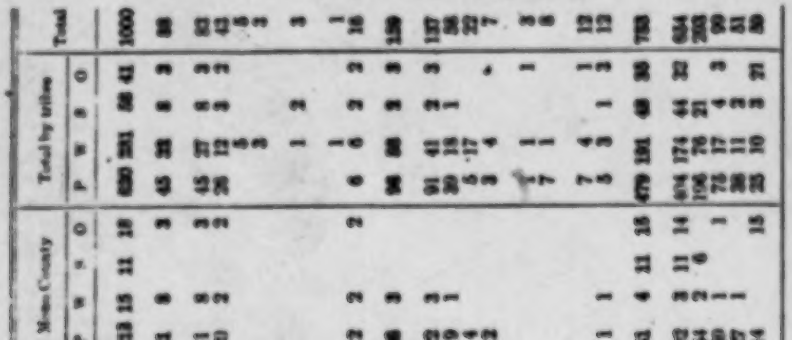

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

guries, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

OTHER PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	369	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

TOTALS OF ALL PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

fewer than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

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The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3497	747	1541	130	5915
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3319	641	1531	114	5605

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	8	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

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Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1060	196	18.4
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

[P.373, A]

668
777
[756]
[182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Tenpee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Tenpee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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[698]

Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

755
668

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

[782]

"Had three gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[164]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $684 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Colevilla, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Heglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

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Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢ ¢sh;can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), B¢l¢hitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mɛnda"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two ares of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

* *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literaly winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, P. 31 - - An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, P. 33 . . An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV, $\frac{a}{b}$. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the pifion nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (bele'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Au.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2), the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6), and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).[4]

[171]

[482]

MATERIALS.

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The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used.

[439]
[137]

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192

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	himû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41--Am.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53 -- Am.]
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- Am.]
[4] [see cat. 116, p. 51 --]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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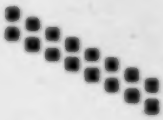
The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called dagubeloye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkâ'lkûl tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."

17.

18.



19.

The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

20.

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obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

[177]

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171 ●

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621. 624

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 1917.

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

	North-East California H. E. Driver U. S. 1941	North-West California H. E. Driver U. S. 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		South Great Basin H. E. Driver U. S. 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Miwok		Ute, Kern River, Panamint (Owens Valley, Paiute
		women	women	women	women	
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–			
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration:						
1 day or few number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing	+					
Singers paid or given gifts	+					
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–	
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing	+	+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–			
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–	
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–			
Head rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–			
Deerskin rattle				+	–	
Gourd rattle				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
4 days in roasting pit						
Crouch at girl's rite						
Sexual license						

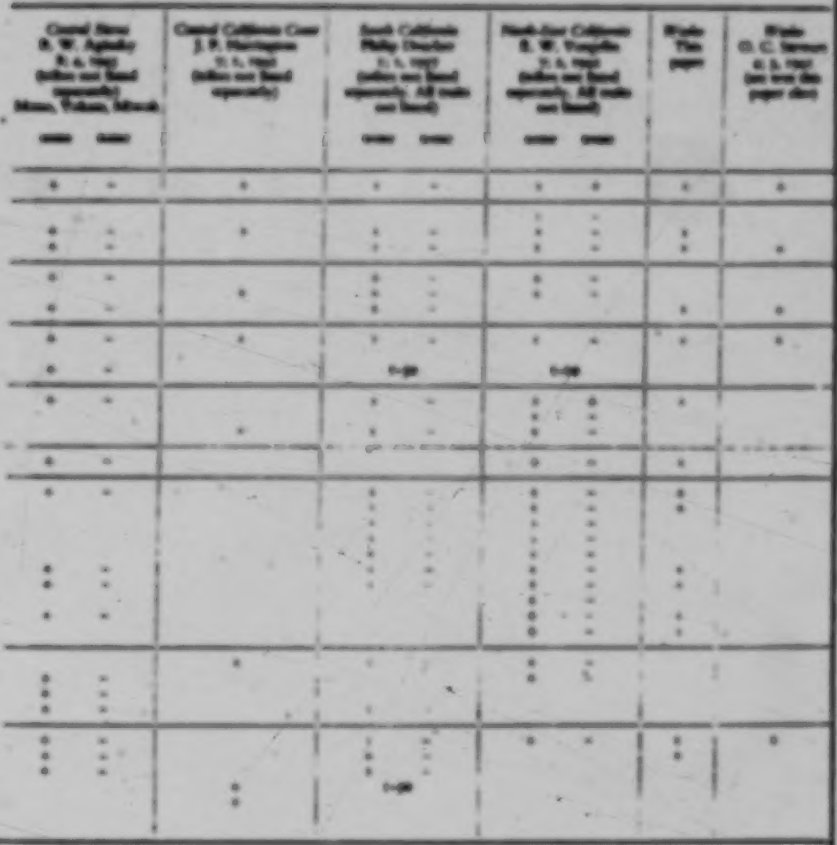
*This list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological

[533]
[535]
[534]

CARTWRIGHT: Washo Pottery Ceremony 4/A

881
171

185—CALIFORNIA TRIBES, WASHO, PAIUTE, SHOSHONE



1/1 [The legend for this table will be found on previous page, cat. 116 (120), p. 128 -- Ann Lyot]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

wick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassiere and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the center of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal bush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the pinon nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean game, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Work from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it for up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

paced to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers."

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Beengle as witnessed by her in 1929-30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl can nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighboring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[7] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[7] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably drew over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her house.*

Table I shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many-

*[see category 11b, pp. 138-139 - Analyst]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

[1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925, Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

[3] Lowie, Robert H. *Ethnographic Notes on the Washo*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley, 1939.

[4] Driver, Harold E. *Culture Element Distributions, XVI. Gold Potawy Kins in Western North America*, University of California Anthropological Records, Berkeley, 6, No. 2, 1943, pp. 51–90.

[5] Stewart, Omer C. *Culture Element Distributions. XIV. Northern Paiute*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 3, 1941, pp. 361–446.

[6] Steward, Julian H. *Culture Element Distributions. XIII. Nevada Shoshone*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 2, 1941, pp. 209–259.

[P 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that humans shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to pierce an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Daugherty) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and then defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or very unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[789] [764] 796 825 ● 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's comment lists above no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (1936). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 204, 222) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports use of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[177] [825] [771]

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789

[533]

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Steward, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178

[237]

[484]

[136]

Rabbits (80-90).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. [535] There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

224 624 787 791

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

1/2 [This plate has not been processed -- Heizer]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangsi¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (o¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (pēlleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (pēlleu ushēsh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (pēlleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market involves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When those demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

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Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc.

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Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 237-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

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"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units,

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consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and mɔ̂mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

T:Freed B-8 (1883-1957)1960 NTSO Washo NTSO
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p. 308), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926; p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ki'ga). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. (722) (203) (211)

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. (834) (262) (263) (843)

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies. 921 535 (48) (825) 726 758 789

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 239-240). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. 727 (783) 726 (234)

SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Steiner and Klausner (1983, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; sagebrush meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "hoes" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pifion (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of pifion trees.

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 177 178

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. During ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happened to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

T:Freed B-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT30 Washo NT30
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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, silless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1945, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 386, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 272-275.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipa'a'wali	my son-in-law
la'ya	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ala'ya	my wife's brother, husband's sister[a]
tima.a'wai	my husband's brother[b]
tida'waa	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaaa'ya	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'ali	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[c]

Spouse Class

tipuma'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

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114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother *from* father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister *from* father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[d] But in classing all cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[e] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipuma'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name. 601

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[a] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[b] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[c] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[d] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

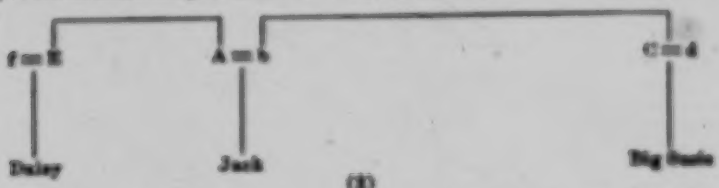
[e] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'yus; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father tl.e'ld, and is called la'ldi in turn. He calls his father's mother tl'e'ma and is called la'a'ame in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" ikka'i.



(1)

Jack calls C tika'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tsuk, and E tl.e'.esi. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pamu'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tamlai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlai'ya tawi'tsuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipa'ya tasa'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the gale'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a me'luwe'ne dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the [171] Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow-proof* Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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*553 usually thought of as the high point of the meeting when it occurs, and it elicits a stir of excitement; the men discuss the technique and point to their throats to indicate where and how the singer must be making the sound. A common phrase heard in this connection is that "he made the tent poles wobble," and "he made a connection there."

The exact nature of the shaking sound is not known to the authors; it seems to be a combination of effects—first, a special "ventriloquistic" effect common in American Indian singing and in contrast to the normal Washo Peyote vocal technique; and second, a reverberation sound echo set up in the tipi or cabin due to a combination of singing, drumming, and rattling operating in a certain acoustic situation. It may also be induced by a high-pitched whining or humming on the part of others in the room; this is formalized and given the name "helping the singer along." In any case, the effect is real to the degree that it is heard distinctly in recordings; it has an apparent religious significance in that it indicates the "medicine is working."

Song texts

Song texts are made up almost exclusively of meaningless syllables with a very few words in English providing the only exception. Some apparently typical syllabic configurations may be noted as: *yo wa ne hay nay; / ne wa nay o wa*. In some cases syllables beginning with h, w, and l are used, but these are relatively infrequent.

[71] Nettl (1953:161) has noted that in the Peyote songs of the Arapaho there is a definite repetition of syllables when melodic rhythms are repeated; that is, not only when the same line is repeated but when the line is varied in the same rhythm. This is also characteristic of the Washo songs. Nettl further reports the existence of "an almost universal . . . closing formula . . . which is sung on four long notes, or three long and one short note on the tonic" (1953:162). To a certain degree, this pattern is found in the Washo songs, but it is by no means "almost universal"; twelve of the 21 songs show the characteristic clearly, the remaining nine either vaguely or not at all.

Finally, Nettl notes that in closing, "the vowels of the first and second syllables are identical; they are usually higher than, or identical with, the fourth vowel. The first, second, and fourth vowels are front vowels, the third is a back vowel" (ibid: 162). Again, this is a pattern found frequently though not exclusively in the Washo songs. The most frequent closing pattern in those songs in which four final tones are used is *hay nay yo wa*, found in seven songs. In four other songs, the closing pattern is *hay nay yo way*, an obvious corollary. These patterns correspond closely to those reported by Nettl (1953:162) and McAllester (1949:68). Some other patterns include *hay yo wa nay; / hay ya na; / hay na hay ya ha; / hi ya ya na*.

The Washo themselves, of course, note that the syllables are meaningless and they speak of them as "words of another tribe's language"; at the same time, they admit that they sometimes make up their own meaningless words. One informant said that he would use Washo words except that "serious words in Washo are too long and don't fit the time of the songs." Another reported

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelfyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 238-61).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

[1/4] [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1/1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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114 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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[178] The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this difference in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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154 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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[683] The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

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In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

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On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

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Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

The Washo speak a Hokan language, their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 50 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago.

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more."

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora-Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959).

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped willow hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list.

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pinon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft.elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31,(see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, suprabend organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

NW 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater W concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

NW 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the W NW Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, [177] or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[77] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shoule thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shoule, 1925, 58.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Dan James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Dan joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okie. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decrey and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Celeville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year." Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

"I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[5] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[6] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[7]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[5] La Barre, 61.
[6] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[7] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[9] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[9] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[49] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[50] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental,[51] and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[52]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[53] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[54]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[55] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[49] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[50] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[51] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[52] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[53] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[54] La Barre, 72.

[55] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."[11]

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration.[12] Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

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of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.
[4] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

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Washo NT20 ●
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[8] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[9] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Woyoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[10] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[8] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[9] Tom Garth, field notes.
[10] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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Pawnee NQ18
Winnebago NP12

and Kiowa. Mooney was present at a palaver at which a Kiowa reported upon his visit to Wovoka. The Kiowa was told by the Paiute prophet to stop dancing; consequently, he branded the Plains Ghost Dance leaders as frauds. "Sitting Bull insisted on the truth of his own representations, and when accused by A'peatan of deceiving the Indians in order to obtain their property, he replied that he had never asked them for ponies which they had given him. . . ." (p. 914). Another Arapaho leader, Black Coyote, appeared to Mooney to be a man who "wishes to be a great priest and medicine man. At the same time he keeps a sharp lookout for his temporal affairs and has managed to accumulate considerable property" and three wives. He was leader of the Ghost Dance and other Indian ceremonies, tribal delegate to Washington, captain of Indian police and county deputy sheriff. He repeatedly asked Mooney "to get him a permanent license . . . to enable him to visit the various reservations at will as a general evangel of Indian medicine and ceremony" (pp. 897–898).

Lesser's (pp. 60–76) data on the Pawnee Ghost Dance leave no doubt that Frank White, its introducer, used the dance for personal aggrandizement. Some of his special doctrines and practices were the following: he was sole authentic prophet; he demanded payment for use of designs seen in visions; he sold all paraphernalia; he was paid for the privilege of holding dances; a small face painting by him cost $5.00. In spite of his eating peyote and drinking whiskey, the Ghost Dancers lavished gifts, money, and pretty girls on him. The revolt against him seemed to result partly from jealousy of his wealth.

The leader of the Caddo Ghost Dance was John Wilson, who was also a shaman and a peyotist.[76] The fact that Wilson later modified the peyote cult in order to collect hundreds of dollars certainly places him in the class of proselyters for gain par excellence. La Barre (p. 158) tells of the wealth he received and makes a classic understatement: "The economic motive seems evident in much of Wilson's behavior."

Except for the case of John Wilson, missionary to the Shawnee, Quapaw, Caddo, Delaware, Osage, Potawatomi, and others, the literature contains but few direct statements suggesting that financial gain motivated agents to spread the peyote cult.[77] However, the very fact that peyote is universally considered to be a cure and that leaders are often looked upon similarly to shamans suggests that carriers of the cult could have been paid for their services. A great many other Indians are known to have proselyted beyond their own tribes.

The Winnebago, John Rave, went to South Dakota, Minnesota, and Wisconsin to preach the new religion after establishing the cult among his own people in Nebraska. A Kiowa, Jim Aton, a famous peyote doctor, held meetings for the Creek, Yuchi, Shawnee, Kickapoo, Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Kiowa-Apache, Kiowa, Mescalero-Apache, and Quapaw; also whites and Mexicans.[78] Have these men and other famous proselyters spread the gospel of peyote solely out of love for their fellow men? No doctrine of the peyote cult commands members to go forth and convert other tribes.

That believers have gone out to spread the cult because of possible economic gain is established in the case of Ben Lancaster. It is almost impossible to conclude that Leo Okio and Lone Bear had no other ideas than religion when they held meetings in Nevada. My Uintah Ute informants accused the Sioux, Sam Roan Bear, of spreading peyotism for money, and when the members were broke, he did not

[76] Mooney, 1896b, 914–915; La Barre, 1938, 65, 151; Petrullo, 1934, 158.
[77] La Barre; Schultes, 1938.
[78] La Barre, 52, fn. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[a]

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX II. PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST

The distribution list in this section was first devised upon the basis of experience with Ute peyotism and a study of published literature on the peyote cult generally.[*] The published accounts of the cult, however, did not contain the detailed information necessary to answer all the points raised, and so a blank copy of the list and a request to fill it out were sent to several ethnographers known to have attended peyote meetings. The response was most gratifying, time and knowledge being given freely. The locations of the tribes represented in the element list are indicated on map 2.

SYMBOLS USED IN THE ELEMENT LIST

+	Element present	( )	Exactness of data doubtful
—	Element absent	R	Recent development
Blank	Information lacking	*	Indicates that a note to the element is appended at the end of the list

SOURCES AND COLUMN ABBREVIATIONS

The sources for the data in both the list and the notes to the list, and the abbreviations at the heads of columns, are as follows:

13 T: Composite picture of cult of thirteen tribes visited by La Barre and Schultes, mostly in Oklahoma (Kickapoo, Kiowa, Quapaw, Shawnee, Wichita, Caddo, Comanche, Delaware, Osage, Oto, Pawnee, Ponca, Southern Cheyenne). Richard Evans Schultes, Peyote and Plants used in the Peyote Ceremony, HU-BML 4:127–152, 1937, with additions made on list by La Barre, 1938.

K-A: Kiowa-Apache. List filled in and notes supplied by J. Gilbert McAllister from information obtained during ethnographic field work performed 1933–1934 (eleven months) under the sponsorship of the University of Chicago.

Kio: Kiowa. List filled in and notes supplied by Weston La Barre. When returning the list La Barre wrote, "I believe that in peyotism tribal affiliation in this inter-tribal religion is far less important than leadership, i.e., what the particular leader's 'way' is, and from what leader he got his meeting." La Barre did field work in Oklahoma under the auspices of the Laboratory of Anthropology (1935), Yale University, and the American Museum of Natural History.

Com: Comanche in Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by E. Adamson Hoebel.

Kic: Kickapoo in the vicinity of McLoud, Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by John A. Noon, who attended a meeting during the summer of 1932. The Kickapoo leaders recognized that they "followed the Kiowa-Comanche 'way'."

Ab S: Absentee Shawnee of central Oklahoma. List filled in and notes supplied by Erminie W. Voegelin. Meeting attended in 1933. Voegelin reports three forms of the cult among the Absentee: (1) The Kiowa-Comanche form (the form which my list records); said to have been introduced about 1900 from the Kickapoo, who learned it from the Comanche; is the most popular form. (2) Caddo-Delaware variant of the "Wilson way," conducted by Ernest Spybuck. (3) Yuchi "way," conducted by Panther; considered by Voegelin's informants to be distinct from the Kiowa-Comanche version, yet probably only slightly variant. Membership in these forms of the cult does not interfere with participation in older Shawnee religious beliefs and ceremonies. The "Cherokee" or "Loyal" Shawnee in northeastern Oklahoma, however, take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways," which is La Barre's Oto "Christianized" version, and this does teach complete withdrawal from older native ceremonies.

De 1: Kiowa-Comanche type cult among the Delaware. List filled in by James C. Webber (a Delaware informant recommended by Dr. Frank Speck) and supplemented by Petrullo's published account, also principally from Webber.

De 2: "Wilson way" among the Delaware (La Barre's Caddo-Delaware). Abstracted from Petrullo's book, with additional notes supplied by James C. Webber. The list does not adequately bring out the degree of divergence which the cult has attained, which could only be done by devising a list based on the "Wilson way." The altar is greatly changed from the Kiowa-Comanche prototype and at times becomes extremely elaborate (see Petrullo, pls. 3–6).

Win: Winnebago of Nebraska. This is apparently a variant of the "Wilson way," although Alexis A. Praus, who filled in the list and supplied the notes, did not designate it as such. Praus attended

[*] Data for the Ute and Washo–Northern Paiute lists obtained in the field, and additional data on the cults of the Tarahumara, Tepehuan, Lipan Apache, Mescalero Apache, Kiowa, Oto, Delaware, Omaha, Iowa, Arapaho, Winnebago, and Taos from published literature, are part of my Ute Peyotism which has been accepted for publication by Anthropos.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
Comanche N06

Element	Occurrence																											
	Tse	Wa-P	Ow	Ou	SEM	Cr 2	Cr 1	Cr	Wa	Dc 2	Dc	Do 1	Ar 2	Kio	Com	Kio	Ar 1	Kio	Com	Ar 3	Ut							
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	(+)	(+)	+					(+)		(−)	+			(+)	+							
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
10. Decorated	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
16. Only after midnight	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
17. To accompany singer holding staff					+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	+	+							
20. Binding decorated		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
21. Passed around	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(−)	+	−	+		+							
22. Held with staff while singing	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		+							
23. Individual fans also used	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
24. Only after midnight	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)	+	−	+		+							
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+							
28. At special morning ritual	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171 ●
534
795*
796

C
171
534
795
796

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

N W ● 111 *795 796 535 [illegible] 1267

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab S	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WIS	Ute	Ces	W-P	Tet
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+		–	
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+		+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Klo	Ais B	De 1	De 8	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 8	WRB	Ute	Cos	W-P	Tem		
61. Only leader's tobacco used	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	°+	+	+	(+)	+	+		
62. Tobacco lacking from ritual	°(+)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–			
63 Peyote furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
64. "Chief peyote," an extra large "button"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+		
°65. Decorated with white lines	–	–	–		(–)		–	–	–	–	–	°–	–	–	–	–			
66. Placed on altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
67. Is not eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+			
68. *Artemisia* leaves under "chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+			+	+	+	+	+		–			
69. Form cross	+	°+	(+)	+		+	+			+	+	°+	°+	+	+	–			
70. Peyote for eating passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
71. Only leader's used until after midnight		°+	+		(+)	°–	+	°+	–		+	°–	°–	+	°(+)	°–			
72. Leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
73. Called chief or peyote chief	+	+	°+	+	(+)	°+	°+	°+		+	+	°+	°+	+	°	+	+		
74. Sits west of altar or shrine or fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
75. Has complete charge of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
76. Assistants	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+		
77. 2 assistants		+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–			
78. 3 assistants	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+		
79. 4 or more assistants		–	°–	–	–	+	+	°+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–			
80. Chief drummer	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+		
81. Sits at leader's right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
82. Drums for leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°+	°+	°–	+	+		
83. Drums for each singer in turn	–	–	–	–	–	–		°+	°–	–	°+	°–	°–						
84. Cedarman or cedar chief	+	–	+	+	+	°+	+	–	°+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+		
85. Sits at leader's left	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	°–	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
86. Sprinkles cedar leaves on fire	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
87. Offers prayers at specified times	+	–	+	–	(–)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
88. Fire chief or fire tender	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
89. Sits at north side of entrance	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	°+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
90. Starts fire before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	°+			+					

(Continued on next page)

N W 171 ● TRS* 746 E7G

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NRB
Washo NT20

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tu	Ap	Com	Tho	Ute	Cr 3	Cr 2	Cr 1	No C	Wa	Do 2	Do 1	Ar	Ha	Cam	Kio	E-4	Ji T							
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
96. In open																									
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
104. Old methods used to start fire																									
105. 4 sticks on fire																									
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
113. Cedarman third		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
114. Men (before women and children)		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
119. Women, either side, near entrance		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							
120. Separation of men and women		−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+							

| Element | Tim | Ow | Pyr | Wa | Dr | Ch | Ow | Ow | Ow

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
N W ● 171 4795 1796 [533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	LET	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ash	Dal	Dal	Wis	Oto	Oto	Oto	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Osa	Tew
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+															
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		·	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
161. Rule against women singing	+	−	+	+		(+)	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)	−								
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	+	−			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
174. By women		−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Element	Occurrence																		
	Tat	K-A	Klo	Cam	Kla	Alv	Del	Dea	Wis	No C	Cri	Sco	Wis	Ute	Gos	F-W	Tmc		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+	+		
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	°(+)	−	+	+	+	+		
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+		−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	°+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		°−	°+		+	+	+	+			°(+)	+	−	°(+)	+	+	+		
195. Urged not to eat too much			°+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	°+	−	+			
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
197. By women			°+	−	°+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		°+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		°+	−	−	+	°−	+	+	+	+	−		
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	°−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−	−		
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	°−	−		
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			°+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−		
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	−		
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	°+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	−	−		
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		

(Concluded on next page)

N W 171 ● 785 796 [824]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab S	Del	Del	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	Wil S	Ute	Gos	W-P	Tom		
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	+	•+	–	+		
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	–	–		
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–		
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	+	•+	+	+	–	+		
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	–	•+	–	–	–	+		
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	•–		
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•		
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+		
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	–	+	+	+			
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+·	+	+	•+	+		+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–			
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+		–			
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+							+	+		–			
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–			
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+	+		+			
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–	–	–	–	–	–			

Element	Occurrences																		
	11 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ab II	Du 1	Du 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Uta	Cos	W-P	Tse		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+·1	+	+	+	N	
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−			−	+	−	−		W	
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	171	●
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	745*	
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	746	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	[71]	
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+				[574]	
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]	
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+			
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+			
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+		•+			
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				+		+			
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				+		+			
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+									
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−									
265a. (See note)																			

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

N
W
● 171
+795
796

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 49). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).

28. Gos: See note 265a.

30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).

32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).

33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).

35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).

36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).

37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).

38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).

40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).

43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).

44. Gos: See note 265a.

46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).

48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).

50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).

51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).

52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).

53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).

55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).

56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).

57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).

58. Gos: See note 265a.

59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).

60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).

61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).

62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.

63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷɛβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instances (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WRS: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WRS: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WRS: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WRS: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WRS: ɗamē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nï'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting-it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Total peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	26
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	55	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[cont'd continues on middle of p. 123]

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TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1933.

(Concluded on next page)

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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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TABLE 4

ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

(P, Paiute; S, Shoshone; W, Washo; O, Others)

Groups	Fallon Reservation			Fallon Town Colony			Gardnerville			Douglas County			Mason Valley		Smith Valley			Mono County				Total by tribes				Total
	P	S	O	P	S	O	P	W	O	P	W	O	P	O	P	W	O	P	W	S	O	P	W	S	O	
Total population	108	35	3	97	12	3	1	128	4	5	135	8	140	2	51	3	3	218	15	11	18	620	281	56	41	1000
Peyotists active in Washo-Paiute cult	2	8		1	2		1	9		1	13		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	32	8	3	88
Full-blood individuals	2	6		1	2		1	5		1	12		4		5	2		31	8		3	45	27	8	3	83
Full-blood households	1	2		1	1			4			5		1		3	1		20	2		2	26	12	3	2	43
Mixed-blood individuals								4			1												5			5
Mixed-blood households								2			1												3			3
Attended other meetings before Washo-Paiute cult					2						1												1	2		3
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								1															1			1
Individuals married intertribally	2	2					1	2		1	2							2	2		2	6	6	2	2	16
Peyotists inactive in Washo-Paiute cult	16	1		5	1			82	1	1	3		24		24		2	28	3			96	88	2	3	189
Full-blood individuals	16	1		5	1			33	1		3		24		24		2	22	3			91	41	2	3	137
Full-blood households	9	1		2				15			2		10		9			9	1			20	18	1		38
Mixed-blood individuals								17		1								4				5	17			22
Mixed blood households								4		1								2				3	4			7
Attended meetings before Washo-Paiute cult								1	1						1							1	1		1	3
Attended only other meetings	7							1														7	1			8
Attended other meetings after Washo-Paiute cult								4	1						7							7	4		1	12
Individuals married intertribally				1	1			2	1	1					2		2	1	1			5	3	1	3	12
Nonpeyotists	90	28	3	91	9	3		67	3	3	119	8	112	2	22	1	1	161	4	11	15	479	191	48	35	753
Full-blood individuals	80	26	3	85	7	3		55	1	2	115	8	106	2	20	1	1	102	3	11	14	304	174	44	32	554
Full-blood households	35	12		47	3			22		1	52		49		10			54	2	6		196	76	21		293
Mixed-blood individuals	1	2		6	2			12	2	1	4		6		2			50	1		1	75	17	4	3	99
Mixed-blood households		1		4	1			7		1	3		4		2			27	1			38	11	2		51
Individuals married intertribally	2	2		4	1				3	1	9		2	2	2	1	1	14			13	25	10	3	21	59

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The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

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Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

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APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; si, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; nc, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwok; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, s	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	58	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 sal			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	36	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	59	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	b			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, ssl, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	50	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s d
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	50	P	1	3 s, gs, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	s, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, s			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 s, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, s, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 snl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		s			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109. Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, s, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

[P.372, A]

824 795 778

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

> [539] "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731] Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754 Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

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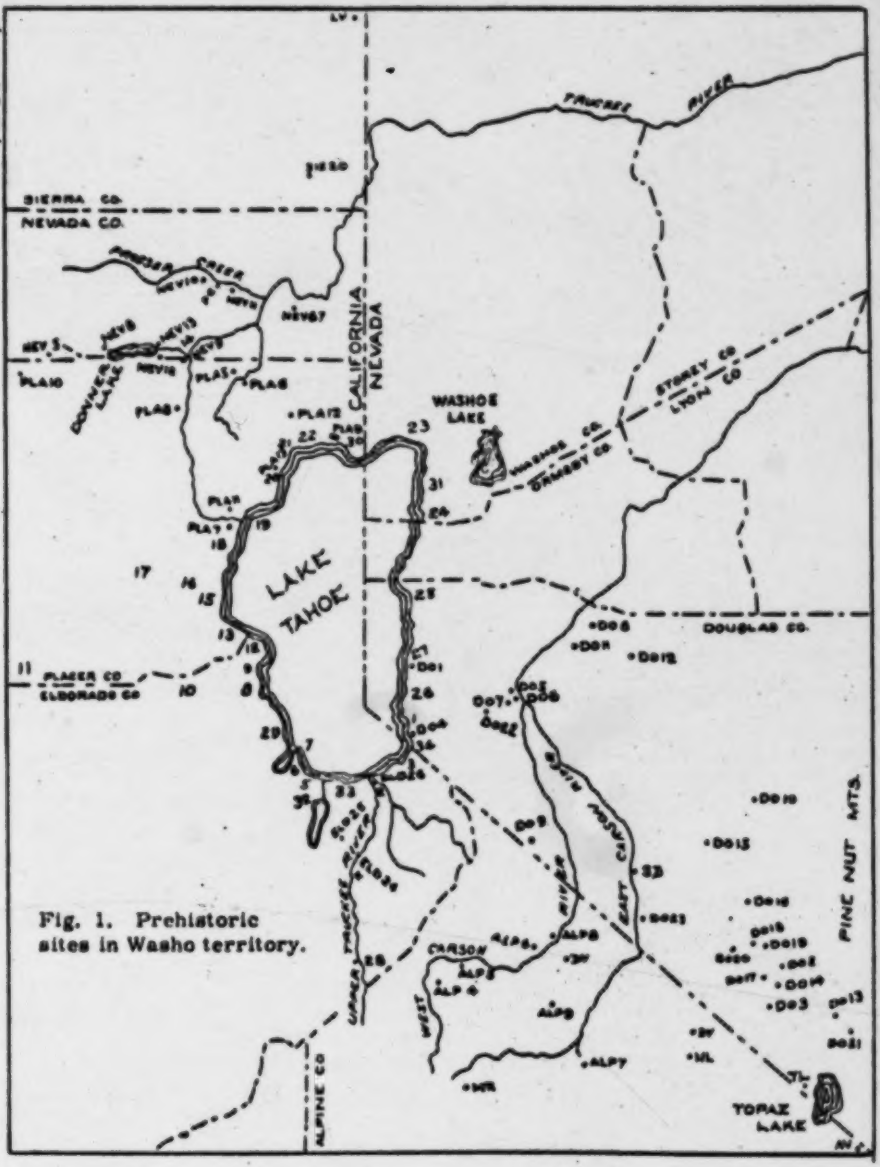

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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[221]

[342]

"The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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[412]
[484]
[422]

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows." ●

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One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore. The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

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The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

3 [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

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The Kings Beach complex type site, Pla-9, runs along the beach of the northern shore of Lake Tahoe in the vicinity of the towns of Kings Beach and Tahoe Vista.

Although Martis complex materials were not found stratigraphically below Kings Beach materials, the Martis complex was assigned a much earlier date. These authors suggest (1953, 21) that "the Martis Complex may have flourished some time in the first two millennia B.C." while the Kings Beach complex is equated with the historic Washo and "had a relatively shorter duration and perhaps 1000 A.D. is about all the age we can now assign to it."

[312] The great time depth of Martis was assigned on the evidence of the use of basalt for flaked implements and the recovery of a boatstone (boat-shaped spear thrower weight) at the Martis type site. Since their report another boatstone has been found at Dangberg Hot Springs (Do-8) at a depth of 18 in. This hot spring was a favorite Washo campground, and has yielded a number of artifacts of both the Martis and Kings Beach complexes.

[361] Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 22) explain the lack of stratified sites in their highland survey as based on "a tendency for people to settle in a spot which has not before been used." Their evidence is mainly that the sites are in open areas and that local supernatural beliefs indicate a fear of previously occupied spots. This tendency clearly breaks down in the case of spring sites in the lowlands.

The following elements are listed for the two complexes:

Martis

"1. Basalt preferred material for chipped implements.
2. Obsidian and chert used very rarely.
3. Projectile points fairly large and heavy, roughly chipped, variable in form.
4. Mano and metate for seed-grinding.
5. Cylindrical pestle and bowl-mortar (?).
6. Boatstones (and atlatl ?).
7. Economic emphasis on hunting and seed using.
8. Basalt flake scrapers with pressure-retouched edge abundant.
9. Expanded-base finger-held flaked drills or punches common.

Kings Beach

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"1. Obsidian and siliceous flint preferred for projectile points.
2. Basalt used very rarely for chipped implements.
3. Bedrock mortar for seed-grinding (site Eld-24, Eld-25).
4. Projectile points small, light, side-notched.
5. Economic emphasis on fishing and seed-using.
6. Probably ascribable to late prehistoric Washo tribe.
7. Bow and arrow offensive weapon (inferred).
8. Scrapers rare; drills absent."

Martis complex sites are Pla-5, 6, 7, 8, 11, 12, 13; Nev-8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13; and Alp-5. King Beach complex sites are Pla-9, 10; Eld-24, 25, 26; Alp-4, 6, 7, 9; Plu-7; and Do-1.[2]

The separation of these sites into two complexes appears to be warranted, but the classification is not always consistent. For example, a Desert Side-notched (DSN) projectile point was found at the Martis site Pla-6 (excavation by G. Arnold in 1957) at the 18-24 in. level (Elsasser, 1960, 71). The DSN point is characteristic of Kings Beach and yet was found at depth in a Martis site. Also, Elsasser (1960, 38) excavated Nev-16 and found three DSN points stratigraphically below Martis points.

Sites in Douglas County, Nevada

With the exception of Do-1, none of the sites of the Heizer and Elsasser survey mentioned above were in Nevada. A number of sites have been added recently to the University of California Archaeological Site Survey Records for Douglas County, Nevada, by George E. Haigh, Albert B. Elsasser, Robert F. Heizer and Gordon L. Grosscup. Since this material has not been published, a brief description of each site is given below. When the California records are incomplete this writer has made the appropriate additions.

Do-2 was an important Washo winter campground around a spring where a crescent and a scraper plane were found. The Schubert collection includes a 7 1/2 in. bifacial mano from the site.

Do-3 is a smoke-blackened rock shelter where a historic trade bead, a mano, a metate, and obsidian and chert chips were collected by the University of California Archaeological Survey. The Schubert collection (see below) includes two mortars about 5 in. in dia. and an oval mano of the same length.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

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[103] D'Azevedo recorded the Washo name "hanawuywuyanal" for this site. William C. Brown excavated a portion of this site in 1960 for the Nevada State Museum.

Do-4 is a bedrock mortar site, probably the same as #1 from Freed's Survey.

Do-5, 6, and 7 are three large sites in a group, where stone chips, broken metates, bits of shell, metates, manos, hundreds of projectile points, a piece of worked bone, a charmstone and a human skull were found. A local collector has also reported finding a round blue glass bead here.

Do-8 is a campsite below a hot spring where a local collector found a boatstone at a depth of about 18 in. The boatstone was donated to the Nevada State Museum.

Workshop chips and points were found here by the University of California Archaeological Survey along with broken metates and manos. This site was excavated by S. M. Wheeler for the Nevada State Park Commission in 1939. The site yielded projectile points, bones, scrapers and a mano.

W. L. d'Azevedo's notes report that the site seems buried under sand with most of the artifacts found on the slope near the hot stream. The Schubert collection from this site contains 3 manos, 1 drill, 4 scrapers, 6 blades and the following projectile points: 4 DSN, Martis types 1b-2, 3c-2, 4c-1, and 5c-1; 3 small leaf-shaped; 1 triangular; 1 small side-notched with a convex base; 1 small barbed with a concave stem; and 2 shouldered with flat based stems.

Do-9 is a bedrock mortar site beside a small creek.

Do-10 is a campsite where several points, a basalt scraper, workshop chips and a bedrock mortar were found.

Do-11 is a campsite where approximately 50 points and numerous workshop chips were found.

Do-12 is a campsite below a hot spring. Elsasser (1960) excavated this site and found Martis complex projectile points and other artifacts to a depth of 30 in. with one point recovered from a 48-51 in. level. The excavated materials and private collections from this site include 1 obsidian crescent, 1 mortar fragment, 1 stone discoidal, 1 bone awl, 1 bone dagger, 1 incised bone fragment, 2 unshaped pestle fragments, 48 manos, 49 basin

metates, and 383 identifiable projectile points or fragments. One DSN point was taken from the surface, and 10 Humboldt Concave Base A, 2 Humboldt Basal Notched, and 1 B-11 (Yosemite) points were found within the first 12 in. of fill. 172

Elsasser suggests (1960, 60) that "The culture disclosed at Do-12 is an outlying manifestation of the Martis Complex" although "there seems to be a dearth of the crudely chipped basalt blades and scrapers which are so characteristic of the northern sites." He also suggests (1960, 50) that "the Tamarack Complex, in Yosemite National Park, appears to be the candidate for the successor or at least the representative of the terminal Martis period in the Carson Valley."

Do-13 is a campsite where a 93 year old Washo woman, Susie Dick, now residing in Minden, used to live with other families when she was young (around 1885). Later on she moved to Double Spring (Do-2). The Schubert collection from this site includes 8 scrapers, 1 point fragment, and 1 basalt side-notched point (Martis type 4a).

Do-14 is a campsite on a mountain slope northwest of Do-13.

Do-15 is a burial site.

Do-16, 17, 18, 19, 20, and 21 are Washo campsites near pinenut gathering areas and streams or springs. Obsidian chips, projectile points, metate fragments, a bedrock mortar, and a chopper are among the artifacts found at these sites.

Do-22 is a bedrock mortar site near a spring with associated petroglyphs.

Do-23 is a campsite on a high terrace above a river where scattered chert and obsidian chips were found.

Other Recorded Sites

The author is aware of archeological sites in Washo territory recorded by the University of California Archaeological Survey and the Nevada State Museum in addition to those described above. These are principally in Ormsby and Washoe counties of Nevada, and Sierra and Plumas counties of California.

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Sie-20 is an extensive campsite in Sierra County, California. Elsasser (1960) found that the surface collection and excavation here indicated another Martis complex site.

A number of sites have been found around Washoe Lake, Washoe County, Nevada. Schellbach (1927) described an extensive site to the east of the lake. Gordon L. Grosscup (personal communication) reported that the east shore of the lake consists, essentially, of one large sand dune broken by washes. Nearly every wash contains artifacts, and has been recorded as a site. The material (manos, metates and other artifacts) appears to come from a thin buried layer within the sand dune. There is also a bedrock mortar site near the south end of the lake.

Other sites have been reported for Washoe County near Steamboat Springs, on the mountain slopes west of Reno, and in Idlewild Park in Reno. Historic sources indicate an intensive Washo use of the Truckee River, so a survey should reveal the existence of sites there as well.

In addition to the recorded sites, there are many unrecorded archeological sites in Washo territory. Bedrock mortars are known to be located near the various contemporary Washo communities. Private collectors have also found a number of sites.

Private Collections

Three of the private collections of artifacts taken from Washo territory are reported here. These sites are indicated on the site map by initials, which are abbreviations of each site's locale.[2]

A. Juanita Schubert of Minden, Nevada, has a collection of 261 stone artifacts from 11 sites in Washo territory. Artifacts from sites included in the California Survey have already been listed. All the sites listed here, except the Sheep Bridge site, are in California.

1. The site that yielded the largest collection is near Prosser Creek (PC) and may be considered as part of the same group of sites as Nev-10 and Nev-11 reported by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 7). The Schubert collection from this site contains 143 artifacts, all of basalt except for 11 obsidian and two chert pieces. The artifacts are essentially the same as those reported by Heizer and Elsasser. In a classification of this collection it was necessary to add the subtype "leaf shaped with square base" to the Martis classification by Elsasser (1960).

2 [See footnote on p. 92-93 -- Analyst]

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2. The Bagley Valley (BV) site is in a flat 1 mi. north of Heenan Lake and 1 1/2 mi. east of Monitor, California. Three projectile points 1 1/4 to 2 in. in length were found, one with a concave-sided blade and convex-based stem; one with a long blade, barbs, and an expanding stem; and one with large barbs and a contracting stem.

3. The Heenan Lake (HL) site is along the north shore of Heenan Lake. Two white chert scrapers, an obsidian blade, and 14 projectile points were collected here. The single basalt projectile point could be classified as Martis 4a. There are four DSN, 1 Humboldt Cave Base B, 1 rectangular, 2 leaf-shaped, 1 side-notched with a straight base, 2 shouldered, 1 with large barbs and no stem, and a 2 1/2 in. shouldered point with a serrated blade.

4. The Mokelumne River (MR) site is along the headwaters of the river 1 1/2 mi. southwest of Ebbetts Pass and 1 1/2 mi. down a dirt road south of State Highway 4. The collection of 35 artifacts from this site consists of 2 manos, 4 scrapers, 5 blades, 1 point fragment, a 6 in. point classifiable as Martis 1b, 6 DSN, 4 leaf-shaped with concave base; and obsidian and basalt forms classifiable as Martis types 1a-1, 3c-3, 3d-1, 4a-1, 4d-1, 5b-1, 5c-1, 5d-1, 5f-1, and 5g-1.

5. The Antelope Valley (AV) site is on the east side of this valley about 3 mi. southeast of the town of Topaz. A single white chert DSN point with a notched base was found here.

6. The Long Valley (LV) site is 2 3/4 mi. south of the town of Chats and 1/4 mi. west of U.S. Highway 395 on a foothill slope overlooking Long Creek. A 1 1/2 in. basalt drill and a 3/4 in. triangular point tip were found here.

7. The Sheep Bridge (SB) site is on the east bank of the East Carson River 1/4 mi. south of Horseshoe Bend. The collection from this site consists of a mano, five scrapers, and a blade.

B. Harry Hawkins of Markleeville, California, has a collection of artifacts from a Washo campsite along a stream on his ranch at the head of Diamond Valley (DV) and 1/2 mi. east of California State Highway 4. Mr. Hawkins' father remembered Washo camping at this site. The site contains 32 bedrock mortars.

The collection from this site consits of 37 points of less than 2 in. in length and two points about 3 in. in length. There are 2 leaf-shaped, 17 triangular with concave or straight bases, 8 shouldered, 1 small barbed, 1 stemmed with a concave-sided blade, 2 large barbs, and 8 DSN. A 5 in.

172 circular arrowshaft straightener of steatite with a slanting 1/2 in. hole through the center was found here and is in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Utah.

C. Iva Ashurst of Topaz, California, has collections from two sites west of Topaz Lake (TL) and U.S. Highway 395 in Douglas County, Nevada, close to the Nevada-California state line.

1. A cache of 21 leaf-shaped obsidian blades was found, on the south slope of a wash about 50 ft. west of U.S. 395 and 1/4 mi. north of Topaz Lodge. The blades, which were found stacked flat, range in length from 3 1/4 in. to 7 7/8 in., in width from 1 5/8 in. to 3 in. Their mean length is 4 1/4 in.; mean width is 2 in.

2. At a site 1/4 mi. west of TL-1, and at the foot of the mountain west of Topaz Lodge, more than 1600 glass trade beads were found in an area about 6 by 6 ft. In one spot of this site was a deposit of wood ash where a number of the beads had melted together. The beads were found scattered throughout the first 6 to 8 in. of deposit and apparently covered an area the size of a house floor with a fireplace in the center. The beads may have been used as a cremation offering.

Historic Washo Artifacts

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In the Nevada State Museum there are projectile points from the Dr. Lee collection made by two Washo Indians, Lame Tom and Poker Charlie. Most of these are of obsidian although some are of glass, basalt, chert, or white porcelain. In one typical display circle of 24 points 16 are side-notched, 7 shouldered, and 1 barbed. Most of the points are the General (obsidian, 0-26 mm., concave base) and Delta (not obsidian, 27+ mm., V-shaped base) subtypes of the Desert Side-notched (DSN) points as defined by M. A. Baumhoff and J. S. Bryne (1959). In a sample of 109 of these historic Washo points not one was of the Redding (bell-shaped base and comma-shaped notch) or Sierra (basal notched) subtypes of the DSN.

All of the modern Washo points presented by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, Fig. 1), and attributed to H. N. Rust, are the General subtype of DSN. The DSN points found in the 1953 survey by Heizer and Elsasser at the Kings Beach type site are the General or Delta subtypes, or some variant of them. Two of the DSN points found at Eld-24 may be Sierran. Of the 23 DSN points in the Schubert and Hawkins collections at least four are the Sierran subtype. Elsasser (1960) claims that the Sierran DSN occurs throughout the Sierra

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 [412]

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

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A study by the author of the elements in 12 of the 23 petroglyph groups in or adjacent to Washo territory was made from Steward's data. This indicated that, although seven sites were included from California and only five from Nevada, the Nevada sites have a greater variety and larger number of design elements.

L. Arthur Payen (1959) reported that the petroglyphs in the area around Donner Summit were in the typical Great Basin style with a great variety of elements in zigzags, diamond series, human forms, animal forms, and "rain symbols." Payen postulated that the combination of pecking and rubbing is more frequent in the "Valley Sierran" style than in the Great Basin.

At the Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group near Virginia City, Nevada (26-St-1 or Steward's number 208), Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958, 3) found that "The techniques employed in producing the petroglyphs were pecking, scratching, and rubbing, in that order of importance."

It was possible to demonstrate with statistical significance that two distinct art styles were present at the Lagomarsino site and a chronology was assigned to the two styles. Certain elements occur more often on the cliff face; others occur more often on the talus boulders. The "cliff face style" includes the elements of plant form, bird track, gridiron, rake, dots and crosshatching with a general tendency toward angularity. The "talus boulder style" includes the sun figure, polliwog, asterisk (or star), concentric circles, circle, and curvilinear line with a general tendency toward the curvilinear. Both styles are considered part of the Great Basin geometric style of Steward's Area A.

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With a petroglyph style from the Grimes site (26-Ch-3 or Steward's number 207) at Fallon, Nevada, included as earlier, the following chronology of petroglyph styles was presented by Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958).

1. Beginning some time before 7000 years ago. A groove-and-pit style now found heavily patinated at the Grimes site.

2. Beginning 3000 to 4000 years ago. Great Basin curvilinear ("talus boulder" at Lagomarsino) style found throughout the Great Basin.

3. Beginning about 1000 years ago. Great Basin rectilinear ("cliff face" at Lagomarsino) style found along the western margins of the Great Basin.

It is doubtful whether any of the petroglyphs mentioned here were made by the Washo Indians or their ancestors within the last 150 or more years.

The Washo, Northern Paiute, and other Great Basin Indians generally deny that they made petroglyphs. 172

Heizer and Baumhoff (1959) state that petroglyphs found along the Walker, Carson and Truckee rivers are generally lacking in associated occupational debris, are along routes of deer migration, and are probably connected with hunting magic. Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958) found a slightly different picture for the Lagomarsino site farther away from game trails. For this site the hypothesis presented was that it was ideally situated for a summer or early fall camping spot and the petroglyphs were probably made by shamans, possibly seeking power or in food increase rites. The interpretation of petroglyphs as maps was deprecated. Kroeber (1958) suggests that if native art serves ceremonial purposes the act of presenting the symbols, rather than communication, was the important thing.

A petroglyph group, recorded by d'Azevedo (1956), in Carson Valley has associated occupational debris. This is at 26-Do-22 in Taylor Canyon west of Foothill Road in western Douglas County. D'Azevedo's Washo informants knew of the historic use of this site by Washo, but were unaware of the petroglyph group associated with it.

Summary Comments

Elsasser (1960) drew several conclusions from his survey and excavations in Washo territory. Five of his points are presented below.

1. The Martis complex was located in the north-central Sierra Nevada largely in the transition or mid-altitude life zones (optimum altitudes 2500 and 6000 ft., depending on the side of the mountain range, west and east, respectively).

2. The greater number of Martis complex sites are on the eastern side of the Sierra Nevada, possibly a result of more intensive survey on the eastern side.

3. There is (1960, 72) "evidence of the strong resemblance of Martis Complex points with those recovered from the Middle archaeological Horizon of central California . . . it remains possible that the known high- or mid-altitude Martis sites represent a summer occupation of a basically central Californian culture."

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4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

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174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

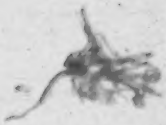
122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

102
172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-8) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501



been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 831 776 789 NWA 787 NWA 784 N 753 NW 172

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
Whirlwind (pitsumawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2732. You will carry a deer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	·	·	·	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2738. Crow call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2739. Dove call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740. Meadowlark call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
2741a. Finger rots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	·	·	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2743. Gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	·	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
2745. Informants had only heard of them	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2748. "Devil"	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

[P. 448]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the
western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized 137
by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species 262
of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the 177

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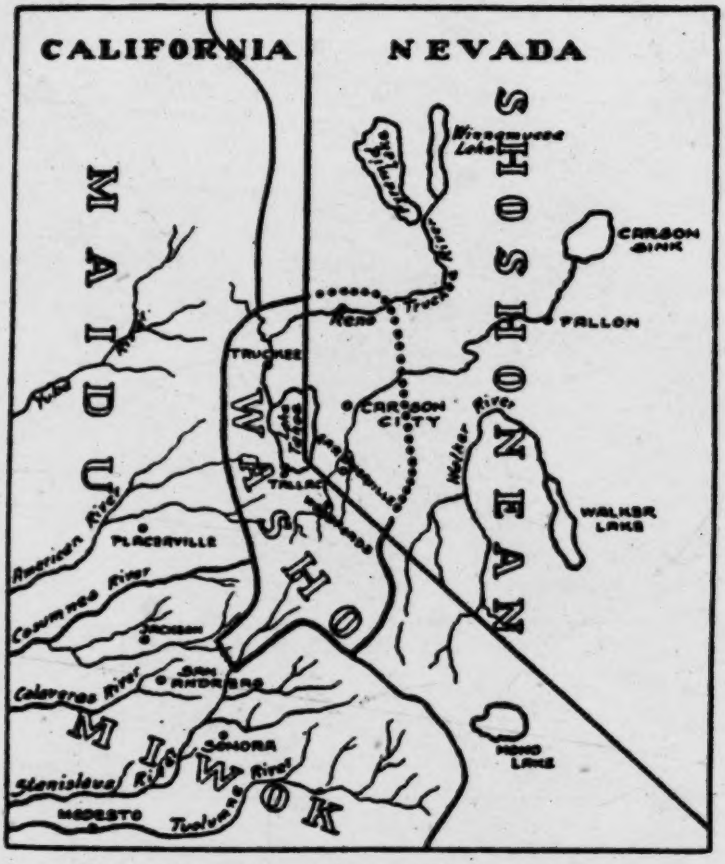

Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element. 137 262 177

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized 136 174

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; basketry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisü. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed]
--Analyst

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

237
513
Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather. 342

592
The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life. 22

462
Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463] in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

43
Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

433
Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161] the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less [439] trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423] in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and [251] inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

114
There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174] unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

We need data on the intimate, day-to-day activities within the household and community. This could still be derived from life histories on several of the oldest living Washo people. The literature is full of broad generalizations. What we need and can collect for a few more years is something of what B. Malinowski called the "imponderabilia of actual life."

714
174

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952, and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance; Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/A]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelíyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/ [footnote appears on p. 54 --Analyst]

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154
171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

754
154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

121
174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

121
871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

754
756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar
[683] Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

The Washo speak a Hokan language; their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 60 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago. 197 [174]

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more." 174

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora, Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959). 144

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped withe hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list. 171 [197]

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving techniques; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of piñon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

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4. Although similar, Martis type artifacts are distinct from all other surrounding artifact assemblages.

5. Clear evidence for a culture that is transitional between Martis and Kings Beach is lacking.

The Washo, the earlier Kings Beach complex people, and the still older Martis complex people solved the problems of survival in quite similar ways. We suspect that they are the same people at different periods of time. Still, caution must be exercised in attempting to correlate archeological manifestations with ethnographic groups in the area.

172
174 The present writer tested the hypothesis that the Washo of the ethnographic present were closer to the archeologically known Lovelock culture than the Northern Paiute or Achomawi. This was done by comparing a list of 64 traits of Lovelock culture prepared by Grosscup (1954, 22-23) with the ethnographic trait lists by Stewart (1941) for Washo, Achomawi, and Tasigat Northern Paiute. This comparison showed that the three ethnographically known cultures were almost exactly equal in their similarity to Lovelock culture. It also showed that the material culture for the west central Great Basin was so similar that considerable caution is necessary in assigning a complex, a site, or a component to any particular historic tribe. In view of these facts it appears that extensive excavation, particularly of known Washo sites, will be necessary to confidently ascribe the Kings Beach complex to the prehistoric Washo.

Notes

122 1. A National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship made it possible for the author to devote time to this study. Gordon L. Grosscup encouraged and aided this research with his criticism.

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172 2. The map facing the title page represents the central portion of historic Washo territory. It was drawn to include archeological sites in Washo territory on which the author had information.

Sites from the survey by Freed are numbered 1 through 31. The University of California Archaeological Survey sites are designated by county

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20 ●
Northern Paiute NR13

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

N 648
N [563]
N W [182]

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

N W 136 182

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

N W 114 136 174 182 ●

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

N W 136 174 182 114

Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

N 224 182

If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

N W [218]

N 231 177

The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ashin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 49?

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

the East Walker River, and then over the Sierras by way of Carson Pass. His return trip was by way of the southern Sierras (Nevins 1956, 49). 175

William T. Hamilton with a trapping party visited Honey Lake, Pyramid Lake, went up the Truckee River to Lake Tahoe, then to the Carson River, and returned east (Sieber 1951, 159-165).

The Stevens-Townsend emigrant party led by Old Greenwood with wagons crossed the Sierras westward over Donner Pass. Moses Schallenberger of this party was forced to winter at Donner Lake and later wrote of his experiences.

1845 - Fremont came westward along the Humboldt, to Walker Lake, then to the Truckee River, and over the Sierras by way of Donner Pass (Nevins 1956, 50).

1846 - Major Stephan Cooper with his family and 28 ox teams transported emigrants to California by way of Conner Pass (Thompson and West 1881).

The George and Jacob Donner party crossed the Sierras into California by way of Donner Pass. Of the 90 who started out, only 48 survived the trip.

1847 - Woodfords trading post established on the West Fork of the Carson River. Known as Brannan Springs, then Carey's Mill, and finally as Woodfords after Daniel Woodford (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959).

The emigration increased considerably in this year and with gold discovered in California in 1848 the stream of travelers became a "gold rush" by 1849.

1848 - Mexican land cession (treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo) to the U. S. of territory now California, Utah, Nevada, and Arizona.

The Mormon Batallion under Jonathan Holmes, with William H. Bigler present, cut a wagon road over Carson Pass upon returning to Salt Lake City from the Mexican War in California (Mack 1945).

1849 - State of Deseret organized in Salt Lake City.

Hampden S. Beatie set up a trading post at Genoa for the summer.

175

William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [721]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881).

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959). [648]

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to hawl /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175 ●

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chulap, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opsie, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Taiuch, hair	Malio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175 ●

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

western Nevada (Thompson and West 1881, 67). Overgrazing depleted Washo food in grass seeds and permanently effected the ecological balance in this period. M75 648

1861 - Warren Wasson, U. S. Indian Agent at Carson Valley Agency, in reports to Governor Nye of Nevada Territory in July and August wrote "within the limits of this Agency...the Washoes number 550...have no property of any kind...they have no schools...They have learned that the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them or help to do so at least. There is great justice in this request. The streams in which they formerly fished are now all spoiled for that purpose by the operating of the miners and the washing of the ores and metals. They are indeed most all diverted from their original courses, or dammed so frequently that the fish have disappeared from them. Lake Bigler, lying in the country of the Washoes, and from which they formerly obtained large quantities of the best kind of fish, is now taken possession of by the whites, and has become a watering place, to which large numbers from this Territory and California resort, and from which this poor tribe are virtually excluded. The hills and plains over which roamed plenty of game are now occupied by the Whites, and the game has fled, like the Indians from their presence" (Ingalls 1913, 35). [161] [871]

U. S. Congress approved Nevada Territory under pressure of the slavery question and the wealth of Comstock mining. 175

1862 - "By 1862 Burke and Company were using a half-mile seine to take tons of Tahoe trout daily from the waters of Boundary Bay" (Scott 1957, 443).

1863 - Silver Mountain (first known as Koenigsberg) was a mining boom town in the 1860's with a population of 3,000. (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959, 3).

1864 - Statehood proclaimed for Nevada, 36th state.

1868 - First transcontinental railroad, Central Pacific, completed through Nevada. With the coming of the railroad new towns sprang up as centers for ranches and farms.

A Washo shot by a homesteader for setting a fish trap on a creek leading into Lake Tahoe (Scott 1957, 64). [648]

1870 - 11,500 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments" had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely minimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a megu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

2/2 [See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1850 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1823 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an ameteur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later periods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

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There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

N 177 648

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them.

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The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations.

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As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.)

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In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in

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grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
492 ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

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177 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
492 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
764 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
423 eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
[233] Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were
[313] made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water,
[464] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of
177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather-
492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in-
241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or
[492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

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HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The Peyote Plant

Peyote (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

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Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{15}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_2N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_2N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychnine-like and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

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The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.
[6] Beals, 1932, 216.
[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.
[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).
[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

668 533 578 178 554 Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

668 533 177 There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song 'all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

668 533 176 The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

668* 533* 176 [773]

When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wo . . . li wo no*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley." [821] [778] [177]

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as: 668* 533*

I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band.

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[177]
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1; Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

[526] [302] [611] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ei and the t'aɬɬɬ'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pa"ulalt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬɬɬt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ei. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ei, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: [526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] [221] [526] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬɬɬt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pa"ulalt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgaet'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ei.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"a" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 [603] [946] A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
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MARRIAGE

583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

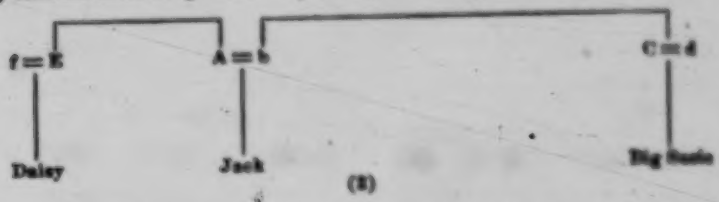
591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'ye; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.'ld, and is called la'bill in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'a'ma and is called la'a'ama in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" leka'l.



(E)

Jack calls C tita'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tauk, and E ti.'.oi. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pume'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tamiaiya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timiai'ya tawi'tauk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe'ye tase'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the galo'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a ma'luwe'ue dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had [171] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to assume themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalo'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigal'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinal'yaya, hinalya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsuyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[a] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"s, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[b] ("tsohotumpesh," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[c] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpal'yayapa, pululpalyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[a] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [b] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [c] *Ibid.*, 323.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a pidon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralysed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think those are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at once, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (!). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Ceremonialism

Sweat Lodge

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'ctu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pahi''tsiɣ t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

515 224 789 [343]

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] [177] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[1] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

Antelope Charming

624 224 756 787 The Antelope chief (al'yos kumomli'') was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113]

[1] Kroeber, Handbook, 573.

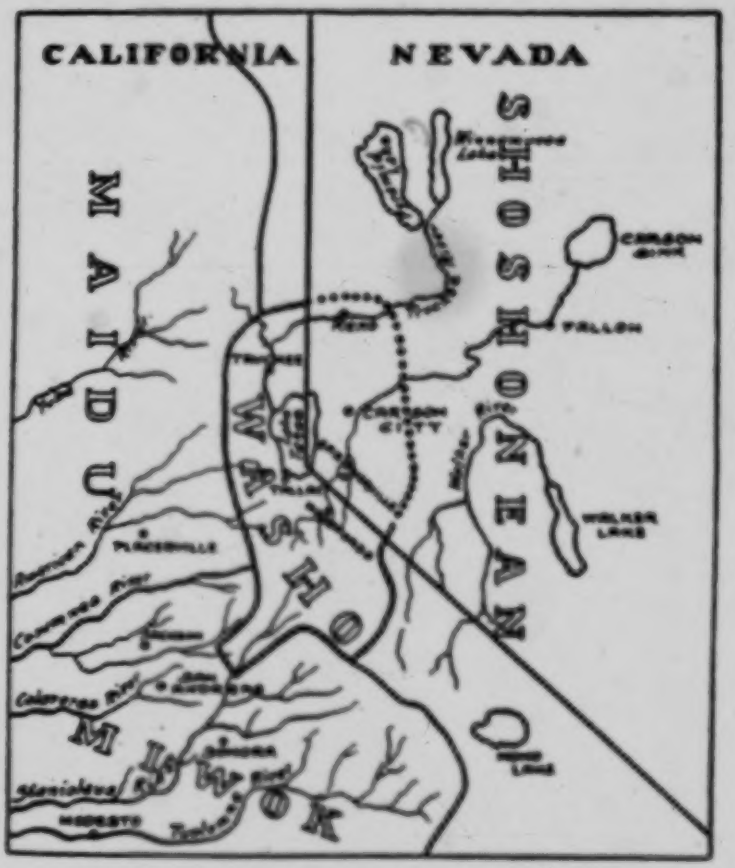
1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɬkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba'ʻkumta'liɬe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa"ei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the
western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized 137
by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species 262
of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the 177



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Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as 137
food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element. 262

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, 177
similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized 136
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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7[1]) was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

1 [See cat. 116, p. 39 --An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical
Plate VII, fig. 2. kūya'nda

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ūleū
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyūta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degīkūp*, dēūleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

*degīkūp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 531 [177]

by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

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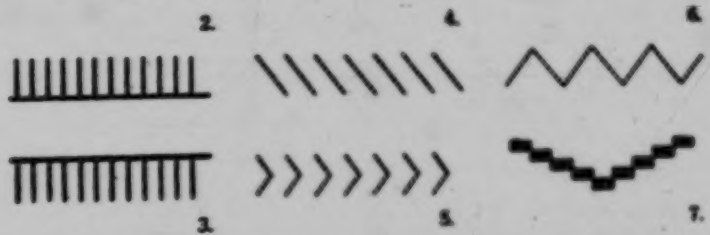
Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi"gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû ellwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbîle'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bîla, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'lkûl, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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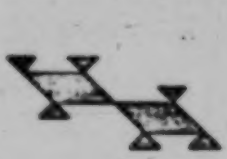
192

The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called daguboloye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkû'îkûl tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."



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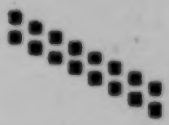

19.

The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

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22.

obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were [177] obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621. 624

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 1916.

[pp 26 and 27 are blank]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

[P.366, A]

MYTHOLOGY

773 [114] Washo mythology has been presented in the form of interlinear texts by Dangberg (1937) and in Lowie's Ethnographic Notes (1936, pp. 333-351). There are two versions of the creation myth, one describing the creation of Paiute, Washo, and Diggers from the seeds of the cattail by the Creator Woman, and the second attributing the creation of Indians to the Creation Man, who formed the three groups from among his sons to keep them from quarreling. Lowie also reports the common theme of several previous inhabitations of the earth. The most important myth, or at least the one which is still commonly told and seems to be the favorite among the Washo, devotes itself to the adventures of Damalali (short-tailed weasel) and Pewetseli (long-tailed weasel). These heroes are responsible for many of the natural features of the region so references to this myth are rather frequent. The Coyote, in the form of a rather malevolent and stupid trickster, and the Wolf, a generally patriarchal and protective figure, appear in several myths, as do cannibalistic giants and a giant bird, the ap.

Figures which appear only incidentally in the myths as recounted are elaborated almost infinitely in what might best be termed folk fantasy.

WATER BABIES

773 776 Most prominent of these figures are the Water Babies (Stewart 1941, p. 444, 2374). In the mythology, Water Baby figures as the creature responsible for the many lakes of the eastern Sierra. Killed and scalped by the rascally Damalali, Water Baby commands the waters of the area to *rise* until the weasel returns the scalp to avoid drowning. The waters left in mountain valleys as the flood receded formed the lakes.

776 The Water Baby is not confined to mythology. My informants were able to describe the appearance of a Water Baby in detail, to supply me with population figures, and to recount an almost endless series of incidents in which Water Babies were involved.

All informants agreed that the Water Baby is a creature about one and one-half feet tall, gray in color, with extremely long black hair which never touches the ground but which floats along behind the Water Babies when they walk. In general, these creatures look like small humans. However, they are boneless, cold to the touch, and damp.

Between two and three thousand Water Babies live in the Sierra, according to one informant. They inhabit lakes, streams, marshes, ponds, springs, and irrigation ditches. They speak a language of their own but are always able to speak Washo. With a single exception, every Washo of middle age and over to whom I talked claimed to have at least heard Water Babies calling from some body of water in the night. Several others claimed to have seen Water Baby footprints (one even reporting that the footprints he had seen were those of a female because the tracks were clearly those of high heeled shoes!). One informant steadfastly claimed to have seen a Water Baby, at least fleetingly, in 1956.

[177]

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 [795] [756] This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[787] 776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,* was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then what's, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

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[611] [581] *This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done excellent work on kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to show that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo grew had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1961 NT30 Washo NT30

[p. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(3489-3541)

756 [192] The Washo word da'maan'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (3394-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] [436] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's. 756 115 [871] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] [237] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 370, B]

of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, whom Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, as bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

[P.372, 8]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [754] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [344] house copied after Miwok structures and described as [177] "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. [177] She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.393, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[164]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[P. 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk teeth for a good permanent one (2296e-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2302-2333)

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[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the
[302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that
[784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time
[182] between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

> "When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1958, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 -2 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

21 123 178 There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, [535] these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and [871] associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1936. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 389-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

4:Downs 2-6 (no date) 1981 HTM Washo HTM
[P.399, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising than that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
● [177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

968 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[224] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'wdaq'i--a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter houses of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'wdaq'i made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1930's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
abandoned in favor of the wooden houses built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
[656] ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[1]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[1]The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P.399, A]

224 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have
222 been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests
789 that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a sure-ty, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This,
[731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) --Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty
[648] men were formed in the old days to go to the western slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive
[77] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were
[825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[533] law who remembered the antelope songs.

Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few
224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and
789 sang, and that kept them antelope there like they were hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
[533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported some of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (93-96) --The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that
[237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
[136] in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a
224 gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
[171] complex to the rabbit hunt.

Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken
[535] from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
624 There was, however, a special leader who directed
787 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
791 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P.390, 8]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
787 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

[782] Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role
178 is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[182] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was
[177] fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
224 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of
535 my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (306, 2358-2541).--Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the oldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."

---

[787] "This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] "This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[F 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to pierce an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[302] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [539] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a [848] bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either [124] honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented [789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 208, 222) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with [177] invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

825 771

[?383, B]

222 527 [954]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

[535]

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stowly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.

● [177]

[80]

They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them them [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

[782]

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (3421). This practice must have been occasional and relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[182]

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

734
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[841] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
[881] did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
[582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1930, p. 332) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
[832] it would eat up her children." Women especially were
afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
• [177] a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisil. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1868, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

1/1 [this plate has not been processed]
--Analyst

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

[This plate has not been processed—Analyst]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peles-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Pifion nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kúbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *temboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pawalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Dantanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ashin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a seperate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [248] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492...

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 183-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

In 1942 the average annual income of 49 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day. 434 [463] [484]

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California. 361 131 [342] [582]

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Heglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States." 165 164 [962]

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact. 175 [177]

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

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Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (petalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, 423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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INFORMANTS

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The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

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Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

[P. 354, A]

basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; soaproot meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "boss" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of piñon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees.

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 177 178

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

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This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

ALAN P. MERRIAM
Northwestern University
AND
WARREN L. D'AZEVEDO
Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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A person has to do his best. Sing the song just the way you heard it. It takes a long breath to sing good, to hold all those notes coming down and going up. Sometimes the medicine makes it sound better to you.

Song types

The major distinction drawn between Peyote song types is based upon an arbitrary designation of "main" songs as opposed to "unconnected" songs. The latter are those which may be sung at any time in any company and with any combination of other songs, while the former are sung under much greater restriction. The "main" songs are considered special; they may be reserved for the special opening, midnight, after-midnight, morning, or before-quitting times in an actual Peyote meeting but are always part of a special song cycle. Such songs should be sung in meetings or on an equally solemn occasion, and conversely, it is generally thought improper to sing them outside of meetings; in so doing, one runs the risk of "spoiling" them.

Both types of songs may be sung at specific times in Peyote ceremony. This relegation of songs to certain periods during the meetings seems to have nothing to do with either musical quality or type; rather, it is an arbitrary distinction made by each singer about the songs in his repertoire. It may be that the person who taught the singer the song told him that it was a morning or a before-midnight song, for example, or he may decide this for himself. On the other hand, he may also sing them at any time during the meetings. Various informants revealed different attitudes about this matter, and except for the individual distinction as to the category of songs by a few members, most members sing their songs at any time. The only songs which seem to be required at any particular time are those of the roadchief, who has his own special starting, midnight, and quitting songs.

Songs also are organized into sets or cycles. Such cycles are made up of four songs which are always sung in a particular order, and this gives them a unique quality to most Peyotists. "They are then a set of songs. If he starts one you can be sure the others will follow. They are connected. They are his songs." The songs may be learned at different times and in different places, and then put together in certain order by the singer, or a set may be made up of four versions or four repetitions of the same song; examples of each are included in the present study. A partial explanation for this difference in rendition seems to be indicated by historical evidence. It has been reported that fifteen years ago very few Washo sang at all, for most of the old songs were forgotten and no new ones had been learned. Ben Lancaster, the original proselytizer, had learned a few songs in Oklahoma and from the Gosiute, and these he taught to his members. At the same time he encouraged people to sing any songs they knew at the meetings—gospel songs, traditional Washo songs, popular American songs (cowboy, hillbilly), or songs of other tribes that they might have learned (Stewart 1944). Apparently because most individuals knew only a song or two at most, it became the custom to repeat the same song four times in the cycle rather than to sing four different songs.

[77]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

[821] [778] [177]

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

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It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

177 central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

161 164 17 There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire [648] bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

177 648 [231] At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local [161] administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

175 177 113 Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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During the 1840's almost every year is marked by one or more American groups passing through Washo country and leaving some small record of their experience and observation. J. B. Bartleson and John Bidwell went over the Sonora Pass in 1841, and in 1843 Joseph Walker successfully ventured the Walker Pass. In the same year Overton Johnson and William Winter came down the Truckee River and described the conditions of the Washo Indians they found dwelling there. John C. Fremont and Kit Carson discovered the Carson Pass in 1844, and William T. Hamilton wrote of his experiences leading a group of trappers to Honey Lake and Lake Tahoe in the same year. The diary of Moses Schallenberger of the Stevens-Townsend party, who wintered near Donner Lake in 1844, is a document of special importance for this period. The following year Fremont came over the Donner Pass, and in 1846 both the Stephan Cooper Party and the ill-fated Donner Party also attempted the pass. The Mormon Battalion crossed over the Sierras into Carson Valley in 1848, cutting a wagon road as they came; in the same year the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo was signed and gold was discovered in California.

A remarkable aspect of these early treks through territory occupied by the Washo is the infrequency of any mention of the inhabitants in the written accounts. An occasional lone Indian or an isolated party of gatherers might be noted, and these are invariably reported as wretchedly poor and frightened. With the exception of the small settlements described by Johnson and Winter on the Truckee River, there is no indication of Washo having been seen in the regular habitation sites that are known to have existed in the valleys through which the American parties traveled. One explanation for this is provided by the Washo themselves whose oral traditions state that the valley people fled to the hills when scouts warned them of the approach of strangers. In the period of increased trapper and emigrant activity it is said that the Washo moved their settlements to more remote sections of these areas and kept constant watch over the movements of the intruders. It was not until the appearance of large groups of emigrants and the opening of trading posts and permanent white settlements that the Washo began to make themselves known. The development of a dependent relation to whites was accelerated by the disruption of their seasonal hunting and gathering activities through alienation of land, cattle grazing, and epidemics during the first decade or two of contact.

The second phase of the historical record is that of the reports of settlers, Indian agents, and travelers from 1850 to about 1877. With the discovery of gold in California emigrant wagon trains increased. The creation of the Territory of Utah in 1850, including much of the present state of Nevada, encouraged Mormon settlement. The trading post at Genoa was known as "Mormon Station" and immigrants began to settle in Carson Valley as well

as in the valleys to the north. The reports of the agents to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs provide brief but significant comment on the Washo during this period. But, as indicated above, the reports were dominated by the agents' preoccupation with the more aggressive and populous Paiute and Shoshone in the eastern sections of Utah Territory. Settler diaries are another source of data, though few of these have been published and they, too, indicate little interest in the Washo, who apparently created few problems for the whites. 175 177 113

The period of professional ethnographic observation of the Washo may be said to have begun with the work of Stephan Powers in the 1870's. His manuscript The Life and Culture of the Washo and Paiutes written in 1875, and his contribution to the annual report of the Smithsonian Institution, Centennial Mission to the Indians of Western Nevada and California in 1876, are the first attempts to present the results of scholarly survey of these people. During the same period A. S. Gatschet made the first formal statement concerning the Washo language in an article Indian Languages of the Pacific States and Territories published in 1882. His data were derived from vocabularies collected by Powers and others. The pioneering work of John Wesley Powell should be mentioned here, as well, for his efforts to summarize the data on Indian languages and their distributions in his 1891 work, Indian Linguistic Families of America North of Mexico, included all that was known of the Washo language. This was also the period of important historical works such as Thomas Thompson and Albert West's History of Nevada published in 1881, and Hubert Howe Bancroft's History of Nevada, Colorado and Wyoming published in 1890. These works provide interesting data on early Indian-white relations, and little known events in which the Washo figured. 113

At the turn of the century C. Hart Merriam collected extensive vocabulary and cultural checklists from among the Washo. Though these manuscripts have not been published, they are among the most complete sources of data on the Washo from that period (1904). Dr. Simeon L. Lee, a resident of Carbon Valley and an amateur collector, was active for many years assembling a quantity of Washo technological products which were later donated to the Nevada State Museum. This collection, and the accompanying journal by Dr. Lee, constitute a prime source of information concerning Washo material culture of 60 or more years ago.

In the first few years of the 1900's the extremely vigorous investigations of California and Great Basin Indians initiated by A. L. Kroeber and R. H. Lowie resulted in increased ethnographic knowledge about the Washo. Roland B. Dixon's study of the Maidu included materials concerning their relations with the Washo and the delineation of territories. His articles, in collaboration with Kroeber, on the languages of California included the Washo,

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
[262] Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father.
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the [626]
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [157]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

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alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

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7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

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8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

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9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
[431] later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

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It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

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One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

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The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

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Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

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W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

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The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game. N 177 [231]

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations. N 177 648

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 ● 182 22

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

Northern Paiute NRB

N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W [668]

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666]

Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W [18] [623]

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

Northern Paiute NR 13

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [106]

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20 ●

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 105 177 178 W [186] [668] [464]

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

N 105 177 182

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

W 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.[1]

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in
489 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

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● 177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2 [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [476] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [178] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224 [825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233 825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231 241 311 177 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

● 177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 871 [492]

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions.

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[771] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musĕge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musĕge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

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The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

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Notes

1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

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2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

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Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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may suffice to distort the impressions of a cult or cause it to be overlooked entirely is demonstrated by the fact that both Park, in 1934 and 1935, and I, in 1936, failed to learn that the peyote cult had been present in 1930 among the Northern Paiute. Even after discovering the cult's previous existence, I obtained fragmentary and contradictory information concerning it. One impression was received from a man at Nixon, another from a woman at Bishop, about two hundred miles away, a third from Indians at Fallon and at Walker River; all had to be interviewed before even the semblance of a true picture emerged.

To account for the acceptance of new cults, previous students have pointed out the similarities between the indigenous and the introduced religion. When native institutions are investigated years after their establishment, a cultural analysis is perhaps the only means of obtaining clues to the reasons for acceptance. Occasionally, however, faith in such analysis has led ethnographers to rely on it when more exact data were available. That the indigenous culture influences acceptance or rejection cannot be denied, but when Indians participating in the same culture react differently toward new cults, it is necessary to search for additional factors.

Recognizing the sources of error in studying the diffusion of a religion after it has become well established, I was impressed with the opportunity, rare in the United States, to investigate the Washo-Paiute peyote cult only two years after its introduction and with nearly all the participants available for questioning. From the first interview it was clear that the Washo–Northern Paiute Indians were sharply divided in their opinions concerning peyote; consequently, it was necessary to go beyond a cultural analysis.

It was difficult to obtain accurate figures on participation. Several times I was told that "nearly everyone" in a certain Indian community belonged, only to find upon visiting that place that this held for a very small percentage. To get correct data, I copied from the official government census rolls the names of all adults (fifteen years of age and over) from the principal communities where meetings have been held. I checked the roll, name by name, with peyotists, nonpeyotists, government employees, and other white men to ascertain the status of each individual. In interviews with members and nonmembers in these communities, I always inquired for other peyote members and for those most opposed to it. From nearly every family in Dresslerville, Wellington, Yerington (including Campbell Ranch) Mono Lake, Bridgeport, and Coleville I interviewed at least one member. I also obtained the names of all families represented at two peyote meetings I attended: at Mono Lake in July, 1938, and at Carson City, October, 1938. In all, I procured information concerning peyotism from 43 active peyotists, 31 apathetical inactive peyotists, 18 antagonistic inactive peyotists, 35 unconcerned nonpeyotists, 56 antagonistic nonpeyotists, and 32 Indian Service officials, missionaries, ranchers, merchants, and other white men somehow directly concerned with the Indians. These 215 interviews varied from statements such as "I don't know anything about peyote and I don't care to know" to an interview with proselyter Ben Lancaster which lasted four days.

HISTORY OF WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

First Contacts

The Peyote religion was introduced to the Washo and the Northern Paiute Indians in October, 1936, by Ben Lancaster. Contrary to the belief general among ethnologists and Indian Service employees that this is their first experience with

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peyote,"[9] most of the adult Indians in the area of its distribution remembered in November, 1938, previously hearing of peyote, some having had personal experience with it.

In 1924, Dan Voorhees (P,1)[10] and Johnny Cleveland (P,1) heard that peyote was successfully used in a curing ritual in Oklahoma. A mixed-blood Sioux or Ponca, Tom Knudsen, the government farm agent then at Schurz, showed them an Indian Service pamphlet condemning peyote, but told them his family had been cured by it.

Actual experience came through Leo Okio, an "Eastern Indian," who held meetings at Nixon, Fallon, and Schurz in the fall and winter of 1929–1930. When with the Northern Paiute, he lived with Joe Green, a Paiute shaman at Nixon, who befriended him and was convinced of peyote's power after seeing Leo cure cases of paralysis and pneumonia. Joe learned the relevant songs and assisted in the ritual. More than a dozen Indians described the 1929 meetings, several as eyewitnesses. The ritual differed in several particulars from the present Washo-Paiute cult, resembling what is known in the Great Basin as the "old Sioux way."[11] As many as seventy Indians attended Leo's meetings, some coming from as far away as Bishop, California, and McDermitt, Nevada. Although a number of converts were made, peyotism completely ceased as an active force when Leo Okio left. He is now principally remembered as an Indian doctor who took much money from the people and whose patients all died.

Raymond Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaakin) (Ute,2), the second to hold meetings in the western Great Basin, arrived about 1932. A Uintah Ute, he had learned of peyote at Pine Ridge, South Dakota, in 1913. Before marrying a Washo girl and settling with her tribe (where he was in 1938), he had also attended peyote meetings in Rose Bud, South Dakota; Fort Washakie, Wyoming; Blackfoot, Montana; Ignacio, Colorado; Uintah (Ute) and Ibapah (Goshute), Utah; and Dolce, New Mexico. Lone Bear was harbored by Sam Dick, a Washo shaman at Minden, Nevada. Soon he started "Sioux way" meetings and also "doctored" as an "old-time" shaman. Successful with both techniques, he collected for a few months from $15 to $60 for a single treatment. Nearly all the Washo in the vicinity attended his meetings. Sam Dick learned the peyote songs and made a kettledrum, acting as drummer during the rituals. Eventually, Lone Bear ruined himself by drinking too much and getting in jail too often. After his first period of success, he held only a few meetings. He has not been allowed to affiliate with the new movement.

Besides the knowledge of peyotism brought to them by foreign Indians, the Washo–Northern Paiute also learned of peyotism on visits to other tribes. It is impossible to state exactly how many attended meetings elsewhere or heard of them, but I have information of several. Johnny Wright (by some called John Harrington)[12] (P,6) gives an interesting account. He had been converted to peyotism, "the

[9] La Barre, 1938, 120, fn. 72: "Willard Park informed me in 1936 that the Paviotso [i.e., Northern Paiute] lacked peyote." Joe Green, one of Park's informants, joined the cult in 1929, continued believing in it, and reaffiliated with it in 1936. He said, "I didn't tell Willard Park about peyote because he didn't ask me."

[10] P, W, and S represent Northern Paiute, Washo, and Shoshone respectively, the tribes of the informants; figures agree with numbered places on the map, where informants live.

[11] The "old Sioux way" or "old Ute way" is still followed by a minority of the peyotists on the Goshute and Uintah-Ouray reservations. Although no detailed description is available, I have learned from the Indians that the moon is smaller, sometimes constructed on a piece of velvet; usually only four peyote buttons are eaten; there is no smoking; meetings are conducted strictly and without levity; and members are very pious. Rules of conduct resemble those of the Oto peyote church (Church of the First Born; see La Barre, 168–169).

[12] Wright interpreted for me in 1936; see Stewart, 1941.

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Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

1936 Proselyter Ben Lancaster

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stage-coach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white.[14] Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

[14] On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Colville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[8] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Beatou were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[8] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[4] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[5] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think,[6] also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[7]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[4] La Barre, 61.
[5] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[6] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[56] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[57]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[58] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[59]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[56] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[57] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[58] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[59] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[34] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[35] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act.[36]

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[34] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[35] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Gōshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[36] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. "A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism."

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[c]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal, only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents."

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[a] La Barre (105–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[b] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[c] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

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compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Wellington; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood."[1]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[1] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See ref. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

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differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration." Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

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of a new type of living."[73] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."[74]

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—aculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[73] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[74] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

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Yurok N531
Comanche N06

N W 171 177 668 795 * 797

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[*] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it.[*] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Y [668] [797]

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

N W 171

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters.[*] The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[*] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[*] Tom Garth, field notes.
[*] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus.[8]

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[8] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

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between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

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PLATE 1

N W *795 53+ [17]

a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

W [79]

b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ewe'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[43] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ewe'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, [302] but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship. 622 [692] [428] [178]

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt. 624

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe. 844 431

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy. 595

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional. 585

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast. 764 [178] 765 769

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men. 291

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist- [513]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is l'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called tl'pek, and a red, called sawa'safi. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 31 - - An.]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 33 . . An.]

4:Downs E-6 [no date] 1961 NT20 Washo NT90

[P.365, A]
[Introductory is blank], P.vi

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobsen), peyotism (Slotkin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

161 Most of the statements about the Washo give the im-
114 pression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cul-
181 tural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to trace the patterns of change among these people since
[115] the entrance of the white man into their area. To this end I spent a great deal of time with older informants, but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography." Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

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[1] D. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on those estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1861, was somewhat over 3,000

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seminysetic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2488-2541)

756 115 [262]

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

● [178] [755]

"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

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"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

[P.373, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

[P. 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

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Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 824-826) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P.374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

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[756] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from
[624] shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe
[828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of
[178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In
987 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set-
[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing,
[621] pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1920's,
[178] as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at
[539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my hus-
[828] band about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[6] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[6]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P. 375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre- 789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [278] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843
[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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[784]
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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

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"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal

[782] prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown

[431] [178] into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high

[302] point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the

[574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 379, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[178] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 399, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death customs are those imposed by direct intervention of the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[221] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death was a more serious matter; it was during this season that the Washo lived in the gal'adaq'l—a structure made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be abandoned and was often burned down, and the immediate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family which suffered no deaths during the winters might spend several years in a single campground, whereas a less fortunate family might have to move every winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the others continued to live in gal'adaq'l made of boards and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for them by the government, the native-style houses were abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo adjusted their death customs. The most common adjust-
[656] ment was to prepare for an impending death by shifting seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure, often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or lean-to. This structure could be burned down without loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occupied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett reports that cremation was practiced, and the bones placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. However, this appears to have been only one of the disposal customs and is not well remembered by Washo living today. The burning or burying of the personal possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized possessions were interred with the body, which was usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the mountains. Although there are a number of locations known by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days" there was no special cemetery and that these burial spots have developed since the coming of the white man. This may well have been as a result of direct white interference with native funeral customs and an insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains. Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the
● [178] casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us
[627] cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[8]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

[648]

[8]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

[P.378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,

764 768 ●178 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away [776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom [775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The [821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 515 783 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the [756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could [787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when [768] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre- [782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent [551] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut [648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name [551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking [821] at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.

[177] [538] [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789 [533]

[763] [186] [114] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

[484] [136]

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[535] 224 624 787 791

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
[782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[1] They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."
[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
178 his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep
[177] a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (296, 2558-2561).--Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other man shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[2]

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[787] [1] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [2] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2384-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.

[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
224 If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

[886] [841] [562] [226]

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
529 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[262] was central to Washo winter survival, and its produc-
[178] tion was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and co...social bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 527 791 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It [756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[P 383, B]

222 527 [754]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [80] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824 [782]

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789 [182]

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (3631). This practice must have been occasional and relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during menses-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
[582] did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
789 eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 333) was a
[525] powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
who traveled about the country participating in the hand
game, often carried one. But power was considered ex-
tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
[832] old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
it would eat up her children." Women especially were
afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
[764] Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
• [178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
[177] a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (tmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The tmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one tmolit up while the other tmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two tmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tishdeki) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbeyelgi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the tmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(hwalakush shewi) to hold the tmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (mfmdewi isi) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the better the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Carver, Walley's, Ikibo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (dlwfmeu). The hair was left on moccasins and skin pants or leggings. 281 291

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsetsinl) and black (wɛ́lyuwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɛ́k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɛ́l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɛ́l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is na?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (padu) and a summer shade (na?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 433

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumi¢sh¢¢sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalete), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

433 439 177 [133] [628]

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

433 178 [177]

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multifunctional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

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The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

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Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa-Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

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7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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[433]
[464]
[535]
[795]
[726]

INFORMANTS

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The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

114

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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[197]
[101]

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

[177]

ECONOMIC LIFE

224

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 328). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

[624]

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

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Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

7756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P. 354, A]

basketry decorated with named geometric patterns; language affiliation; soaproot meal brush; looped withe hot rock lifter; flat mush stirring paddle; hopper-mortar; feather-decorated coiled basketry. 171

Certain traits link the Washo with the Great Basin area (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, p. 4):

> . . . long net for catching rabbits by driving technique; special "boss" for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of piñon (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket forms (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by "charming"; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees.

Modern Washo culture is largely western American with a moderate number of aboriginal hold-overs. The 177 178

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

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The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

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The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Brumer (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1953), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

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Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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information came from a single informant, he may have been misinformed on this point. There is, however, a tendency among younger people to call cousins older or younger siblings on the basis of their own ages rather than the ages of parents and their siblings. This trend is clearly visible in the analysis of terminological usages given in table 3. It is a logical development since the introduction of schools, calendars, and written records of births. Before then, relative ages of individuals of different nuclear families would not ordinarily be known if the persons were of approximately the same age.

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Six distinct terms exist for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Brother's child is distinguished from sister's child; both are distinguished from own children. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives. All my informants were quite definite on this point. Lowie (1939) and Siskin (MS) say that mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother, and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This was true when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. In such cases, mother's sister's husband is the same person as father's brother; and father's brother's wife is the same person as mother's sister. Lowie's information may have been obtained from the descendant of such a marriage.

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Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. For example, ego calls his mother's father di·ʔdlel (my mother's father), and this relative calls him le·ʔdlelíʔ (my daughter's child). Morphophonemically, the stems of these two words is the same (-·ʔdlel). The term, le·ʔdlelíʔ, may be translated approximately as "the one whose mother's father I am."

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There are apparently no differences in terms of reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) have not reported any; and I have found none in the course of my interviewing. William Jacobsen, who is currently making a study of the Washo language, also corroborates this.

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ALTERNATE TERMS

Terminological change was determined by comparing modern usages with the standard kinship system. In the course of seventy genealogical interviews, at least a few variant kinship usages could probably have been collected during aboriginal times. However, the conditions of modern Washo life make variant usages in genealogical interviews almost inevitable. Some informants speak Washo poorly and may guess at terms; others do not understand English well and may misunderstand the investigator's questions. The problem is to separate the alternate usages due to mistakes and misunderstandings from the ones which may indicate that the terminological system is changing.

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Two criteria are available for this purpose. First, usages arising from change in the terminological system should occur more frequently than other "alternate" usages which appear to represent erroneous information. Second, the alternate terms of the new, emerging kinship system should form an internally consistent system.

Analysis of the Washo genealogical data showed the following alternate usages.

1. Thirteen informants called some or all of their cousins by terms distinct from the sibling terms. The terms used are numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in table 1.
2. Five informants called their brother's children and sister's children by a single term.

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TABLE 3

Incidence of Washo Kinship Usages in Ego's and Adjacent Generations

Kinship usage*	Age group of informants							
	10-19 (15)†	20-29 (13)	30-39 (7)	40-49 (12)	50-59 (8)	60-69 (8)	70-79 (5)	80-89 (2)
Siblings								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	3							
Miscellaneous	2	1						
Cousins								
Standard	3	3	4	8	7	7	4	
By own age	4	4	1	1	1			
Alternate	2	3	1	2	2	2		1
Term unknown	8	6	2		1			
Miscellaneous	1			2				
Uncles								
Standard	6	11	6	10	7	6	5	2
Alternate	3							
Term unknown	7	1				1		
Miscellaneous				1				
Aunts								
Standard	8	8	4	10	7	7	4	2
Term unknown	6	1	1					
Miscellaneous		2						
Nephews and nieces								
Standard	3	8	4	11	8	8	5	2
Alternate	1	2	2					
Term unknown	3	3						
Miscellaneous	1	1			1			
Father and mother								
Standard	12	13	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	3							
Son and daughter								
Standard	1	9	5	9	7	5	4	2

*The meanings of "standard" and "by own age" are clear from the text. "Term unknown" means the informant did not know the term. "Alternate" refers to the terms of the new terminological system. "Miscellaneous" includes all alternate usages regarded as nonsignificant; these are listed in the text. If a single informant gave different kinds of usages (e.g., standard and alternate) for a single kind of relative (e.g., cousins), he was counted twice. If he gave more than one different kind of "miscellaneous" response for any one kind of relative (as for example to call one aunt "grandmother's sister" and the other aunt "great-grandparent"), he was counted only once.

†The number in parentheses is the number of informants in the age group.

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3. Three informants called their mother's brother and father's brother by a single term.

Two alternate usages were given by two informants: mother's brother's child was called brother's child, and older brother was called younger brother. A considerable number of alternate usages were given by only one informant: father's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's sister was called great-grandparent, mother's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's brother was called older brother, brother's son was called younger brother, mother's sister's son was called sister's child, and older sister was called younger sister. One woman used the male speaking term for brother's child instead of the female term. One informant used brother's child (man speaking) for sister's son and brother's son, and sister's child for sister's daughter and brother's daughter. This is what Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d., p. 42) call a "loan translation," that is, the Washo terms have been equated with the English nephew and niece terms.

The three alternate usages which occur most frequently appear to represent change in the terminological system. They form a consistent system: the new terminology is of the lineal type in all generations. The alternate cousin terms and the terminological merging of brother's child and sister's child show a significantly higher frequency than all other alternate usages. The merging of father's brother and mother's brother occurs only slightly more than other, nonsignificant alternate usages; but it is included with the other two primarily because it conforms to the trend toward a lineal terminological system in the three generations under study.

The alternate terms appear to represent a new system of kinship terminology rather than survivals from an older system. From the breakdown of Washo kinship usages given in table 3, it can be seen that the alternate uncle and nephew-niece terms are used by individuals in the younger age groups; and this leads to the inference that they are recent. The alternate cousin terms are spread rather evenly throughout the generations, but they too appear to be part of a new terminological system. This is indicated from the terms used for children of cousins. Older people generally use the terms meaning brother's child and sister's child in spite of the fact that they no longer call their cousins siblings. Younger people tend to use the cousin terms for the children of cousins. The terms for cousins apparently are first changed in ego's generation, and the change is then extended to the first descending generation. Thus the use of the alternate cousin terms is becoming more firmly embedded in the terminology. Another reason for believing that the [illegible]in terms are part of a new kinship system is that the older people who use them state that sibling terms are also correct whereas the younger people are unaware that sibling terms may be used. The greater frequency of the alternate cousin terms compared to the alternate nephew-niece and uncle terms and their greater age as indicated by their occurrence among older persons is in accord with Dole's observation that when terminological patterns change, the cousin terms change first (Dole, MS, p. 438). The Washo data indicate that terms of the first descending generation may be the next to change, followed by changes in the parental generation.

Most people who use the standard cousin terms declare that the alternate cousin terms are incorrect.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-18 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Washo residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1939), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Washo residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly-large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1938, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the oldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and those in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 38) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *dáwtelel ʔáyadi*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dípek gumlém*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *gulad'at* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *téqtelel ʔáyadi*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sawdaaq gumlém*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *daxelatlgá·l ʔáyadi* (also *daxelatlgá·l ʔáyadi*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 69-83),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Wasko may have had demes (1940, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Wasko had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Wasko. Lowie's description of a Wasko village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Wasko today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Wasko do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. During ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Wasko; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Wasko expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1924, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1924, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

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This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washoe' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology. [591]

601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In [596]

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

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Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 113). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 38-40; 1954).

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The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 126-127):

Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

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Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

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It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 385, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, coöperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

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CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of sororal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Washo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Washo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Washo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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octagonal "church" near Coleville, California, and was known as "the Peyote preacher."

The decline of the movement may be attributed to at least three factors: the aggressiveness and opportunism of Ben Lancaster's leadership, which eventually antagonized the majority of non-Peyotist Washo and encouraged the formation of dissident sects among the Peyotists themselves; the direct threat posed by the new religion to the already weakened influence of the shamans, which united them in concerted and violent attack against it; and the deep schisms effected by the movement in regard to traditional tribal loyalties and family ties, which turned the initial curiosity of the Washo majority to active hostility and rejection. The period of introduction, growth, and decline of the religion from 1936 to 1939 has been studied intensively by two earlier investigators (Stewart 1944; Siskin 1941).

Recent field work indicates a revival of the Peyotist movement among the Washo shortly after 1939. Initiated by a relatively obscure Washo member of the cult, who claimed to have learned a "new way" during a visit to Peyotists in Idaho, the sect was labelled "The Tipi Way." It was set in open opposition to Ben Lancaster's domination and succeeded in attracting a number of former adherents from among the Washo who had become inactive after the 1939 debacle. This sect has undergone many changes of leadership since its inception in 1941–42, but it has persisted with remarkable cohesion to the present time. Relations with other members of the tribe have improved to the extent that the Peyotists are now a tolerated and often respected minority, and carry on their activities openly.

When the original proselyter, Ben Lancaster, died in 1955, there were three distinct sects competing for dominance in the area. One of these was the moribund group referred to as "Lancaster's Way," made up of Washo and Paiute followers who had remained loyal to him. Lancaster's wife and an old Paiute adherent lead the handful of members, and it is known by the latter's name—"J—S——'s Way." A second group is led by a mixed Washo-Paiute individual, and the participants are drawn from his immediate family; it is also referred to as his "Way." However, the largest and most vigorous sect, is "The Tipi Way," which has its center of operations at Woodfords, California, with a substantially Washo membership.

A comparison of the recent total membership of these sects with the participation data presented by Stewart (1944) reveals that there has been a drop from 111 active Peyotists in 1938 to about 78 in 1955. In 1938 there were 37 Washo and 55 Paiute members, while in 1955 fewer than 15 of the active Peyotists are Paiute or of mixed tribal origin. Of the present total membership more than seventy percent attends the meetings of "The Tipi Way" sect.

The members of this dominant sect have initiated and maintained more contact with the Native American Church than have either of the others. Its members make frequent visits to meetings in Idaho and Utah, and informal delegations make pilgrimages to Peyotist centers in Oklahoma, which they consider to be the homeland of the movement. Every few months "runs" are

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčyū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčyū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčyū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

611 428 423 [748] [685] 622 [643] [178] 824 224 [756] 611 428 424 551 581

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1930's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952, and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882. Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region, the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

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According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (ʔeʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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10 to 19 age group who had attained the menarche had been given a dance. In addition, several mothers with girls between the ages of 11 and 13 told us they planned to give their daughters a dance when they came of age.

Table 1

Occurrence of Girl's Puberty Dance among
38 Washo Women by Age

Age Group	Number	Given Dance	No Dance	No Information
10-19	9	8	1	
20-29	7	3	1	3
30-39	3	2		1
40-49	8	4	2	2
50-59	4	3		1
60-69	2	2		
70-79	3	1	1	1
80-89	2			2
TOTAL	38	23	5	10

The modern girl's puberty dance closely resembles the aboriginal rite. All of the basic elements have been retained: the beliefs that the girl is shaping her future life and that she is supernaturally potent and must not touch men; the four days of fasting; the constant activity; the prohibition on eating meat, grease or salt; the climbing of the mountain and the building of the fires; the symbolism of the pole; the ceremonial race; the dance; the painting; the bathing; the giving away of baskets; and the feasting.

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body.

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance.

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

881 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and
178 they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a
765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year.
764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of
[768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as
178 formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal
[768] property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-16). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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(791)
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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabᵉdai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts: [815] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, [252] and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1928, [782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a [515] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw [222] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop [782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. [535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. [262] The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman 785 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through 786 a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman [177] (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi- 527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re- 791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re- [200] vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists. 981 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis- [177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of 177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet- 178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman. 3 A

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

3 A [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [754] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegelévyu and the bone his Hindu wegelévyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegelévyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be- [778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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178 behavior of the modern Washo, for the Washo remain a recognizable group, the language is still spoken, and although modern Washo culture is chiefly western American, there remain a moderate number of cultural patterns from aboriginal times (Freed, 1960; Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 815-18; Stewart, 1944, 82-3).

Notes

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128 1. This paper is based upon 14 weeks of field work in the summers of 1952 and 1953. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada, and Henry Rupert of Carson City, Nevada. The field work was sponsored by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom our thanks are due. We also wish to thank Miss Bella Weitzner and Mr. Philip L. Newman of the American Museum of Natural History who criticized early drafts of the paper.

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietial conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the
● [178] question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course,
154 members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[791] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
[754] But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
[778] would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there
[191] was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[3] [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment. 152 155

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults. 155 867 754

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956. 121 155 754 178 86

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study: 178 854 [183] [863] [464] [861] 178 152

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil).[3] Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178 [431] [777] 846

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

[759] [302]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?ēmluhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication
4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

881 [202] [574] On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

881 535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

881 533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: 76·wi·yá·ki?i, ?imlá·hó·?iya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

881 535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

[178] [562] As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (ʔe?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
[431] later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, melehéhe? and ʕeʔwéʔweʔ), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a.m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a.m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a.m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p.m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a.m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a.m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a.m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i. e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

N 177 178 619 621 N 177 62 554 W 177 554 622

In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

W 177 178

Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 105 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however slight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [186]

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

Northern Paiute NR13

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

N W 105 177 178 W [186] [668] [464]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

N 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

W 105 177 182

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

W [122]

OOO 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [478] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The [178] Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
771 view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
177 are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
171 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 musĕge, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[a] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[b] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[c] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[d]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[e] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[7] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[8] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[9] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bamhauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[10] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[11]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[7] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[8] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[9] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[10] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (peolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. W [668] However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

[619]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat, 116, P. 31 - - An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, P. 33 . . An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

411 The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (balo'hat), and arrow (mûckĭt'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden [182] bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tĭ) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

[237] The quiver (ĭt'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

412 Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.365, A]
[Introductory, P.Vi is blank]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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131 This paper will devote itself to a description of the religious life of the Washo Indians living in the communities of Sierraville, Loyalton, and Woodfords, in California, and Reno, Carson City, and Dresslerville, Nevada. Smaller numbers are scattered throughout the area which was their aboriginal range, roughly from the southern end of Honey Lake to Antelope Valley and from the divide of the Pinenut Range in Nevada, almost to Placerville, California.

114 A short ethnography by Barrett dealing in large part with material culture, Lowie's Ethnographic Notes, and Stewart's Element Lists constitute almost the only general references on Washo culture. Various other writers have dealt with specialized questions such as linguistics (Kroeber, Jacobson), peyotism (Siskin, d'Azevedo), and music (Merriam).

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114 Most of the statements about the Washo give the impression that they have long been on the edge of oblivion (Mooney, Kroeber, etc.), and population estimates have been well under one thousand for the past fifty years. However, I find myself in agreement with d'Azevedo[1] that the Washo are a vigorous and continuing cultural entity. My own rather impressionistic estimate of population is that there are perhaps two thousand Indians in the area who consider themselves as Washo and form a part of a viable cultural unit.

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114 My own field work was devoted to an attempt to trace the patterns of change among these people since the entrance of the white man into their area. To this
[115] end I spent a great deal of time with older informants, but my work was not exclusively "salvage ethnography."
[178] Many aspects of Washo culture have changed dramatically in the past century; this is particularly true in the area of material culture and subsistence activities.
114 On the other hand, I was impressed by the tenacity of
182 the less material aspects of the culture. The always-difficult-to-define world view or ethos of the Washo, which so clearly separates them from other cultures, is very much an entity expressed in the attitudes and actions of the Washo Indians, whether they are oldsters who can remember many aspects of the "old days" or children who have not yet entered the newly integrated schools of Nevada. This continuity seems most clearly expressed in the area which we subsume under the title "Religion." Almost all Washo, even the youngsters, are familiar with, or at least aware of, Washo mythology, attitudes about ghosts, spirits, medicine, and a number of ritual actions and beliefs which are common elements in Washo life today.

This is not to imply that Washo religious activity has not been affected by the tremendous changes which have taken place in western Nevada and eastern California. I suggest that rather than disappearing under

[1] W. L. d'Azevedo, basing his opinions on extensive field work in the area, contends that early estimates of Washo population were incorrect and that modern figures based on these estimates are inaccurate. A contemporary estimate, made by a resident journalist in 1881, was somewhat over 3,000.

[P. 365, B]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

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the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

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The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

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Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

[126]

Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

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This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

[P. 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes: thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors ga- [344] thered and made medicine against the enemy before launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Wood- [177] fords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young men learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley: attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless, she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P. 393, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group

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headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular

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peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[P. 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for
[782] his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

[623] For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play
[276] upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

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"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

[P. 380, 8]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
[782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[1] They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit
driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep
a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was
fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states
that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the
group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of
my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly
during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably de-
scribed as "just for fun" and probably was more social
than religious, but such dancing appears to have been
part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions
such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and
the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever ten-
dency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of ante-
lope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a
growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which
precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever
eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave
a direct answer to the question of why they hunted
bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that
the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation condi-
tions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they
obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The fol-
lowing story told to me by one of the eldest men in
Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a
very old man, is consistent with the stories told by
other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[2]

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[787] [1]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [2]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.
527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction
[177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there
[80] was any requirement that the dance last four days. They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 There seems to have been little ritual involved in
789 other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2821). This practice must have been occasional and
● [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P.384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

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involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents. 591

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away. 764 431 [782] [775]

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal. 574

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange. [844] [881] [182] [431]

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing. [22]

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites. 782 [264] [533] [241]

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.351,A]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 328). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

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Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

He was *in* that song and it made a connection—took him down the road. You can tell he liked the gourd and drum, too. They really keep him going."

4. "He has that real Indian sound in his voice—like the old-time Indians."

There is little real response to questions dealing, for example, with the difference between good and bad songs; it is evident that "good" and "bad" take the musician immediately to the texts rather than to music analysis—"No, it all depends on the wording, but we don't know the wording of the other tribes' language so we have to trust that it is a good song"; "Just the sound might sound better in some song, but it don't mean any better as long as the man singing is a good man. There are no bad songs unless a man is thinking bad."

It seems clear that a song is judged not so much for or by itself as it is in terms of a total situation. No informant speaks of technique or structure; any special effect of technical finesse is seen as a whole, that is, as a total reaction of the commentator to the personality, association, and potency of the performer as well as to his equipment the perfection of his rattle, and whether he was a good voice. Songs are not things in themselves but are vehicles through which religious emotions and concepts are expressed. They are something that has to be dreamed, heard in the mind's ear, performed; and the concept of "song" abstracted from "performance" is not present. The singer himself is caught in the totality of the performance; it is a religious and emotional experience for him—he may "take a trip when he sings," and he never just "sings a song." "When I'm singing," said Z, "I'm praying in the Tipi and going on the journey over that road."

III

Vocal style

McAllester (1949:65–6) has noted a special Peyote vocal technique which corresponds best to Herzog's Type B. "In general the Peyote songs are sung in a rather simple vocal style. There is usually somewhat greater tension on the vocal chords than is used by Europeans, there is somewhat greater use of accents and grace notes, and there are occasional pulsations on certain notes, particularly if they are quarter notes or longer. But the high degree of tension, the quavers, breaks, shakes and shouts of Type A American Indian singing are, often, much reduced or quite absent" (p. 65). These conclusions fit the Washo Peyote vocal style almost perfectly.

There is, however, one special vocal effect called a "shaking sound"; the ability to produce it is considered to be the mark of an excellent singer. At the same time, according to one informant, "That shaking sound you hear sometimes in the Tipi is the medicine working, not just the man does that; the medicine and good thoughts do that." The sound referred to is a particularly vibrant quality to the voice which gives the impression that many voices are singing at once in a slightly disharmonic, vibrating manner. Within the tipi the effect is quite dramatic; the tipi seems to be shuddering and at moments the tent poles appear to be shaking against a strong wind. Singing of this sort is

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelévu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other; and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/4 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

One use in deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugâlu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

DIFFERENTIAL RESPONSE TO WHITE CONTACT: PAIUTE AND WASHO[1]

by James F. Downs

N W 121

The purpose of this paper is to examine the marked difference in response to white contact displayed by two groups of American Indians, the Washo of western Nevada and eastern California and the Northern Paiute of western Nevada. The groups will be analyzed in a somewhat broader temporal framework than is common in acculturation studies, with historical and environmental factors as the primary considerations.

N W 121 182

It is fruitful to view social organization on the primitive level characteristic of the Washo and Northern Paiute as a technological adaptation, i. e., a method of obtaining subsistence. On a higher level, an advanced technology may be substituted for social organization in the subsistence struggle, and social structure might then be analyzed as an adjustment to the technology. This appears to be what has happened in Nevada. Indian social structure seems closely tied to the actual ecological relationships of man to environment; the white population, on the other hand, exhibits social structural elements that are related not to the immediate environment but to the technologic and economic system the white man has brought to the area.

N W 121

One of the reasons for the above suggestion is that in an examination of the Washo and Paiute situations the social structures of the two groups do not appear to be significantly different. Certainly the difference between Washo society and Paiute society was no greater than the differences among various Paiute groups (Steward, 1938, 230-60; Stewart, 1941, 406-7). If we can consider the social structural variations as constant, it may be possible to find significant differences between the two groups in an examination of their history and ecology.

N W 121 177

The major thesis guiding the present discussion is that the differences in response of Washo and Paiute to contact are a result of their occupation of what had been two distinct ecological areas. These two groups developed different relationships with surrounding peoples and different orientations toward subsistence activity, which were observable when the white man's entry into Nevada altered the environmental situation.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- W N [177] ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

History and Ecology

It is significant that the instigators of hostile action against the white man were not Paiutes, although these peoples appear to have experienced a rather extreme deprivation at the time. The leaders of the first war raids were Shoshoni and Bannock, or Paiute offspring of intertribal matings. The reason for the presence of these sojourners is unclear but the subsequent history of intertribal relationships in the Basin reveals, in addition to fighting, a great deal of visiting, intermarriage and trade among Basin groups, particularly those speaking Shoshonean languages. It is my contention that these relationships were based in a previous ecological commonality shared by the peoples of the northern Basin and Plateau, rather than on linguistic ties.

The hypothesis of a common ecology is based on the earlier distribution of bison in the Great Basin, particularly in northern Nevada. Since much of the argument of this paper is based upon the assumption that buffalo did at one time exist here it would be advisable to examine the evidence for such distribution.

Archeological and ethnographic studies have produced, incidentally to their major concerns, some evidence for the relatively recent presence of bison in northeastern California (Riddell, 1952) and northwestern Utah (Steward, 1937) but no indisputable evidence for their existence in Nevada. However, the evidence supplied by zoologists and natural historians seems to demonstrate that the buffalo did at one time, perhaps until as late as the first quarter of the last century, exist in Nevada.

Allen (1877) cites evidence of the recent presence of the bison from northern Utah to northern California and states unequivocally that the probable range of the bison as late as the 1820's extended to the Sierra Nevada. After an ambitious but admittedly incomplete search of historic material as well as a voluminous correspondence with missionaries, government officials, pioneer settlers, and others, he argues that the area between 40° N latitude and 39° N latitude marked the southern limit of the westward range of the bison. This line passes through the northern tip of what seems to have been Washo territory. However, at that latitude Washo occupations appear to have been in the higher elevations not normally occupied by bison. Allen's arguments are supported by Hornaday (1887), Garretson (1938) and Seton (1928, 646-7). Steward presents a map (1938, 14) showing a southern limit for buffalo almost to Humboldt Sink in A. D. 1500.

Hall (1946, 644) lists the bison among those species that might possibly have occurred in Nevada but for which satisfactory evidence is lacking.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 ● 22

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

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N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W [668]

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

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W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

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Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

N 105 177 182

The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

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DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[4] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[5] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[6] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[7]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[8] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[4] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[5] Beals, 1932, 216.

[6] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[7] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[8] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

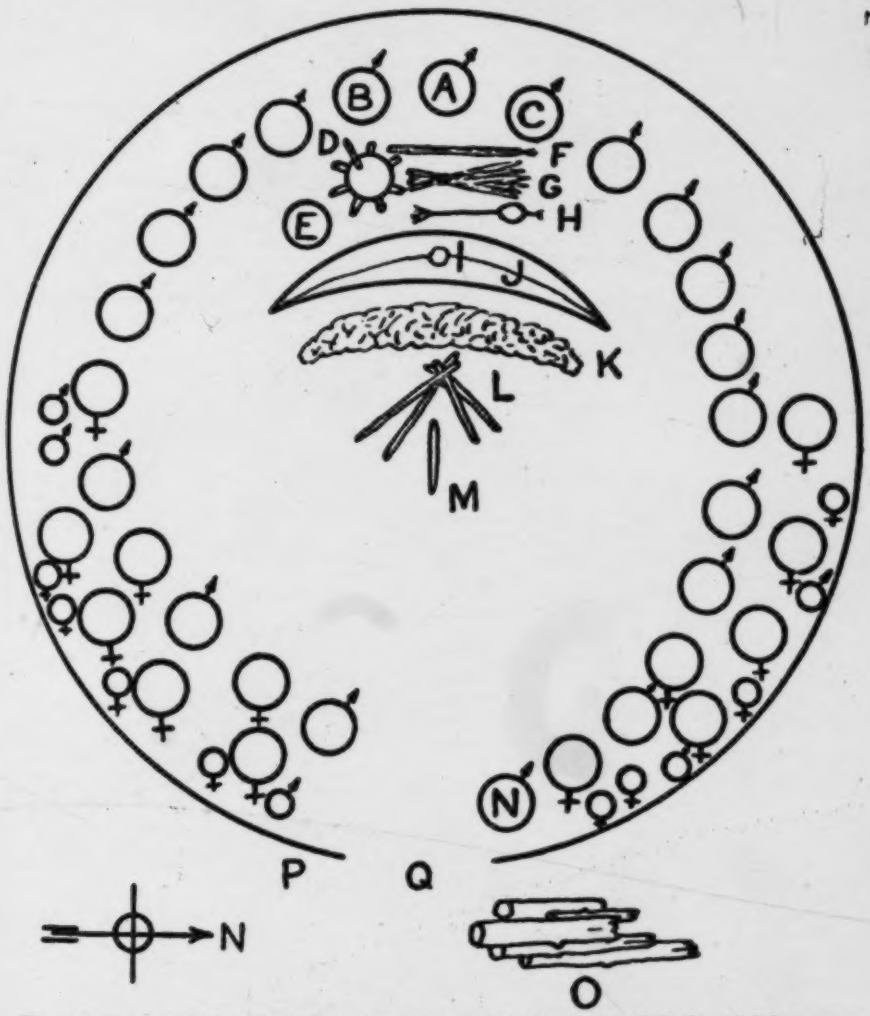

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[30] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[31]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[32] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[33]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[30] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[31] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[32] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[33] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[20] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[20] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[a] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[b] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[a] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[b] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[c] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 13131–13141, 13202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[7] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning these cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[8] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[7] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Sehurs missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurs in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[8] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Perdrio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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complex, for the influence of modern Washo-Paiute culture must also be included. Although shamans, girls' puberty rites, and other aboriginal aspects of culture persist in western Nevada, it is impossible, except upon the basis of very detailed and explicit data, to say that they are stronger conditioning forces than schools, movies, doctors, missionaries, and white employers.

In applying the cultural compatibility theory ethnographers base their conclusions on the harmony of the transplanted traits with the indigenous elements, a harmony which Radin (1914, 9) insisted upon after his informants denied its existence. But even if the Indians recognize that the introduced cult is like an old local institution, is there any assurance that they will therefore accept the new? May not the opposite be true? I have definite evidence that recognized similarity between peyote and Jimson weed (*Datura meteloides*, D. C.) caused certain Paiute to oppose peyotism."

Although peyote meetings have been held in Owens Valley, where Jimson weed was used, to which everyone was invited, only four of 250 Indians attended the meetings. Even more significant is the fact that seven Northern Paiute, some living beyond the Jimson weed region but knowing of it, said that they oppose peyote because it resembles Jimson weed in its physiological and psychological effects. They believe that Jimson weed might be an effective means of obtaining supernatural aid for curing, gambling, etc., but they will not take chances with dangerous powers. The account of Johnny Cleveland, first convert at Schurz, is enlightening in this respect, for Johnny claims that peyote cured his arm which had been sore for twenty years. After being cured, he refuses to continue active in the cult, saying that he is afraid the same power that cured him might spoil him if used when not actually needed. To quote him, "Peyote is just like muipō that they use down south."[8]

Considering Washo-Paiute data in the light of the cultural disintegration theory, there appears surface justification, for there is no doubt that the two tribes have lost almost all their native economy and that they maintain their primitive religion and social life in attenuated forms under difficult circumstances. The justification, however, is only skin deep, for our discussion rests, not on whether cultural degradation has occurred, but upon the effects of that degradation upon the diffusion of peyotism. Since the aboriginal culture of all Washo and Northern Paiute has almost completely disappeared and since all have experienced extreme deprivation, one can assume that they should react alike. Since the Washo share generally the remnant of their aboriginal culture and have a fairly uniform position with regard to modern American culture, they should exhibit similar reactions to a new religion. This is also true for the Northern Paiute. However, only parts of these tribes ever accepted the new cult. Only 5 per cent of the 5895 Indians of the Carson Agency ever joined peyotism, whereas in two villages half of the population were active peyotists at one time. Although all the Washo and Paiute heard of Ben Lancaster's cult, it was confined to a part of the reservation, and even in the area of its greatest appeal only 300 of 2257 adults were sufficiently interested to attend two or more meetings. By November, 1938, 189 had lost interest, many becoming militant opponents."[9]

And this fact of partial participation is equally significant in refuting a cultural

[7] La Barre (103–109, 131–137) demonstrates that datura and mescal beans are close narcotic and ritual equivalents, and argues (pp. 7, 117, 121) that the use of mescal beans "prepared the way" for peyote's introduction in the Plains. By the same reasoning, use of datura should have facilitated peyotism's acceptance by the Paiute.

[8] Muipō might be some unidentified narcotic resembling Jimson weed, but I think the Nevada Northern Paiute have one term for both. See Steward, 1933, 318.

[9] See Appendix III for complete statistics.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood.[*]

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[*] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits. [See cat. 116, p. 123-Aw.]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

N W 177 between the opposing claims coming from outside the territory, and between the diverse interpretations based on local happenings.

*795 Since those who decided in favor of peyote and believed it to be of great worth for curing, for salvation, and for better living had no cultural, social, or psychological status in common, but were definitely representative of all elements in the population, it is evident that each reacted as an individual, for purely personal reasons. The overt, stated reasons of the converts, or of the opponents, taken alone, form a rational basis for their behavior. The facts and interpretations which individuals on each side have chosen to believe are understandable motives for their actions. Thus, peyote's introduction and its influence have been dependent on fortuitous circumstances: the proselyter's unemployment, personality, etc., and the individual's choice to believe or not believe information presented as facts. As far as our data go, this explanation seems valid; to go farther would entail an analysis of each person's entire life.

N W ● [182] All Washo and Northern Paiute are conscious of their position as an underprivileged minority, and appear to feel the need for stability and self-aggrandizement. Some desire physical improvement, others spiritual; all desire something. Peyotism has provided both physical and spiritual solace for the few who have believed and remained active. It is merely one of many possible means of attaining inner security. Peyotism has satisfied some for only a short time, and may prove permanent or transitory for others; but the majority have not yet and may never find in the cult the answer to their needs.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mib¢shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market [illegible]ce setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovlves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine—a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing"—and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

He was *in* that song and it made a connection—took him down the road. You can tell he liked the gourd and drum, too. They really keep him going."

4. "He has that real Indian sound in his voice—like the old-time Indians."

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There is little real response to questions dealing, for example, with the difference between good and bad songs; it is evident that "good" and "bad" take the musician immediately to the texts rather than to music analysis—"No, it all depends on the wording, but we don't know the wording of the other tribes' language so we have to trust that it is a good song"; "Just the sound might sound better in some song, but it don't mean any better as long as the man singing is a good man. There are no bad songs unless a man is thinking bad."

It seems clear that a song is judged not so much for or by itself as it is in terms of a total situation. No informant speaks of technique or structure; any special effect of technical finesse is seen as a whole, that is, as a total reaction of the commentator to the personality, association, and potency of the performer as well as to his equipment the perfection of his rattle, and whether he was in good voice. Songs are not things in themselves but are vehicles through which religious emotions and concepts are expressed. They are something that has to be dreamed, heard in the mind's ear, performed; and the concept of "song" abstracted from "performance" is not present. The singer himself is caught in the totality of the performance; it is a religious and emotional experience for him—he may "take a trip when he sings," and he never just "sings a song." "When I'm singing," said Z, "I'm praying in the Tipi and going on the journey over that road."

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III

Vocal style

McAllester (1949:65–6) has noted a special Peyote vocal technique which corresponds best to Herzog's Type B. "In general the Peyote songs are sung in a rather simple vocal style. There is usually somewhat greater tension on the vocal chords than is used by Europeans, there is somewhat greater use of accents and grace notes, and there are occasional pulsations on certain notes, particularly if they are quarter notes or longer. But the high degree of tension, the quavers, breaks, shakes and shouts of Type A American Indian singing are, often, much reduced or quite absent" (p. 65). These conclusions fit the Washo Peyote vocal style almost perfectly.

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There is, however, one special vocal effect called a "shaking sound"; the ability to produce it is considered to be the mark of an excellent singer. At the same time, according to one informant, "That shaking sound you hear sometimes in the Tipi is the medicine working, not just the man does that; the medicine and good thoughts do that." The sound referred to is a particularly vibrant quality to the voice which gives the impression that many voices are singing at once in a slightly disharmonic, vibrating manner. Within the tipi the effect is quite dramatic; the tipi seems to be shuddering and at moments the tent poles appear to be shaking against a strong wind. Singing of this sort is

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[3] [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

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All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, melehéhe? and ʕeʔwéʔweʔ), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɨdɨl'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pu"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɨdɨldlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the *losing* side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɨdɨldlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pu"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɨld, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ts'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [191] Acorns (ma'laq) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɔgi"gda by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɔ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[a] *Op. cit.*, 12.

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaɬ gepímiʔ miɬ'gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaɬ gepímiʔ miɬ'gihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
meléʔmi, miɬ'gimeléʔmi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ɬémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaɬ háki miɬ'giʔáwhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

[P.380, A]

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> 224 "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few
> 789 piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
> [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by
[114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
● 185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that
[237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
[136] in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
224 There was, however, a special leader who directed
624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

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Northern Paiute NR13

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however alight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

W [106]

N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

Northern Paiute NR13

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.[3]

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[757] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
[754] But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
[778] would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the
[19] remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time." Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285 [171] [482]

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2), the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6), and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI, and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

285 824

The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used. [439] [137]

285 192

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mū
Unpeeled rods	mi'mū
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesū'sūyewe
Brown sewing element	hīmū toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñē'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41--An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53 -- An.] [4] [see cat. 116, P. 57 --.
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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White sewing element	ta'bak
Bracken root	mecawē'gacĭ, mecewē'gasi
Redbud bark	dŏbĭ'mûs takpasa (literally "Miwok Indians sent"), or ĭtpasa'

TECHNICS.

285 Five technics are employed by the Washo. Two of these are plain and diagonal twining, and two are coiled technics; the three-rod foundation, and the single-rod foundation. The three-rod foundation coiling is called helme de mĭ'mû or tsiñam ce'mû by the Washo, while the single-rod foundation coiling is called baiyûta'ti. No names for the two twined technics were obtainable from the several informants consulted. Examples of these technics are shown as follows: plate XII, figs. 1 and 2 show plain-twined baskets, and plate VII, fig. 2 shows a diagonal-twined basket. The three-rod foundation is found in figure 1 of plate VII, and in plates VIII[1] and IX,[2] while single-rod coiling is represented in plate X. An interesting feature of the last named technic is that many of these baskets are made with the pliable elements carefully spaced so as to form exact and symmetrically placed, radiating lines extending from the starting point of the basket. This leaves exposed a large part of the foundation material but produces a rather pleasing effect in which the lines of sewing elements become ornamental. Such baskets are shown in figs. 3 and 6 of this plate. The fifth technic is three-strand twining, which is used only to reinforce the points of burden baskets, and in starting knots for the twined cooking baskets. As the outer surface of a basket is viewed, all twining progresses in a clockwise direction, while the reverse is the case with coiling.

[531]

Border Finishes.

About the opening of the burden basket is bound a hoop and about half way down its inner surface is attached a second hoop

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 43 - - An.] [3] [see cat. 116, p. 47. An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 45 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 •192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket	tsiña'm
[482] Burden baskets	
Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 6.	mama'i
Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.	tatûba'bûli
Small basket, same as above	mamaiña'mi
Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 3.	mugi'wut
Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 1.	ltma'gû, darû tso'hoi
[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2.	tapûli tugĕ'bûl
Handle of seed beater	ta'pûl
Body of seed beater	tugĕ'bûl acû
Winnowing basket	
Coarsely woven Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.	tugĕ'bûl
Finely woven Plate XI.	mûda'l
[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3.	pi'kûs
Fish basket	metsayĕ'ûl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285
Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical kûya'nda
Plate VII, fig. 2. 192
Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm [252]
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.
Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.
Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.
Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.
Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degîkûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

285
Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual 482
to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

285
The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable 352
woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occu- 171
pant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

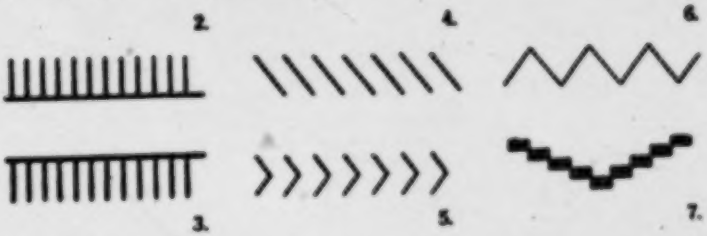
285
The limited time available did not permit a careful study of 531
Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out [171]

*degîkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 531 [177] by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

531 192 Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi"gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû eliwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbile'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bila, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'lkûl, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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head design is a series of triangles such as is shown in figs. 8 and 9, and called respectively matca'tĭ eti, "arrow-head down", and matca'tĭ epûs, "arrow-head up". One of the most frequently occurring designs in Washo baskets is a combination of these two, in which the triangles run in two parallel rows opposite each other, and

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which is called matcatĭ le'lûp, literally "arrow-head opposed". This same name was given to the design shown in fig. 11, though a parallelogram is combined with the two arrow-heads. The design shown in fig. 10 is called simply "arrow-head" (matca'tĭ), the term referring both to the large triangle and to the small serrations along its upper edges. No qualifying terms were used by informants for either design separately. The designs shown in figs. 12 and 13 were also called simply "arrow-head".

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The designs shown in figs. 14 and 15 are called tegi'lai, a term which was translated by one informant as "circle" but which really signifies an enclosure of any kind.

The design shown in fig. 16 is called gegi'cipa, translated by informants as "connected enclosures."

The design shown in fig. 17 is called tegĭlai ell'we, translated as "enclosure up." The term refers to the ascending series of parallelograms but does not take into account the small arrow-heads connected with these figures.

The design shown in fig. 18 is called ta'gûm hahat, translated as "crossed."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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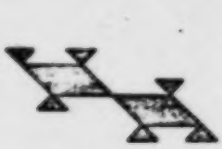
The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called dagubolóye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkû'îkûi tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."



17.

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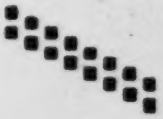

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The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

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obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were [177] obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1961 NTSU Washo NTSU

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(1939-1941)

The Washo word da'maa'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (1594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> "Along about the first war I get sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."

For more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a one-shaman curer.

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Tsui, knife	Ouh, hat
Paiong, gun	Oneia, water
Kimokaga, percussion cap	Uikas, trousers
Tsiuch, hair	Mallo, belt
Tiak, teeth	Aiaga, no
Uita, eyes	Aga, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garland Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [644]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($6 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [577] [435] [431]

John McMartin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of seperate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 44).

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1933) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gashu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (hiali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumaʧwʧ) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (hakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (mellu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tatlugʧl)
   e. dress (manqumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihʧpberyʧgul)
3. Leggings (pʧkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (magodihʧp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mʧluryʧk), necklace (umlʧsuk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltastaini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wʧlyauwi).
9. Feathers (taiauapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (gʔliwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a tʔlʔlupa. A single tʔlʔlupa was stored in a damp place until other tʔlʔlupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysɛ̌gi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (melliu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pɛ̌kishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [175]

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tegum), fish (etabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Terms of Relationship

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;[10] but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained.

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Parent and Child Class

tikoi'	my father
tila"	my mother
tiya'm	my son
tiya'mu	my daughter

Sibling Class

ti.a"t'u	my elder brother *or* e. male cousin
tii"sa	my elder sister *or* e. female cousin
tipe"yu	my younger brother *or* y. male cousin
tiwi'tsuk	my younger sister *or* y. female cousin

Grandparent and Grandchild Class

tipa'pa	my father's father
lapa"pa	my son's child (m. sp.)
ti.e'lel	my mother's father
le.e'lel	my daughter's child (m. sp.)
ti.'a'ma	my father's mother
la'a"ama (also recorded la.a'"ama)	my son's child (w. sp.)
tiku"u	my mother's mother
lebu'k'u.l	my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term)
leku"l	my daughter's child (w. sp.)
tisa'ma	my father's father's sister
lasa'"ama	my brother's son's child (w. sp.)
lasa'tsagi	my brother's son's son (m. sp.)
tisa'tsak	my father's father's brother

Uncle and Nephew Class

ti.e'.'uci	my father's brother; mother's sister's husband
tima"sca	my brother's child (m. sp.)
tita"a	my mother's brother
tima"gu	my sister's child;[11] my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.)
tiya'	my father's sister
tice'muk	my brother's child (w. sp.)
tica'ca	my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother

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[10] California Kinship Systems, UC–PAAE 12:362, 1917.

[11] For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be ce'muk. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magudakoi, which phrase supports my definition of magu.

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955).

The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here.

Consonants	labial	alveolar	frontal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	?
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless fricatives		s	sh		h
voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
voiced lateral		l			
voiced semivowels	w		y		

Vowels	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	¢		
low		a	

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "¢" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

Glossary

angale atega	"houses together", a community
atabi	fish
ayas	antelope

[P. 356]

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TABLE 1

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	dipóy'	-pó'y
2.	mother	dilé'	-lé'
3.	parent	di'mílu	-'mílu
4.	parent	dityé·Lu	-é·Lu
5.	son	dipé·m	-pé·m
6.	daughter	dipému'	-pému'
7.	children	dipé'miŋ	-pé'miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin	di'é·tu	-'é·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin	di'í·su	-'í·su
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin	diwítsuk	-wítsug
12.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di'ulilá·wiam	-lá·wiam
14.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di'ulimelé·liwi'	. . .
15.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	diseú·	-seú·
Grandparent and grandchild class			
16.	father's father	dibá·ba'	-bá·ba'
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·ba'	-bá·ba'
18.	mother's father	di'élel	-'élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le'élali'	-'élel
20.	father's mother	di'éma'	-'éma'
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la'é'ma'	-'éma'
22.	mother's mother	digú'u	-gú'u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú'yi'	-gú'u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibâ·ts	-bâ·ts
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	labâ·tsyi'	-bâ·ts
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	disáma'	-sáma'
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	lasá'ma'	-sáma'
28.	father's father's brother	disâ·ksak	-sâ·ksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	lasâ·ksagi'	-sâ·ksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di'é·bu	-'é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le'é·pu'	-'é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dité'o	-té'o
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	laté'yi'	-té'o
Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class			
34.	relative of third ascending generation	dipísew	-písew
35.	relative of third descending generation	lapísewi	-písew
Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di'éwši'	-'éwši'
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá'ša	-má'ša'
38.	mother's brother	didá'a	-dá'a
39.	sister's child	dimá·gu	-má·gu
40.	father's sister	diyá·'	-yá·'
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	dišémuk	-šémug
42.	mother's sister	dišáša'	-šáša'

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TABLE 1
(continued)

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	léyuk	-éyuk
44.	son-in-law	dibe'ºéguli'	be'ºéguli'
45.	daughter-in-law	léyuš	-éyuš
46.	child's spouse's parents	límik	-ímig
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwíl'ut	-wAlí'ut
48.	husband's brother	dime'ºwáli'	-me'ºwáli'
49.	sister's husband	dilélmew	-lélmew
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimelíka'	-melíka'
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyégl	-yégl
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumé·li'	bumé·li'
53.	husband	di'ºmé·š	-'ºmé·š
54.	wife	dimíºyu'	-míºyu' or -imíºyu'

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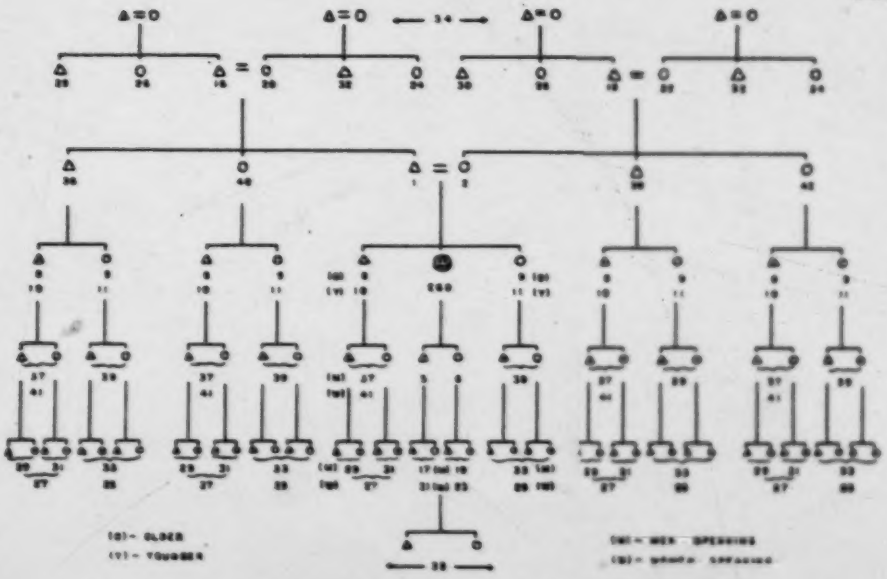

Figure 1. The standard Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 360).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

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Table 1

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives[a]

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	digóy?	-góy
2.	mother	dilí?	-lí?
3.	parent	di?mélu	-?mélu
4.	parent	dity-Lu	-y-Lu
5.	son	diŋá·m	-ŋá·m
6.	daughter	diŋámu?	-ŋámu?
7.	children	diŋá?miŋ	-ŋá?miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?á·tu	-?á·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?í·sa	-?í·sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	diwíšuk	-wíšug
12.	distant male relative or friend (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend (m. sp.)	di?uliŽáwlam	-Žáwlam

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14.	distant male relative or friend (w. sp.)	di?ulimeɬé·liwi?	...
15.	distant female relative or friend (w. sp.)	diaú·	-sú·

Grandparent and grandchild class

16.	father's father	dibá·ba?	-bá·ba?
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·βa?	-bá·ba?
18.	mother's father	di?élel	-?élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?élell?	-?élel
20.	father's mother	di?áma?	-?áma?
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la?á?ma?	-?áma?
22.	mother's mother	digú?u	-gú?u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú?yi?	-gú?u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibáɬ	-báɬ
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	leɬáɬyi?	-báɬ
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	diɬáma?	-ɬáma?
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	laɬá?ma?	-ɬáma?
28.	father's father's brother	diɬáksak	-ɬáksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	laɬáksagi?	-ɬáksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di?é·bu	-?é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?é·βu?	-?é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dibʔo	-bʔo
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	[illegible]	-bʔo

Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class

34.	relative of third ascending generation	diβísew	-βísew
35.	relative of third descending generation	leβísewi	-βísew

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Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di?ć-wǎ́?	-?ćwǎ́?
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá?sa	-má?ša?
38.	mother's brother	didá?a	-dá?a
39.	sister's child	dimá·gu	-má·gu
40.	father's sister	diyá·?	-yá·?
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	diǎ́muk	-ǎ́mug
42.	mother's sister	diǎ́ǎ́a?	-ǎ́ǎ́a?
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	lá́yuk	-á́yuk
44.	son-in-law	dibu?á́yalí?	bu?á́yalí?
45.	daughter-in-law	lá́yeǎ́	-á́yeǎ́
46.	child's spouse's parents	lá́mik	-á́mig
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwá́·dut	-wAlá́·dut
48.	husband's brother	dime?ć-wǎ́i?	-me?ć-wǎ́i?
49.	sister's husband	didá́maw	-dá́maw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimaǎ́ǎ́a?	-maǎ́ǎ́a?
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyá́gil	-yá́gil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumá·li?	bumá·li?
53.	husband	di?má·ǎ́	-?má·ǎ́
54.	wife	dimlá·ya?	-mlá·ya? or -imlá·ya?

[a] Source: adapted from Freed, 1960, 356-7.

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Table 2

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Polite Affinal Terms[a]

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law.	le?élel? dagóy? (m. sp.)	daughter's child's father;
	legú?yu? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law. .	lebé·ɓa? dalí? (m. sp.)	son's child's mother;
	legú?yu? dalí? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother
father-in-law . . .	dibumé·li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother. . .	digá?miŋ dadí?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.	digá·m de?éwši?	son's father's brother
sister's husband. .	dimé·gu dagóy?	sister's child's father
	di?í·sa? bumé·li?	older sister's husband
brother's wife. . .	dimáš dalí? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife. . .	dišémuk dalí? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

[a] Source: Freed, 1960, 358.

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basic or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

124
231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

231
825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[778] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[177] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>muelge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently muelge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is muelge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musëge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musëge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

INTRODUCTION.

The Washo Indians constitute a small group forming a distinct linguistic family and occupying a very small territory in the Sierra Nevada, bordering Lake Tahoe, and on the upper courses of the Carson and Truckee rivers.

While prosecuting field work for the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, in the adjacent Paiute region of Nevada, for the special purpose of building one of its series of life-sized, groups representing the aboriginal culture areas of America, and of assembling a general collection illustrative of the Great Basin* region, an opportunity presented itself to pay a short visit to the Washo at Woodfords, California; Gardnerville and Carson City, Nevada; and on Lake Tahoe. The few days available were, of course, entirely inadequate for a thorough study of this interesting people, and therefore the information here presented is offered simply as a sketch of Washo culture with particular reference to its relation to the cultures of the two great adjacent areas: the Great Basin area on the east, and the California area on the west.

Culturally this tribe forms what might be termed a buffer between these two great western culture areas. Its situation,

*The term Great Basin as here used refers to the Great Basin region lying between the Rocky Mountains and the Sierra Nevada, and comprising roughly the states of Utah and Nevada. For purposes of ethnography the term should be made to extend somewhat farther south and should include a small portion of the northern plateau region; i. e., that part lying north of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado, and occupied by the Paiute now living on the Moapa, Shivwits, and Kaibab reservations and vicinity.

The term Plateau culture area has been hitherto applied to this region, but in view of the fact that the term is, from a standpoint of physiography, a misnomer, and that the term Great Basin, is generally accepted as the name for this physiographic division of the continent, it seems best to adopt it for anthropology as well. Especially is this advisable since the name is so perfectly descriptive of this region and since the cultural limits of its inhabitants so closely approximate the limits of the Great Basin area when considered from a physiographic standpoint.

The accepted names of other areas of North America are generally applicable both to the physiography and the culture of the areas involved, as the Plains area, Arctic area, etc. Consequently the name Great Basin area appears equally appropriate when applied to this circumscribed region, with its great number of small, disconnected sinks and saline lakes extending from the Wasatch range on the east to the Sierra Nevada on the west, and embracing such saline bodies as the Great Salt Lake, Pyramid Lake, Lake Winnemucca, and Walker Lake, which are simply remnants of the great quaternary lakes Bonneville and Lahontan, that formerly covered much of the Great Basin.

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the center of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the bowl-like mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root cereal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean genre, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; basketry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaya$gi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (meiliu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 291

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (p$kishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

APPENDIX A

LINGUISTIC NOTE AND GLOSSARY

1970

The Washo spoke a Hokan language while the Northern Paiute to the east spoke a Utaztekan language and the Miwok and Maidu to the west spoke Penutian languages. Peoples speaking Hokan languages at initial White contact times were distributed in scattered groups from California through Mexico and into Central America. The glottochronology of Hokan indicates that the Hokan peoples began to split up into these groups about 5,000 years ago (Kroeber 1955).

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The following orthography was used by this writer in recording and is the major one used in this study. Washo words from Lowie (1939) and Jacobsen (personal communication) have been rewritten to conform to the orthography used here.

Consonants	labial	alveolar	frontal	velar	glottal
voiceless stops	p	t		k	?
voiced stops	b	d		g	
voiceless fricatives		s	sh		h
voiced nasals	m	n		ng	
voiced lateral		l			
voiced semivowels	w		y		

Vowels	front unrounded	central unrounded	back rounded
high	i		u
mid-close	e		o
mid-open	¢		
low		a	

Essentially the consonants may be pronounced as in English and the vowels as follows: "i" as in be, "e" as in bay, "¢" as in bed, "a" as in bog, "o" as in boat, and "u" as in boot. The sound "sh" is found in the English word ship, while "ng" occurs in running.

Kroeber (1907) reports no regular system of accenting and uses very few accents even in his phonetic recording.

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Glossary

angale atega	"houses together", a community
atabi	fish
ayas	antelope

7:Freed E-8 (1952-1957)1960 NT30 Washo NT30

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

The Washo speak a Hokan language; their neighbors to the east, the Northern Paiute, speak a Utaztekan language; the Maidu and Miwok to the west are Penutian speakers. The Hokan languages are widely scattered from California through Mexico and into Central America, and are considered to be among the oldest languages in California. The lexicostatistics of Hokan indicate that Washo separated from Yana, only 60 mi. northwest of the Washo, 5000 years ago. 197 [174]

Kroeber (1955) wrote that "It is evident that the geographical proximity of Yana and Washo is a secondary and recent affair, and that they have been separated not only for a long period but, probably, by a considerable geographical interval for much of that time. Washo in fact proves to have been split off from every other computed Hokan language for 45C or more." 174

Lamb (1958) shows linguistic evidence for the presence of the Proto-Utaztekan people around the Arizona-Sonora, Mexico, region 5000 years ago. After several splits and migrations within the language family there was a general movement north and eastward by the Shoshonean division about 1000 years ago, a movement that was still in progress 500 years ago. In the 1800's the Shoshoneans were the principal language group present in the Great Basin. Linguistic data suggest, therefore, a pattern of Shoshonean contacts over a long period of time which is important in any interpretation of Washo prehistory.

In contrast to the linguistic differences, the Washo appear to be closely related racially to the surrounding tribes. At least, according to the anthropometric study made by Gifford in 1926, the Washo are included with Northern Paiute, Miwok, and many other groups in his "narrow-nosed subtype" of the "Californian type." This similarity is also suggested by the work on Great Basin population by Kennedy (1959). 144

The Washo are culturally, as well as geographically, between eastern California and Great Basin tribes. Barrett (1917) pointed out Washo relationships on both sides of the Sierra Nevada with Californian affinities indicated by the conical house, bedrock mortar, soaproot brush, coiled basketry with descriptively named geometric patterns, and acorns as a food. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) added language affiliation, looped willow hot rock lifter, and flat mush stirring paddle to this list. 171 [197]

Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 4) state that "affiliations of Washo culture with that of the Shoshonean tribes to the east in the Great Basin proper are: long net for catching rabbits by driving techniques; special 'boss' for rabbit and deer hunt; rabbitskin blanket; heavy dependence for food on nuts of pifion (Pinus monophylla) with the complex of implements and activities used to

been the most important single source of food, providing sustenance through the midwinter months when no other plants were available because it grew in large quantity and could be stored for relatively long periods.

A loosely structured bilateral band of family groups appears to have been the most important unit besides the family itself. The membership within a band was apparently very fluid, since families shifted bands or left the company of other families in the pursuit of food. Communal hunts for antelope or rabbits brought several bands together under the special direction of a shaman or rabbit boss. Exceptionally good gathering conditions also concentrated people, but there appears to have been no tendency for larger groupings of gatherers to involve more than a number of separate bands operating in the same area. This is in part because of the nature of gathering -- as opposed to rabbit or antelope hunting -- where cooperation did not necessarily produce more food. Except for these two situations, supraband organization and leadership appear to have been nonexistent. Within the band, leadership was informal and nonauthoritarian. Tribal identity, except for a broad differentiation between Northern Paiute and other Paiute, Shoshoni, Bannock, and Ute and the Washo, as well as the various neighboring California tribes, appears nonexistent at this time. All the Paiute were never assembled for any enterprise, although bands may have assisted each other in war against some common enemy. There appears, however, to have been no real war among the various Paiute bands. Disputes were settled by arguments, fights and skirmishes in which rocks were thrown (Steward, 1938, 238).

The Aboriginal Situation: Washo

The Washo occupied the area between Lake Tahoe and the Pine Nut Mountains east of Reno. The north-south extent of their territory appears to have been from Honey Lake to Antelope Valley. There is archeological evidence as well as the testimony of informants that Washo territory once extended well into California, perhaps to the edge of the San Joaquin Valley (Heizer and Elsasser, 1953; Kroeber, 1925, 391). Linguistically they represent an isolated fragment of the Hokan stock; the Paiute are part of the great Shoshonean stock of wide distribution in the Basin.

Unfortunately the ethnographic information on the Washo is far less complete than is that on the Paiute. However, there is nothing to suggest, in the information on hand, that the Washo differed markedly from the Paiute in subsistence activities, social organization or culture.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

[P. 376, A]

881 (271) (262) (263) active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat.'

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

(124) (262) (574) The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl

(202) eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

(778) The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

(178) In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

(856) About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

(824) The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

(824) After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs.

(782) This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown

(431) into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu-

(178) ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

(515) After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high

(302) point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the

(574) feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1936 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girls dance was to be held and everyone was in- [574] vited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women [778] in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
535 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówəlyá·ʔi ʔi, ʔímiʔhó·ʔiya, nólonáne, and héyeya.

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535 The girl (age 12) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. [203] [211]

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

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Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

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When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[20] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[20] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

[P.382, 8]

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"This prayer" fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during these four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more."

[782]

"Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

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Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mogal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

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Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of seminunity and prosperity.

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Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

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Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[124]

"Used in an adjectival sense. In the reference below prayer is used substantially.

"No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the times, place, or those present.

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine cutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and co...ensial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 527 791 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It

[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 324
12. Traps (ttpakmal(t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (diqush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (muqiqush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tegil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (ttts(k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d(mgt) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts. 251
Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 252
4. Roasting pit. Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (diahu). 412
6. Hooked (beyuqum) pinenut gathering pole (bih(?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (haleo) or paddle (haaa) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash(p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (ttgumbeyut) or comb (ttwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de(k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash(p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Cocoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ha du? cuhu?). 756
6. Ball of skin (mugiahua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (hoko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (halogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 440

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'lé·ge). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 229-230). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

721 622 [203] [211] 721 535 [44] [825] [834] [262] [263] [843] 726 756 789 727 [783] 726 [234]

SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 [787] [782] [535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 [791] [462] [211] [624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsalal?ai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 [515] [525] [416] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents. 591

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away. 764 431 [782] [775]

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal. 574

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange. [844] [881] [182] [431]

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing. [22]

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites. 282 [264] [533] [241]

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity. 433 [171]

Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc. [577]

Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments. 621 433 22

"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units, [171]

consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

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513
342

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

592
22

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

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Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463] in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

43

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

433

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161] the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language [439] isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423] in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and [251] inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

114

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174] unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

Northern Paiute NR3

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

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they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 22 ●

In the years subsequent to 1870 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

[526] [302] [611] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɬɬc'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬdlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: [526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] [221] [526] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬdlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ts'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 [603] [846] A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of
174 the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226]
[132]
[221]

101 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great
174 Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility
177 of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dis-
182 possession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon
[594] the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently
[619] there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

[785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought, and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping [842] of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

[P. 377, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[221] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq?l—a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq?l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
764 abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
768 government. No longer permitted to move about the
178 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
[656] more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[7]The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospi-
tal seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [348] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

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of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household.

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

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In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek.

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

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Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1926, pp. 57, 89; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Siskin, 1938, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 66). 131

POPULATION

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1845, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 300 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1926, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory. 161

GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called wélmelti?. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called pá·wa?lu?, and the California Washo are called hánalelti?, with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Simpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1926, p. 90). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the wélmelti? are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the wélmelti? camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The pá·wa?lu? lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed hánalelti? and pá·wa?lu?. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake. 619 361 221 619

SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry 221

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

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ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

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Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[2] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[2] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV.[1] The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsŭm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yū), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mŭm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

[1] [see cat. 116) pp. 334 35. – AN.]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [415] [412] [846] [262]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then [222]

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) —Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-388). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

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GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P.382, B]

222 527 787 791 [211] "This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more.[12]

[782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791 Suzie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1959, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114 Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of semiunity and prosperity.

[756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11] Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

●222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 791 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

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[756]

[P.383, B]

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ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

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After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [80] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de- [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢im¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

342 [178] [768]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use. [251]

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During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

342 [361] [312]

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

[823] [821]

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

[513] [354]

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasus) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household. 592 596

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale stega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek. 592 596 361 221 222

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor 592 596 433

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

439 [114]

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

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The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

Payment for Services

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A payment for services was given to midwives (demedugetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure: If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

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The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

I [see cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

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756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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[787] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts [782] without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
[535]

222 Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
824 The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days
[791] remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the
[262] leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
[211] large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer
[624] hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
[515] races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties op-
[525] posed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football,
[616] a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[415] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[782] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting
222 in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the
492 ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

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177 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the
492 Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport
764 the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and
423 eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or
[233] Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were
[313] made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water,
[464] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of
177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses
222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather-
492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible
177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in-
241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo
971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School,
[492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

NWA 782 796

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	Al
398. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 232 252 251

Gathering

410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puruam)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (nava or matse)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
435. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
439. Roots	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

443. Pinon Nuts (tava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	*	+	*
443a. Hooked pole (taam) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
445. End fire bent	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
454. By burning	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
457. Unlined pit	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
458. Grass lined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
462a. In mortar	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
463. Parching	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA [462] [N23 262]

[p.374]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
Other Plants and Seeds Used														
*483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483a. Sunflower (akšpē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483b. Sunflower (paeš)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483c. Sunflower (akš)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483d. Sunflower (kusiake)	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483e. Sunflower (kusipaoš)	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.
*483f. Pickleweed (kuhawa)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	+	.	.	+	.	.
*483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sazakō)	.	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	+	.	+	.	+	.
*483i. Saltbrush (sūm)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
*483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	.	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	–	+	+	+	.
*483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodūhupi)	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	–	+	.	+	+	.
*483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihowi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	.
*483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483p. Wild tobacco (paivamo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483q. Sorrel (atsa) pawia	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	.	.
*483r. Bulrush or tule (siavē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483t. Spike rush (pamsaive)	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	.	.
*483v. Sagebrush (samava)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*483w. Saltbrush (unaka)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483x. masai	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*483y. ommosigi	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*483z. hiwovi	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.
*484. Jointfir (tsuhupi)	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	+	+	.	.	.	.
*484a. saiagava	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	.	–	+	.	.	.	.
*484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	.
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	.	+	+	+	+	.
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	+	+	+	.
*484e. yapē	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
*484f. tsupagi	+	+	+	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	–	–	.
*484g. tūvsa	+	+	+	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	.	+	.	.
*484h. tōvusi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	.	.	–	–	.
484i. Indian potatoes (oomaa?) (suga or higa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	.
484j. Indian potatoes (ayutsō)	.	.	.	.	.	+	.	.	.	+	+	+	.	.
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pōrē)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
485. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N W A ● 262 222 ● 251 252 N W A [261] N W A 137 222 262 N W A [276] N W A 222

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	Yo	Kl	KR	MR	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	AT
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuawi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tĕmaymono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
495. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
500. Wooden	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 241

506. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
528. Storage in rock crevice	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
552. Pulverized	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

172
226
[412]
[484]
[922]

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

172
226
501
[223]

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore. The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

172
[127]

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

[311]
[823]
[131]

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

3 [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Td	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ut
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
99a. 2	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
99b. Not fixed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
Snares, Nets, Etc.														
100. Spring-pole trap	+	–	–		–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
101. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
102. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
104. Trap behind fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
107. For rodents	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
109. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
110. For large mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
113. Noose in fence gap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
116. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
117. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
122. Tunnel shape	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Willow frame	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
125. Sagebrush support	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
126. Edge staked down	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
127. Placed near water	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
129. Sagebrush wings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
132. For sage hens	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
133. For doves	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
134. For ducks	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
136. Birds driven to net	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
137. With antelope disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
141. Basketry traps	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
144. 2-stick trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Bait used	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
146. For large mammals	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
148. For birds generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
149. For grouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
153. For carnivores	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
154. For rabbits and rodents	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
Booths and Blinds														
155. Brush enclosure	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
158. Conical house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
159. Pit	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
160. With brush fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	A
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Geese	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
166. Off perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
173. Geese killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
Decoys and Disguises														
178. Live birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
182. Birdskin on head	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Head	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Paint arms	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
188. Deer	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
189. Antelope	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
190. Mountain sheep	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
191. Grass or brush disguise	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Waterfowl Hunting														
Communal drive:														
192. Baleas	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit not used	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
196. Young ducks taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
198. For ducks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
200. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
204. Chipmunk taken	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
205. Reptile hook	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
206. Game hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
216. Crow wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
217. Hawk wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+

[p.369]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORD

	Yo	Kl	Kl	Ha	Yo	Yo	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Yo	Wi	Kl	Ah
218. Brush	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
219. Feather	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	•
220. Basket	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•
220a. Anything	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
221. Rodents flushed out	-	•	•	•	°	•	•	-	•	•	°	•	•	•
222. Flares for fowl	-	-	-	•	°	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	-
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•
224. Young taken from nest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
225. Frightened off nest, caught	•	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	-	-	•	-	•
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
227. On rope	-	•	•	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•
228. On net	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	°	-	•
229. Carries cage	•	•	-	-	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	°	•	•
230. Seizes by hand	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
230. Feathers taken, then eagle released	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
237. Rearing of eagle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
240. Caged	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
243. Tail feathers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
244. Wing feathers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
244a. Down	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
246. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	-
246. Chiefly down	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
248. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Tethered willow cage, painted top	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishing														
*252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	°	•	•	°	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	°	•
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*252c. Koyai caught in own territory	-	°	•	•	°	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	°	•
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*252g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*253. Fish nets	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
256. Special form	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
258. Wading in stream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
258a. Ice pick	-	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259. Net used through ice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Weir	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262. Platform built over river	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
263. Basket for taking fish	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

[p. 370]

N 224

85. K2: Hunter would pound rock with moccasins. At: Mt. sheep could only be attracted by pounding in mating season.

86. Steward, 263, mentions a picture in Muir which shows a sheep hunter with headgear suggesting an antelope. Ki: Kelly, 81, said her informants had never seen mt. sheep, but had heard antelope disguise was used to hunt them at times.

N [756 784]

91. To: Affirmed by BS, who said magic was used in all hunting. BS enjoyed telling of great powers of old shamans, and appeared to exaggerate the importance of magic.

Communal Rabbit Hunting

N [825]

Jack rabbit called kamŏ.

92. To: Lowie, 197, describes rabbit hunting nr. Fallon.

93. At, TM: Fire used to drive rabbits.

94. Ki: No "rabbit stick" (Kelly, 88).

96. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 254).

97. Ki: + (Kelly, 88): women and girls helped in drive.

98a. At: In old days there was only 1 dance per year.

Snares, Nets, Etc.

100. Owens Valley: Although a snare was found in Hooker Cave, Steward, 255, denied its use in Owens Valley. Ku: In Lovelock Cave, Loud reported what is probably a spring-pole trap (Loud, 115).

101. Ki: Kelly, 89, said snare used only for sage hens.

112. Owens Valley: Steward, 254, said nooses in trails for catching rabbits and wildcats.

N 223

117. At: Nooses in fence gaps used for sage hens in mating season (about March in Atsa territory). The sage hens are said to have a dance at this time and it is on "dance ground" that fences were built.

120. To: A rabbit net was supported on sticks about 8 feet above water or just at tops of tules, usually across an opening in the tules. Just before dawn the ducks were frightened so as to be captured as they flew up. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Ki: I was told the birds were scared when they got under net, becoming entangled as they flew up. Kelly, 89, was told a supporting stick was pulled out so that the birds caught their heads in mesh as the net fell.

W [223]

123. To: - (BS).

126. Ki: One edge staked down (Kelly, 89).

127. To: Net supported over spring on sticks so that it would fall when the birds flew against it. Hunter hid in a pit near by to frighten the birds at the right time. At: PS pointed out that sage hens, rabbits, and antelope only go to water at certain times of year—when too little dew, food too dry, days too hot; etc.—so that opportunities for netting over water were limited.

N [825]

137. Ki: Antelope disguise worn in order to approach "dancing" sage hens at mating season

[P.423 OD]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe''yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa''ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

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881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ewe'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hand of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ewe'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

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In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] **The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.**

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] **One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."**

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

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CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating 515 (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to 224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain 789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No [343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɛhɛ"tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a [177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and 224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got 756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was 787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] [113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (ma'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(*a*)

kalo'kaca ai'ya, kehamo'moyam, kepi''cuk, kapa''cuk ma'ṣala. kalo'kace'ea, ma'ṣal keke'le, latamale''wa . . . kula'kta.[a]

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(*b*)

wa'diṿ kaya'tuka'ṣa, kaya'tuk temesui i'ke li'eul. wi'kin le''doc kime''kayaktok i'ke ke''au, t'aiyaṿa ga'mayesa. mi''le ke''wa temi'ku. gaya'eu a''ai. hak tikumso''cie i'ke mikla a''caiya. kiki''ket a'ṣam k'e'icke tiya'mle. i'ke laye.leye's nake' akna.ite's heliki ke'le wadiṿe'se''iṿa. i'ke mi''ya, i'ke le'sic kutina'ṣa hat'e''eya untamale's-heliki le'sic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

[a] This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi''gɔla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a''gɔm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a''t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ''wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'l'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[a] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɔc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cɔk) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ts'ə'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[11] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[11] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'eca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'eq ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

825

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

276

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For [171] warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with [354] an open fire.

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly 344 used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house [171] is called daya'limi.

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of 262 the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still some- 177 what used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family.

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leū), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the prin- 224 ● cipal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

●224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 39 - -An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

[P.394, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[4] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim: they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[4]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[178] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if
[648] available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. [731] A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the pos-

[787]

sessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

224

Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears

[136]

that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538] [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789

[763] [186] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope [114] hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that [237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1938, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. 224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when 791 it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this.[10]

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[10] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[11] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Daugherty) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] [789] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[764] 796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2356). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 244, 332) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

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the Washo. It seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(352a-394)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (1961). Other Washo report "big times" which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called xotaavi by the Paiute (Steiner 1950) and matel bahaba by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
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"I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2154-2178).

[227] [784] [262] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 224 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. [886] [841] Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who [562] [226] lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 535 [787] [178] [796] Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of my informants remembered. However, even in his time the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradually faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 529 [789] [535] As stated earlier, there appears to have been much less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

[262] [178] The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2623). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 527 [115] The following account of the pine-nut dances of the past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [See cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and usually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

PLATE IV 1-1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

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c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

[End Plate IV]

1-1 [legend appears on p. 74, Cat. 116 -- Analyst]

221

a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

[411]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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[182]

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

203
211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
[787] relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
[526] relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently bewitch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their
754 babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give
[778] food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use of

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the 114 section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 122 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔeʔwéʔweʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabby?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
● [224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

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489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

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177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2 [see footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

224
[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
° Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

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ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE												
	Ta	Kl	Kl	Kl	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Ty	Wi	Kl	Al
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°2a. Communal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
°5. Into enclosure	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°9. With fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°10. With dogs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
11. In relays	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
12. Shamanism	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14. In pit beside trail	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
17. Single hunter stalks	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18. Runs down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°19. Disguise	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
22. Brush carried	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
23. Poison arrow	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
24. Fire to signal hunters	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
°25. Formal chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
26. Informal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°27. Magic	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
°Antelope Hunting														
°27a. Communal hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
29. Solid brush fence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
°29a. Brush fence around hill	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°30. Brush at intervals	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
31. Wings	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
°32. Shamanism	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
36. Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
°37. Notched stick	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
°38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-

NWA [251]

NWA [411]

NWA [736]

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	Yo	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AT
40. Wand	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−
47. Antelope mask	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
48. Round dance	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−
49. Stumbling taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
50. Loss of objects taboo	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
53. Messengers to antelope	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+
57. Fires to drive	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
58. Shaman in corral	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
59. Shaman "closes gate"	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−
60. Special archer	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+
63. Run down on horseback	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	−
64. Drive	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	−
65. Past ambushed hunters	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−
66. With dogs	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
67. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
70. Ambush beside spring	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
74. Antelopeskin	−	+	+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	−
75. Brush	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
77. Drive	−	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−
78. Past hidden hunters	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−
79. With fire	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−
80. With dogs	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−
81. Into enclosure	−	−	−	−	+	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
82. Through V-fence	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
88. Entire skin used	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
89. Fire to signal hunters	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−
91. Magic	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. Club thrown	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	−
97. All people hunt	+	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−

[p.367]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	T0	Pa	Ma	At	Se	Ty	Wd	K1	Kl
97a. Fire to summon people to starting place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Special leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98a. Dance before each drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
99. Duration of drive (days): 5	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	+	+	–	–
99a. 3	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
99b. Not fixed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
Snares, Nets, Etc.														
100. Spring-pole trap	+	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
101. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
102. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
104. Trap behind fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
107. For rodents	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
109. For small mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
110. For large mammals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
112. For rabbits	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
112a. Noose set on rabbit trail in snow	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
113. Noose in fence gap	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
116. For birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
117. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
118. Long rabbit net	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Bird net	+	+	+	•	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	•	+	+
121. Circular, dome shape	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
122. Tunnel shape	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
123. Rabbit net used	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Willow frame	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
125. Sagebrush support	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
126. Edge staked down	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	•	–
127. Placed near water	+	+	–	+	+	•	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
128. Placed over creek	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
129. Sagebrush wings	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
132. For sage hens	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
133. For doves	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
134. For ducks	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
136. Birds driven to net	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	•	+
137. With antelope disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
140. Net snare for rabbits	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
141. Basketry traps	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
142. Deadfalls	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
143. Figure-4 trigger	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
144. 2-stick trigger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
145. Bait used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
146. For large mammals	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
147. For small game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
148. For birds generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
149. For grouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150. Pitfalls	+	+	+	–	•	–	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
151. Cover of cross bars	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
152. Bait on cover	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
153. For carnivores	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
154. For rabbits and rodents	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
Booths and Blinds														
155. Brush enclosure	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•	+
156. Domed brush house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
158. Conical house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
159. Pit	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
160. With brush fence	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
162. Concealment is near water	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 368]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Kl	Mn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
163. Shooting birds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
164. Geese	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
165. Bird caught from blind with bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
166. Off perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
167. Inclined pole as perch	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
173. Geese killed from blind: sheep	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
175. Antelope	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
176. Tule blind	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
Decoys and Disguises														
178. Live birds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180. Stuffed birds	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180a. Stuffed heads on sticks	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181. Moved with string	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
181a. Body of tule	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
182. Birdskin on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
183. Animal disguise	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. Head	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Whole skin	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Sticks as front legs	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Paint arms	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
188. Deer	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
189. Antelope	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
190. Mountain sheep	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
191. Grass or brush disguise	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Waterfowl Hunting														
Communal drive:														
192. Balsas	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. Chief or director of hunt	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
194. Killing with club	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
194a. Killing with hands: break legs or neck	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194b. Rabbit net used	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
195. Mud hens taken	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Young ducks taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
196a. Young geese taken	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. Hunter uses animal disguise	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
198. For ducks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
200. For sage hens	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
201. Rodents taken from burrow by twisting stick into skin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. Cottontail taken	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. Rat taken	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
204. Chipmunk taken	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
205. Reptile hook	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
206. Geese hung on belt by head	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Rats poked out	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Rats burned out	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. Smoking out of animal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
210. Jack rabbit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
211. Cottontail	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
212. Other rodents	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
214. Fan to blow smoke in den	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
215. Sage-hen wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
216. Crow wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
217. Hawk wing	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+

NWA 223
NWA [224]
NWA [224]
NWA 224

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	Kl	Kl2	Ka	To	Tn	Pa	Wa	At	So	Ty	Wd	Kl	Ak
NWA 224	218. Brush	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	219. Feather	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	220. Basket	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	221. Rodents flooded out	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	222. Flares for fuel	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
NWA 223	Eagle (and Other) Catching														
	223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
	224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
	226. Hunter climbs to the nest	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	227. On rope	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-
	228. On net	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	229. Carries cage	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWA [231]	236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	237. Rearing of eagle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	240. Caged	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	241. Eagle-catching power from dreams	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
	242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	244. Wing feathers	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+
	244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	248. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	246. Chiefly dove	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWA 226	Fishing														
	*252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252c. Kuyui caught in own territory	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*252e. Suckers caught in own territory	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252g. Kinnows caught in own territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*252i. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	252j. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	256. Special form	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	257. Rabbit net used	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	258. Wading in stream	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*258a. Ice pick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
N [476]	259. Net used through ice	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
NWX 226 227	260. Weir	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	261. Rock dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
	262. Platform built over river	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
	*263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	264. Conical carrying type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Ki2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (pigs) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	°	+	°	+	+	–	+	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	°	–	–	°	°	+	°	°	–	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	–	–	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kwa) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
*348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (matata's) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–		–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	–	+	°	°	+
361. Potam taboo	–	+	–	–	–	°	–	°	°	+	–	°	°	–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	°	+	°	+	–	+	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	°	+	°	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	°	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	°	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	°	°	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	°	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	°	+	–	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	°	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	°	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	°	+	+	–
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

NWA 262 136 [278]

W [252 251]

NWA 267

NWA 224

N [784]

NWA [783]

[p. 373]

SUBSISTENCE

Deer Hunting

N 224 2a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 252).

5. Paviotso: "Both deer and mt. sheep were driven between very long wings paralleling a game trail, and so into a corral" (Curtis, 15: 71). To: Affirmed by BS, but I suspect he was confusing deer hunting with methods used for antelope.

6. Ki: +; pit constructed along trail (Kelly, 81).

8. Owens Valley: "Nets and pitfalls were denied, but some kind of trap was affirmed for deer and mt. sheep" (Steward, 252). Wa: Running W noose for deer present (Smith, notes). [224]

9. Owens Valley: Torches used in communal hunt to ignite brush, thus obtaining a large circle of fire with which to drive (Steward, 253). To: - (LP).

N 10. Nearly all informants at first said Paiute had no "dogs," but instead had "Indian dogs with ears straight up." Even these were small and scarce, and, although their use in hunting was affirmed by some, they were certainly not of much importance. Steward, 252, said Owens Valley Paiute used dogs for deer hunting. Ki: - (KH). [231]

12. To: + (BS).

13. To: - (LP). Pa: Hunter must rub self with sagebrush first. Ki: Special fence was built to force deer through gate near which hunter hid (Kelly, 82).

16. Tg: Stone fence was built around pit.

19. Paviotso: Deer head with antlers used as disguise to approach game (Lowie, 197). Owens Valley: Skin and antlers used (Steward, 252). Ts: Deer disguise used only during rutting season. Hunter put on skin and head of buck and pawed ground to attract a buck. As deer charged to attack intruder he was shot with arrow. "It was dangerous." Kl: No deer disguise was used because of fear of buck. A hunter once tried it and was killed. Ki: "Antelope head with ears and horns attached" was occasionally used to hunt deer (Kelly, 81). My informant denied such use.

N 25. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253). AE: 716 There was a formal chief for communal deer hunt who led ceremony of presenting offering of smoke and food to all things at start of hunt. The hunters were together for the ceremony and had fasted all day until after it was completed.

26. Ki: + (Kelly, 81).

N 27. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To:- (LP). 301 Tō: Hunter painted himself with a white paint (poeŋ osai ivi) obtained near Dayton, Nevada, which made him invisible to deer. Pa: There is N a spring near W shore of Walker Lake, 3 mi. S of 787 Schurz, where a hunter could sleep if he wanted

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called megi''gda by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] [619] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 39 - -An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - Ed.]

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
• [226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 381, B]

825 771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226 789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the [262] Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784 224 227 841 [562] [783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

4aDowns E-6 (no desk) 1961 HTH Washo HTH

841 [P 382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2304-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the internal
224 organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate such meat his aim would be bad (340-348). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either such meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will not meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradually faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a *pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one.*"

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an official relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1931) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu). Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (la?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (na?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bisil).
6. Sod (tada), seat (ithoienga), and mat (naba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu tgumatwé) and torch (silu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayolti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (mallu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tatlugdi)
   e. dress (naagumtaah)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ibdpbeytgul)
3. Leggings (pdtishu wipaa), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (magodibdp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumolli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mdliuydk), necklace (umidauk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madapi beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (aawaaan), yellow (waitaatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wdlyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsiaupo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mɬhi?), needle (bahitsɬt) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (namayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadpa).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (dɬgikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (kɬtip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (beyudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type. [415]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus).
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [226]
9. Spoon (itdamkut).
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (halohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbayaɬgi).
2. Arrows (mɬakiait) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sata) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (petaega), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (isisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbeyuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (beyako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Fossuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/2 [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (stabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 96). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

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[411]
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171

secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of pinon trees."

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[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317]
[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

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226 •
[412]
[484]
[422]

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows." •

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226
501
[223]

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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[127]

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

[311]
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[131]

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[3] [footnote appears on p. 93--Analyst]

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kr	Kn	Yo	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
218. Brush	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
219. Feather	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
220. Basket	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
220a. Anything	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
221. Rodents flooded out	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Flares for fowl	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
223. Aeries owned, individually	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
224. Young taken from nest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
225. Frightened off nest, caught	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
226. Hunter climbs to the nest	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. On rope	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
228. On net	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
229. Carries cage	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
230. Seizes by hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
236. Feathers taken, then eagle released	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
237. Rearing of eagle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
238. Nest in tree	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
239. Bird tied up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
240. Caged	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
242. Eagle caught for feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
243. Tail feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
244. Wing feathers	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
244a. Down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
245. For trade only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
248. Rearing other birds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
246. Chiefly dove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
249. Young taken from nest	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
250. Bird kept in cage	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
251. Twined willow cage, pointed top	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fishing														
252a. Trout caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252c. Knyui caught in own territory	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252d. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
252e. Suckers caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
252f. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252g. Minnows caught in own territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
252h. Obtained in neighboring area	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
252i. Salmon caught in own territory	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
252j. Obtained in neighboring area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
255. Fish nets	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
256. Special form	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
257. Rabbit net used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
258. Wading in stream	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
258a. Ice pick	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
259. Net used through ice	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
258a. Communal fishing	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
260. Weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
261. Rock dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
262. Platform built over river	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
263. Basket for taking fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
264. Conical carrying type	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
265. Special elongated type	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AZ
266. In weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	•	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	•	–	+	–	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	•	+
273. Spear	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	+
274. 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	+
275. 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
278. Torch or fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	•	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	+	+	+	•	–
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	•	•	•	+	+	–	+	+	–	•	–	+
280a. Angle	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
281a. Of bone and wood	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–
282. 1 barb at angle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
285. Pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
287. Grasshopper	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
288. Salmon egg	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
288a. Minnow	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
290. Bait bag, buckskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•	–	–
290a. Bait basket	•	•	+	•	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•	–	–
291. Fly hook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
293. Poison (tɔ'a used) placed in stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
293a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
294. Stream dammed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
295. Creek diverted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Animals Eaten														
297. Dog (sorobuku) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
297a. Mink (pai'una) eaten	•	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
297b. Mole (tɔ̈dzi' kwɔ̈sɔ̈va) eaten	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
297c. Porcupine (tsa'kwuda or mɔ̈hü) eaten	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kwmɔ̈) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohakmɔ̈) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavɔ̈ü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297h. Kangaroo rat (kotsi) eaten	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
297i. Mouse (field) (pongatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
297j. Muskrat (pamnɔ̈) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (tɔ̈ka'wa) eaten	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikwü) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (kɔ̈bɔ̈ or kɔ̈pa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (woda'a) eaten	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pavisi) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297q. Skunk (poyI) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297r. Bat (biya'hana) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297s. Elk (patu'kuia) eaten	+	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
297t. Raccoon (patakai) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[1.371]

NWA 226 227

NWA 136 262

N 226 227 260. To: - (LP). Ki: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Ki: The weir described by DG was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

W [226 227] 261. Ki: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Wada, but said the Hunipui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: - (LP).

W [227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

270. Ts: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'numa. Practice was known by ND but not used by his band, the Tasiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Wada used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Ku: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch legbone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Remy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Ki: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

W [227] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

278. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 293a.)

280. Ku: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Ku: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42988 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jeps.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

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N 137 222 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DV, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Eat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DV: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building. ●

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [362] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to

N [764] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

[p. 429 (A)]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tō: Band chief acted as captain of mud-hen drive.

N [527] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu´i^{i}-nō°ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [527] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

W [522] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [226]

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DV said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tō: The Tōvusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 782] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight.

W [721]

N [423] Aeries descended from father to son. Kū: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

N 721 173

[P. 381, B]

825
771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahaka by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

[773]

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784
224
227
841
[562]
[783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.
[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (340-348). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
[886] ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[789] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
[796] dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the rit-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of [illegible] will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadga).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets.
   a. New born infant type. [412]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus).
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [415]
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 41
1. Straight bows (baiohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow. [412]
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin.
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashum) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord.
10. Tule boat and long wood pole.
11. Snares.
12. Traps (itpakmalȼt), especially the rockfall type for small rodents.
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage.
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bitsȼk), see Plate III.
2. Metate (dȼmgȼ) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds; particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache.
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu).
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bihȼ?).
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kasa) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket.
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tashȼp).
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega).
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (dȼk) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tashȼp).
2. Bone and willow whistles.
3. Cocoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C.
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo).

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

Washo NT20
Achomawi N5E

ARTHROPOLOGICAL RECORD

NWA 224

219. Brush
219. Feather
220. Basket
220a. Anything
221. Rodents flooded out
222. Flares for fuel

Eagle (and Other) Catching

NWA 228

223. Arrow owned, individually
224. Young taken from nest
225. Frightened off nest, caught
226. Hunter climbs to the nest
227. On rope
228. On net
229. Carries cage
230. Seizes by hand
230a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand

NWA [231]

230. Feathers taken, then eagle released
237. Hearing of eagle
238. Nest in tree
239. Bird tied up
240. Caged
241. Eagle-catching power from dreams
242. Eagle caught for feathers
243. Tail feathers
244. Wing feathers
244a. Down

NWA 231

245. For trade only
246. Hearing other birds
246. Chiefly down
249. Young taken from nest
250. Bird kept in cage
251. Twined willow cage, painted toy

Fishing

NWA 226

252a. Trout caught in own territory
252b. Obtained in neighboring area
252c. Loyai caught in own territory
252d. Obtained in neighboring area
252e. Suckers caught in own territory
252f. Obtained in neighboring area
252g. Minnows caught in own territory
252h. Obtained in neighboring area
252i. Salmon caught in own territory
252j. Obtained in neighboring area
253. Fish nets
256. Special form
257. Rabbit net used
258. Wading in stream
258a. Ice pick

NWA [476]

259. Net used through ice
259a. Communal fishing

NWA 226 227

260. Weir
261. Rock dam
262. Platform built over river
263. Basket for landing fish
264. Conical carrying type
265. Special elongated type

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kt	Kh	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
266. In weir	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
267. In dam	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
268. Supported by sticks	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
269. Held in hand	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
270. Fish driven with willow bundles	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
272. Harpoon	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
273. Spear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
274. 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
275. 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
277. Night fishing	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
278. Torch or fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–
279. Moonlight	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
280a. Angle	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281. Of bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
281a. Of bone and wood	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
282. 1 barb at angle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
284. Line attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
285. Pole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
286. Bait: angleworm	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
287. Grasshopper	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
288. Salmon egg	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
288a. Minnow	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
289. Grub	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
290. Bait bag, bookskin	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
290a. Bait basket	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
291. Fly hook	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
292. Sinker	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
293. Poison (tobe used) placed in stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
293a. Fish poisoned by "soaking"	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
294. Stream dammed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
295. Creek diverted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
296. Fish killed by striking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Animals Eaten

297. Dog (ocrobuim) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297a. Mink (pai'mea) eaten	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
297b. Male (tobdai' kubs9va) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297c. Porcupine (tse'kwada or mdhi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297d. Jack rabbit (kmmd) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297e. White rabbit (tohokmmd) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tsrdm) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297g. Pocket gopher (ungatsiva) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
297h. Kangaroo rat (kntsi) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
297i. Mouse (field) (pengatsi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
297j. Muskrat (pammd) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297k. Wood rat (tika'ua) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297kk. Woodchuck (kidd) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297m. Squirrel (ikmd) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297n. Ground squirrel (kdbd or kdpe) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297o. Chipmunk (sodn'a) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297p. Weasel (pwrini) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297q. Skunk (pmgI) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
297r. Bat (kiyo'bmno) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297s. Elk (patu'hnia) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
297t. Buffalo (petakni) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. MATERIAL : XIV—BASKETRY: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	El	Ha	Ha	Ta	Ta	Ma	Ma	El	Ha	Ta	Wa	El	El
1071. Twined winnowing basket (timáma)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1074. Parallel warps	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1075. Open twined (pata)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1076. Close twined (tomo or tóma)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1077. Used also for parching	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1078a. Angular tray (tama)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1080. Twined	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
*1082. Conical carrying basket (kurua)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1084. Open twine	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1085. Close twine	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1086. Deerskin-covered bottom	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1089. Pointed bottom	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1090. End-and-bundle rim	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1091. Fishing trap (oyahni)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1091a. Hipointed, opening on side	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1092. Plain twine	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1092a. Hen made	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1093. Twined hat (kotosaná)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1094. Hemispherical	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1095. Black design applied	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1098. Twined water jug (oan; cf. 888)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1098a. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1099. Rounded bottom	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1100. Pointed bottom	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1101. Tapering spout	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1102. Pitch on outside	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1103. Pitch on inside	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1104. Pitch on bottom	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1105. Paint: red	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1106. Bundle: horsehair	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1106a. Willow	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1110. Deerskin	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1111. Vegetable string	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1113. Grass, etc.	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1114. Food bowl (taida)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1115. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1116. Twined	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1117. Pitch coated	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1118. Basket for boiling (ope)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1118a. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1118b. Twined	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1119. Ladle (tuatuam)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
*1120. Twined	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
*1121. Coiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1122. With handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1129. Lids modern	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1129a. Lids aboriginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1130a. Mending of basketry	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1131. Bags (mero'o)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1131a. Of hides	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1132. Of twined sage bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1133. Of twined tule	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1134. Hat (ohad)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1134a. Fur deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1135. Of twined sage bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1136. Of twined tule	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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N 216 227

260. To: - (LP). Kl: + (Kelly, 96): A troughed willow dam and trap. Kl: The weir described by BS was a trap as well as a barrier. Willows were stuck in the mud so as to form 2 parallel rows about 2 feet apart and extending completely across the stream. The ends of the willows above the water were bent and tied together to form a trough about a foot deep. The fish trying to leap the barrier were caught in the trough. It is similar to the one described by Kelly.

[224 227] 261. Kl: Rock dam was only used to get suckers; trout were speared. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

262. Wd: SC denied the use of platforms for fishing for the Washo, but said the Maidpui employed them. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

263. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, reports conical basket used below willow dam. To: - (LP).

[227] 264. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

269. Kl: + (Kelly, 96).

270. To: Willow bundle used to drive fish was called tuma'sumpa. Practice was known by BS but not used by his band, the Theiget. To: - (LP).

272. To: - (LP).

272-273. Wd: Denied by BJ, who described a single-pronged spear; however, SC claimed the Washo used the harpoon and no spear. I am inclined to think SC correct.

273. Kl: Fish-spear tipped with 18-inch leg-bone of sandhill crane reported seen at Humboldt Lake (Leonard, 161). Ramy and Brenchley, 42, saw 1 used on Carson River. Kl: + (Kelly, 96).

274. Kl: + (Kelly, 96).

275. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251). Paviotso: "The spear, a two-pronged pole with which the fish were pinned to the bottom" (Curtis, 15:71).

[228] 276. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

276a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

276. Owens Valley: Steward, 251, quotes from Chalfant's MS concerning fishing by aid of a fire on the bank. (See Note 296a.)

280. Kl: Leonard, 166, describes a bipointed hook, which was probably gorget type, seen used on Humboldt Lake. Paviotso: "Hook, made of two crossed bones" (Curtis 15:71). To: - (LP). Wd: Both BJ and SC claimed ignorance of type of hook used in old days, although both thought lines had been used.

281a. Kl: + (Loud, 41, fig. 8). University specimen 1-42986 from the Heizer-Krieger 1936 excavation of Humboldt Cave was carried and shown to informants, but none identified bone-barbed piece of greasewood as a fishhook. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 51, p. 41).

286. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

287. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

293. All informants who knew of drugging fish said toza (Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt. var. multifida Jepe.) root was pounded and soaked in pools, streams, and the like. Steward, 251, re-

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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[114]

In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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648

The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788 A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihi'p'Tcoa) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ɔcuke'e! mi'k'eɣ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

839 Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821 Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824 A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [226] [262] Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224] The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763 On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776 Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltai tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276 When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

821 One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825 Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752 Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776 Sometime Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825 276 A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing 'rain dances' on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tall feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost some of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam, 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragrant smoke which is considered bene-

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Ăŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

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William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [921]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881).

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959). [648]

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to haul /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

[P. 353, B]

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?lé·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. [203] [211]

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. [834] [262] [263] [843]

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

921 535 [44] [825] 726 756 739

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. [783] [234]

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

285 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in
489 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero,
177 the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

2 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally. [see footnote, p.150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 225 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

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[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (19--, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 244

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[484] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or [492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1939 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
159 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[771] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
[777] are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
[171] 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

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The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to [231] easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

Notes

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1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

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2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

Washo NT20
Achumawi N5E

NWA 234

NWA 235

NWA 236

NWA 237

ARTHROPOLOGICAL RESEARCH

	Ny	Ki	Wp	Ma	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	Ai	Ow	Ng	Wa	Li	Ar
230. Brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
231. Feather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
232. Basket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
232a. Anything	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
233. Baskets finished out	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
233. Flares for food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eagle (and Other) Catching														
233. Aeries owned, individually	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
234. Young taken from nest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
235. Frightened off nest, caught	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
236. Hunter climbs to the nest	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
237. On rope	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
238. On reel	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
239. Carries cage	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
240. Seized by hand	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
240a. Eaglet held down with stick to protect hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
240. Feathers taken, then eagle released	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
237. Rearing of eagle	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
238. Nest in tree	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
239. Bird tied up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
240. Caged	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
241. Eagle-catching power from dream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
242. Eagle caught for feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
243. Tail feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
244. Wing feathers	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
244a. Down	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
245. For trade only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
246. Rearing other birds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
246. Chiefly down	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
249. Young taken from nest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
250. Bird kept in cage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
251. Twined willow cage, painted toy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fishing														
*252a. Trout caught in own territory	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
252b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*253a. Suyai caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
253b. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*254a. Suckers caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
254?. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*255g. Minnows caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
255h. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*256?. Salmon caught in own territory	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
256?. Obtained in neighboring area	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*257. Fish nets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
258. Special form	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259. Basket set used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Wading in streams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260a. Ice pick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259. Net used through ice	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
259a. Communal fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
260. Weir	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
261. Hook dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
262. Platform built over river	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
263. Basket for taking fish	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
264. Conical carrying type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
265. Special elongated type	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 370]

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231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [477] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [178] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to motion among the Washo.

One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[484] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 264 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 971 [492]

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487 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

● 233
177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque
[517] sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

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(247) Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

(427) The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Carson River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
(224) should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

● 235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in
489 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero,
177 the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2 [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pʌ'Tʌ.n tʌ.upə"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[a] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gəc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (ʌ'"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi'"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomn) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta'"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tʌ'lmu also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'en peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (mues''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
[462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

411 The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (halo'hat), and arrow (mŏckit'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden [182] bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tî) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

• [237] The quiver (it'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

412 Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (pelé'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

[P. 368, A]

539 smoke, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of those fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild man had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

[513] [237] 2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down [maybe that wild man did something to the fire]. Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild man still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

773 **THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES**

Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

4/Downs F-6 (for Amer) 1961 HTH Washo HTH

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(1940-1941)

758 [192] The Washo word da'maan'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (1941-90) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Both persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town maybe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then maybe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."

For more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's. 756 115 and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti- [871] cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
[648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain
dances" on their property in return for handouts of
food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because
white men were the victims of the fraud it was con-
sidered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231)
[437] The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers
were extremely valuable and could be traded for any-
thing including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour
or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up
until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doc-
tor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and
released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description
of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One
old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept
them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such
experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers
were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but
still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by
chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked
up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather
suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders'
describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually
from the upper arms and thighs of particularly power-
ful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable
of handling the immense power, are made of eagle
feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but
nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Mer-
riam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette
casually during conversation. In prewhite times the
tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the
shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced
the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed
delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote
ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragrant smoke which is considered bene-

[P.393, A]

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[756]
[182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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[276]
[237]
[755]

Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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[648]

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law [538] who remembered the antelope songs.

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as [624] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered [791] to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which [186] believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually [114] considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken [535] from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 There was, however, a special leader who directed 624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack 791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (tabs) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadps).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type.
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul).
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely mimimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

1/2 [See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowl) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE IV 1-1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

291

c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

[End Plate IV]

1-1 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individaully or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 301 237

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	To	Kl	Kp	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1322. Necklaces (tärekiapo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or betä)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidoma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1331. Animal teeth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1332. Deerclaws (takaroma or tomitsä)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1336a. Cane tubes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Yale	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Mouse	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1341. Hoofs	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1342. Bones	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1343a. Quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: narrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1348. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1351. Hair	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Stick	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1359. Soot (atsatsiga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oropi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitsätsiga)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1365. Specularite (tsäkopi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+

NWA 291

NWA [321]

NWA 302 286

NWA [783]

[p. 391]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[a] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[b] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[c] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[a] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[b] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[c] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation, a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents. 591

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away. 764 431 [782] [775]

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal. 574

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange. [844] [881] [182] [431]

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing. [22]

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites. 782 [264] [533] [241]

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

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[125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred
[732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt
[388] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233
825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there
[262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 971 [492]

However, most men 177 ●
who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, 241
although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that 871
the school now serves Indians of many tribes. [186]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inex- 492
pert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor
deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback dur- [422]
ing my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string [427]
of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as [178]
guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other
Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse 177
was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse 224
days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the 492
net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried
his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse
could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind
him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rab-
bits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the
wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no
equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon
as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his
own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to ac- 464
company cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that 492
they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was
available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly 177
adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points 489
out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost 492
during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development 493
of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because
the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or
other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which
ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he
turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad 177
within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the 489
horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy
permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the
Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other
obstructions.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	To	Ki	Kt	Ki	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	At
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tihmaymono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (teika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
500. Woodsa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 241

506. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	•	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buskskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	–
528. Storage in rock granny	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	–	•	•	+	•	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	•	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	•	–	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
552. Pulverized	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	•	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 376]

245
[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Carson River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492
489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231
177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

[1] Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

[2] [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [476] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [178] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

245
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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ŋkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba''kumta'liŋe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa''ci, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	KJ	KP	Kn	Yo	Ye	Pa	Mo	At	Sh	Tu	Wd	Kl	Ad
1887. Poggum	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (komitsa)	–	◦	◦	◦	+	+	+	◦	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

N NWA 1 276

Pipe

◦1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	◦	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
◦1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
◦1906a. Bone	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1909. Rosewood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

◦1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
◦1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
◦1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

N NWA [756]

N NA [782]

◦Tobacco (pui'pumo)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	◦	–
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+

N NWA 249 276

[P. 402]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl2	Ku	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AF
1939. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	°–	+
1936. Root of tosap for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

°1944. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1945. Attached to stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1947. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
°1953. Sheep-horn rattle	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1955. Rawhide rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
1956a. Used by dancers	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1958. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
°1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsevigu)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1965. Hoof rattle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1971. Hoofs in line	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1973. Notched stick (mûhumagi)	–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	°–	–	–	+
1974. Plain, notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1979. Used in "bear dance"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1981. Buzzers (tôzi'sthinyu)	+	+	–	–	°–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1982. Deer patella	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Bull-roarer

(See Games)

°1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	°+	°–	–	–	+	–	+	°+	°+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
1992. 6-12	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[P. 403]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lo$_{q}$) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi''gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'T'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lmu also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (lh¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (maksu).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuspo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (icmbisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

[291] [433] [621] [463] [251] [628] [648] [871]

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

[301] [439]

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

[439]

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

[114]

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

1 [see cat. 116, and plate I, 58 following p. 74 -- Analyst]

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE II 1/1

● 251
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a. Roasting pinenuts.

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b. Susie Dick breaking out pinenuts in front of a pinenut cache. This illustrates the great size of these caches.

These photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden between 1927 and 1929.

1/1 [Legend appears on p. 24, Cat. 116—Au.]

[End Plate II]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (plegé) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
340. As food	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kúa) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
347. Ground on matate	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
*348. Cricket (niju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
351a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata's) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
353. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
354. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
356. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
357. Ground on matate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
358. Stored, buckskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	.	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
363. To young	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
369a. If trapped	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
377. To mother	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
379a. To anyone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
389. 5 nights' continence	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
389a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
397. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 373]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 782 796

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kk	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AS
398. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	*	–	+	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	*	+	–	–	–	–	*	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	*	*	–	+	–	*	*	*	–	*
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 222 252 251

Gathering

*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puvam)	+	*	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*434. Cactus fruit eaten (nawu or mitse)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
435. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443. Pinon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	*	+	*
*443a. Hooked pole (tsam) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
*445. End fire bent	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
446. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
454. By burning	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*458. Grass lined	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
462a. In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
463. Parching	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	Alt	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															
471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	•	•	–	•	–	+	–	+	–	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	•	–	–	+	–	222
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	252
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	[261]
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Other Plants and Seeds Used															
483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483a. Sunflower (aköpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
483b. Sunflower (pasö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
483d. Sunflower (kusiakə)	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483e. Sunflower (kusipasö)	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	
483f. Pickleweed (kuhavu)	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	+	·	+	·	·	·	
483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	+	·	
483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanakö)	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	+	·	+	·	
483i. Saltbrush (sünö)	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483j. Rabbit brush (taviaigup)	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	–	+	+	+	·	
483k. Rabbit brush (aigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483kk. Rabbit brush (mogodökupi)	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	–	+	·	·	+	·	
483m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihwei)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	·	
483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483p. Wild tobacco (paivuwo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	[276]
483q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	·	+	+	+	·	+	·	·	–	+	+	+	·	·	
483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483t. Spike rush (pasasivö)	·	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	·	–	·	·	
483v. Sagebrush (sawava)	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	·	
483w. Saltbrush (umaha)	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
483x. masai	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
483y. ocomösigi	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	
483z. himovi	·	·	·	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	
484. Jointfir (tsuhupi)	·	·	·	·	+	+	·	·	+	+	·	·	·	·	
484a. saiagava	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	–	·	·	·	·	
484b. Indian balsam (toma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	
484c. wata	+	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	•	•	+	+	+	·	
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	–	+	+	+	+	·	
484e. yapö	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
484f. tsupugi	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	–	–	·	
484g. tivua	+	+	+	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	
484h. tövusi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	·	–	–	·	
484i. Indian potatoes (ommaŋ) (saga or bäga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	
484j. Indian potatoes (aputsö)	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	·	·	·	
Gathering Implements															
485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

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Washo NT20
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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	Ts	K1	K2	Kl	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	K1	AR
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuawoi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tümaywono)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsiku)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
495. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
500. Woodsa	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 2N1

505. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	•	–	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	•	+	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	•	–	–
528. Storage in rock cranny	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	–	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
552. Pulverized	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20 ●

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Ki	AF
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	°	–	°	°	+	–	°	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	°	+	+
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	–	+	–	+
°562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
°568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	–	–	°	°	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	+	–
°HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
°582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°	°	+	+	+	°	+
°583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	°	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	°	+
589. For winter use	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	°	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
595a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
598. Layers of grass (mats)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	°	°	°	+	–	+	°	°	+	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	°	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

N W A 251 ● 252

N 366

N X 342

[p. 377]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"'gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[2] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[2] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[*] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"ɛak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[*] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sagebrush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper. But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. A poison (muca"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belē'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116) pp. 334 35.– Au.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical
Plate VII, fig. 2. kûya'nda

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degîkûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

*degîkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. [221] Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. [785] One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. [574] Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping [442] of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was pouted on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony*

881 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was
●252 poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked
in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approxi-
[415] mately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china
cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was
held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn
bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were
not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a
small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in
the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs.
Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was
merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was
[291] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were
[432] dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were
881 crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles
535 in the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her
pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and
danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were such
that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an
angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point,
consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and
[533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-
wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet
and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her
future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the
flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand
drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The
girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening
came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while
others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined
in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home
to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the
ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not
stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls
of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others con-
tinued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and
[302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body
with red paint "brought down from the mountains." He then came out of the side of the
house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it
[431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have
a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin. 285 392 171

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal. 291 [177]

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *polew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary. 224 [624]

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon. 411 [171]

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*. 262 [252] [439] 412 [415]

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*. 342 [171]

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement. 343 177 [231] [668]

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear. 344

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 680

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

PLATE III

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252
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415
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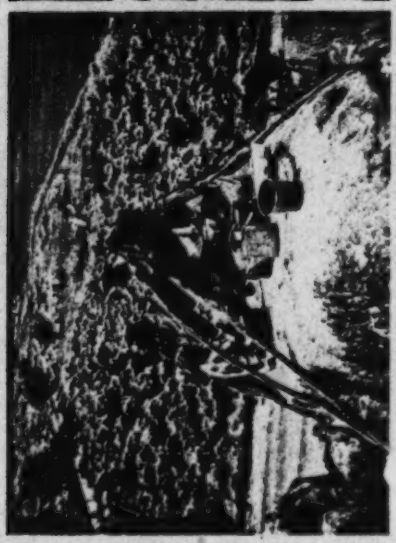

[legend appears on p. 74, cat. 86 -- Au.]

[End Plate III]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts: the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles [415] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, [252] and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, [782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people [515] bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw [222] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop [782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. [535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although [262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	KE	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piego) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
340. As food	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kûa) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
348a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (watata'a) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
354. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
356. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-		-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
357. Ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
358. Stored, buckskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
363. To young	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
369a. If trapped	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
377. To mother	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
379a. To anyone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
389. 5 nights' continence	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
389a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
395. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
397. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

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W [252 251]

NWA 267

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ye	Kl	Kd	Kk	To	Ts	Pa	Sh	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
398. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	–	+	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	•	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	+	–	•	•	•	–	•
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 222 252 251

Gathering

*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (puruma)	+	•	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

*433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (nawu or mitse)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
435. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

443. Pinon Nuts (tawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•	+	•
*443a. Hooked pole (tsama) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*445. End fire bent	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*446. End separate piece	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
454. By burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*458. Grass lined	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*462. Nuts ground on metate (muta)	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
462a. In mortar	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
463. Parching	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															NWA
471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	•	–	–	•	–	+	–	+	–	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	•	–	+	–	–	222
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	252 ●
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	
477. Piñon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	NWA
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	–	
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	[261]
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Other Plants and Seeds Used															NWA
483. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483a. Sunflower (aköpö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
483b. Sunflower (pacö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
483c. Sunflower (akö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
483d. Sunflower (kusiake)	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483e. Sunflower (kusipacö)	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	•	+	•	
483f. Pickleweed (kuhava)	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	+	+	•	•	+	•	•	
483g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparogi)	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	+	+	•	
483h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	•	+	+	•	•	•	+	•	+	•	•	•	+	•	
483i. Saltbrush (sïnï)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
483j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	•	+	•	•	•	•	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483l. Rabbit brush (mogodökupi)	•	+	+	•	•	•	+	•	–	+	•	•	+	•	
483m. [illegible] (milkweed) (wihowi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	NWA
483n. [illegible] grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	
483o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483p. Wild tobacco (paiwano)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	[276]
483q. Sorrel (atsa) pawia	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	–	+	+	+	•	•	
483r. Bulrush or tule (siavö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483s. Cattail (toe)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483t. Spike rush (pamasivö)	•	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	
483u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	–	•	•	
483v. Sagebrush (samava)	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	•	•	
483w. Saltbrush (unaka)	•	•	•	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
483x. masai	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
483y. ommasigi	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
483z. hiwovi	•	•	+	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
484. Jointfir (tsuhupi)	•	•	•	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	•	•	•	•	
484a. saiagava	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	
484b. Indian balsam (toza)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	
484c. wata	+	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	•	
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	
484e. yapö	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
484f. tsupugi	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	
484g. tüvsa	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	+	•	•	
484h. tövasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
484i. Indian potatoes (oomas?) (soga or higa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsö)	•	•	•	•	•	+	•	•	•	•	+	•	+	•	
Gathering Implements															NWA
485. Digging stick (pörö)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

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NWA 251 252

NWA 317

NWA 251

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	So	Tg	Wd	Kl	All
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tuavoi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tümayumo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsikh)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
495. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
500. Wooden	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
Agriculture														
Wild Seeds														
*506. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
Seed Storage														
521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
527. Storage in cave	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
528. Storage in rock crannny	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Food Preparation														
*529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
536. Dried on frame in sun	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
538. Smoked	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
540. Pulverized	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
*542. Mixed with berries	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
544. Stored in sage bags	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
547. Fish	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
550. Smoked in sweat house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
552. Pulverized	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
553a. Only fish bones ground	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
554. Ground bone cooked	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Tó	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Ki	AE
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	°	–	°	+	°	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	+	–	+	+
°562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	°	+	–	+	+	–
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
°568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	N
577. Cannibalism	–	–	°	°	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	+	– 266
°HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														N
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	– 342
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
°582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°	+	+	+	+	+
°583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	°	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
589. For winter use	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
595a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
598. Layers of grass (mulava)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	°	°	°	°	–	+	°	°	°	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	°	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	°	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

[p.377]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 412 [252]

NWA [356]

NWA [252]

NWA [415]

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
833. For bone	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
834. For paint	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
836. With porcupine tail	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
837. With sage-bark brush	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
842. With grass-roots brush	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
835a. Did not clean metate	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*845. Rotary motion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	*	*	-	-
848. Paddle (ogo)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or taiku)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	*	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
*864. Stone bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
*866. Pottery bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
868. Biconical basket (cca; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	-
Knives (wiki)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	*	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	-	+	+	+	-	-
874. Bone knife	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (ghwaaxa)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
883a. Scapula	-	-	-	*	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Awls (wita)														
884. Horn	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

[p. 382]

Washo NT20

N 317 to Alkali Lake near Topaz, California, to get salt. They did not claim this lake, but obtained salt there without payment. No one seems to have owned the lake, although it might have been Washo, MW said. Pa: Salt obtained at Rhodes Salt Marsh south of Mina (Steward, 325). DW said Osavidökadö ("salt eaters") have been considered a separate band only since the building of the railroad through that country; before the railroad the country was used only as a place to get salt. At: Free salt not known before white people. Salt-brush, Atriplex, and sünü seeds were salty and that is all they used.

530. Sa: + (SL).

533, 534. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

538. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

539. Tg, Wd: "To dry meat faster a sort of sweat house was built and a fire was made inside" (DS). This was primarily only to dry faster; the smoking was incidental.

W ●[252] 540. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

542, 543. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 255).

546. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC).

558. Sa, Pa, At: Feet dried with cords and skin were used in case of famine.

561. At: Earth oven used only for crickets.

562. Cooking in the thorax filled with water which was brought to a boil by means of hot stones is described by Kelly, 92.

568. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

N 266 577. K2: Once during a hard winter a Kuyuidökadö killed his daughter-in-law and ate her. The rest of the tribe disapproved and chased him away. Kü: "Not so many years ago, just before the white people came, a family lived high in the mountains during a hard winter. The mother couldn't get enough food, so one day the eldest son killed her, cooked her, and offered some of the meat to his younger brother. The younger one refused and the elder brother threatened to eat him next. The boy escaped, ran to Lovelock (saituka tuwiwarai), told his story. The Indians tried to kill the elder brother but he hid, then ran away" (GM). At: "In hard winters when food was gone those Indians who appeared weak, like they would die, were killed and eaten by the stronger ones" (PS).

HOUSES

N 342 Speaking of a Walker Lake lodge pictured in Mooney, Lowie (p. 221) says, "while round in ground plan was not very regular in shape, being neither distinctly conical nor beehive-like." Informants were unable to give accurate descriptions of houses. When I showed them pictures of dome-shaped houses of the Pomo tule type, informants said that type had been used formerly, but upon seeing plate 3,c, Steward, a conical house, most of them said that type was also used. It is impossible to ascertain if house

Washo NT20 ●
Kohsumani NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kl	Mo	Yo	Yo	Pa	Sh	At	So	Ty	Wd	Kl	Al
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
471. 'Cane' or reed sugar (pihavi)	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
476. Willow-sap sugar	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
482. Pitch	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Other Plants and Seeds Used														
482. Yellow cress (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Sunflower (shisp)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Sunflower (pasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482c. Sunflower (ah)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482d. Sunflower (kwainka)	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482e. Sunflower (kwainsa)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
482f. Pickleweed (kahawa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
482g. Sego lily or painted cup (taparagi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482h. Sego lily or painted cup (sambo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482i. Saltbrush (shad)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482j. Rabbit brush (tavisigup)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
482k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482kk. Rabbit brush (sego-shimpi)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
482m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihoat)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482n. Seed grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482p. Wild tobacco (paiwuse)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
482r. Bulrush or tule (siavo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482s. Cattail (tse)	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482t. Spike rush (pasagivo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482v. Sagebrush (sonava)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
482w. Saltbrush (sunku)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
482x. unusi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
482y. sonusoigi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
482z. hiuvi	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
484. Jointfir (tsudapi)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484a. saingava	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484e. papa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
484f. tsupagi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484g. tivoa	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484h. tivusi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484i. Indian potatoes (sumaf) (sego or bigs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
484j. Indian potatoes (sputsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gathering Implements														
485. Digging stick (pavo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
485a. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 262 222 251 252 NWA [261] ● NWA 187 212 262 NWA [237] NWA 252

[P. 375]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were [492] in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who [177] rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided [262] among the band.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

---

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɔɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi'"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [115] Pine nuts (t'a"gum) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses," a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abí) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (menda"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pa'l'a.u ta.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gae) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (a."uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paka'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"eak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lmu also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788 A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihi'p'i'ea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

839 Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821 Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a"umatapa"li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824 A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262] Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a"ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224] The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763 On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776 Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'l'itai tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789 276 When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821 Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825 Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752 Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776 Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825 A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276 A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

101 combined with the peculiar natural environment, has produced a material culture which contains many features of both these areas and which shows certain interesting local adaptations and modifications.

ENVIRONMENT.

131 The Washo territory lies partly on the western margin of the
133 arid, Great Basin region of Nevada, and partly on the more densely wooded eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada. It also extends up into the heavily timbered and well watered high Sierra region and even, in a small area on the headwaters of the Moquelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, reaches down for some distance on the western slope of this range.* Its western limit can, however, in general be stated as the crest of the Sierra Nevada range. Its eastern limit is, generally speaking, the low range between the Carson river and the Walker river drainages. Thus the territory of the Washo lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills of this range. The accompanying map shows these limits only approximately, as time did not permit a careful investigation of this subject.

133 Within this restricted territory are found two very distinct types of natural environment, each with its typical fauna and flora. The one, that of the semi-desert basin (plate II[1]); the other, that of the well timbered and well watered Sierra (plate I).[2] The latter tends to produce features characteristic of the eastern part of the
137 California culture area. The semi-arid sands of the eastern part of the Washo territory bear a flora characterized by low brush, various grasses which yield seeds used for food and, on the desert
• [262] mountains, by a particular species of pine, the piñon, whose nuts constitute such an important article of food throughout much of the Great Basin culture area. The well watered mountains of the

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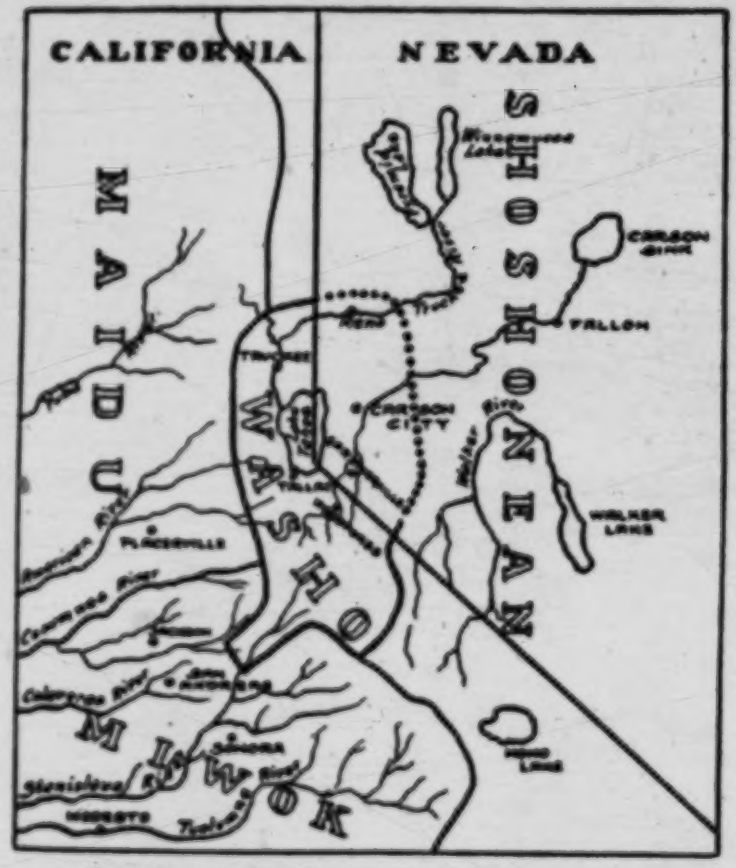
*See the author's "Geography and Dialects of the Miwok Indians," Univ. Calif. Publ., Am. Arch. Ethn. VI, 547 and map 1, 1908. Also Dixon's "The Northern Maidu," Bull. Amer. Mus. Nat. Hist., XVII, 188, and pl. XXXVIII, 1908.

1 [The author may be referring to plate I, fig. 2 here, see cat. 46, p. 29 - Ann.]

2 [See plate I, fig. 1, Cat. 86, P. 29 - Ann.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

The well watered mountains of the western part of the Washo territory produce a flora characterized by heavy forests of cedar, spruce, and several of the larger species of pine, and in its extreme western part by the presence of the



Map 1. Showing the Washo territory and that of surrounding tribes.

sequoia and the oak, whose acorns are used to some extent as food; thus introducing here a distinctly Californian element.

The fauna of the two sections presented, in primitive times, similar differences. That of the arid region was characterized

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leū), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 ●[262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [See cat. 11C, p. 39 --An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gûm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 -- Ed.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part
262 of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gath-
[137] ered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them
[222] through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the
[439] piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety,
[272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are
[412] heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (dĕ'mge), and
412 the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and
[171] Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Au.]

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221] The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 [415] [412] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2488-2541)

756 115

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

[262]

[178] [755]

"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

756

"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the 789 afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-[178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal

[782] prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the

[431] [178] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high

[302] point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the

[574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. [871] And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing abili-
868 ty as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
224 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
[178] go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[648] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.

584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
787 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

[782] Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'" They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
[262] Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [9]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [10]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

825
771 the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789 Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaŝa by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784
224
227
841
[562]
[783] A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2384-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.

[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intestinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
224 If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (380-388). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

[886] [841] [562] [226]

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

[262] [178]

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to transport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malang), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (mɨdawi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dima) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mlb¢shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

592
involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the 596
communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That 433
pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made
by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were [768]
personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

888
The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were 592
economically influential. With skill and experience they led their house- 596
holds and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who 433
became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other
disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this
desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with
grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was
the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with
age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grand-
parents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

554
Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the 592
late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. 596
Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly 264
great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. 433
Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring [262]
sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that [353]
children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers
prechewed solid foods for infants.

574
Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through 592
hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food 596
might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case 735
private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was 433
shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests
would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make
what contribution they could.

262
There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, 731
when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete 591
said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes 596
to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. 433
It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women
would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed
the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods
was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle. 854 [178]

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. 846 [431] [262] [263]

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?elshaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby. 846 574 431

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumigaaum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (le?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl. 881 262 [535] [574] [431] [785]

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemalyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 304). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony. 881 574 431

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family. 881 [224] [262]

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [262] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but [431] was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people [431] were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [583] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a [834] courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift 584
to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 306) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the [535] custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 433

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlɬshʊʊsh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalats), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (etabi), rabbits (p¢lieu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

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The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. [271]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

7/1 [ca cat. 116, end plate I, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body. [262]

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance. [431] [511]

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop
[782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
[262] livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although [755]
the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; [515]
after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer [283]
or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dɔ́·ɬaʔ)[1] was put on next to the abdomen [824] and cottonwood tree bark (tɬ̓ɬaʔ ʔí·ɬ) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844 After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men go-
[783] ing to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition
[178] of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 80 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le ?wé ?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyɬ̓u, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881
302 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
782 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

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[515] After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[415] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[431] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[824] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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178
821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (ɬeɬiɬi, "to drag the
536 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[481] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, meiehšheʔ and ɬeʔwéʔweʔ), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

881 574 [262] [582]

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

178 881

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

178 574 881 [177]

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

[191] [273] [578]

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (le?wé?we?) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been important as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it,
[178] nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

NW 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [826] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious [771] significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [361] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

NW 171 An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) [114] shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by W NW my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- [177] ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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[125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [818] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1961, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and hus-
311 bandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
177 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 24]) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. [124] [492] [484]

The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musége is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musége is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: ETY—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Wa	K1	K2	Kk	Yo	Ye	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Ad
265. In weir	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
267. In dam	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
268. Supported by sticks	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
269. Held in hand	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
270. Fish drives with willow bundles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-
271. Hand-catch in shallow water	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
272. Harpoon	o	o	o	-	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	o	o	-
273. Spear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
274. 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
275. 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
276. Fish arrow, 1 prong	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
276a. Fish arrow, 2 prongs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
277. Night fishing	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
278. Torch or fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279. Moonlight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
279a. Stream bottom prepared with white rocks	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
280. Hook: gorget (straight, bipointed)	o	o	-	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	-	o	-	o
280a. Angle	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	o
281. Of bone	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	-
281a. Of bone and wood	-	-	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
282. 1 barb at angle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
284. Line attached	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
285. Pole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
286. Bait: angleworm	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
287. Grasshopper	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
288. Salmon egg	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
288a. Bloater	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
289. Grub	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
290. Bait bag, beadwork	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
290a. Bait basket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
291. Fly hook	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
292. Sinker	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
293. Poison (vine used) placed in stream	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
294a. Fish poisoned by "smoking"	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
294. Stream dammed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
295. Creek diverted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
296. Fish killed by striking	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

Animals Eaten

297. Dog (sawabuh) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297a. Mink (pai'vau) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297b. Wolf (tebbi' tawabva) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297c. Porcupine (tso'kwabe or wabbi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297d. Jack rabbit (kaad) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297e. White rabbit (tshabaat) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297f. Cottontail rabbit (tavaa) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297g. Pocket gopher (sagatoiva) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297h. Kangaroo rat (katai) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297i. Mouse (field) (pengatoi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297j. Hamster (pamaat) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297k. Wood rat (tika'am) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297ka. Muskrat (kish) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297m. Squirrel (imi) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297n. Ground squirrel (kibi or kipa) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297o. Chipmunk (wain'o) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297p. Weasel (pavini) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297q. Skunk (pui) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297r. Bat (kipa'kaaa) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
297s. Elk (pata'kaia) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
297t. Raccoon (petaaki) eaten	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kk	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Bo	Tg	Wa	Kl	Gd
297v. Bobcat (wildcat) (tsim) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297w. Mt. lion (kagwihnn) eaten	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
297v. Fox (wagi'i) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
297z. Badger (kuna) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
297y. Wolf (ion) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297z. Coyote (idtan'a) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
297aa. Buffalo (pagatsi) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	–
298. Grizzly bear (pahna'a) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
298a. Beaver (kahi) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
298b. Mt. sheep (koop') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298c. Antelope (tapa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298d. Deer (wale) (tahd'ipa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
298g. Lizard, large only, eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
298h. All lizards eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
298k. Frog eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Birds Eaten or Used														
299. Dove (tkevi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
299b. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
301. Blackbird (pahe'ropa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
302. Owl, screech (pahi), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
302a. Owl, horned (wuin'), eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
302b. Owl feathers used	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
303. Kingfisher (toain'nagit) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	·	·	·	–
304. Woodpecker (oina'nape) eaten	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
305. Magpie (matin'kahni) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
305f. Feathers used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
305h. Raven (ahn) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
309. Crow (etahn) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
310. Meadowlark (patsidoho) eaten	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
311. Robin (onga) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
312. Bluebird (pidnga) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
313. Hawk (eaihnno'o) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
314. Feathers used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
315. Mocking bird (tsoo onga) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
316. Quail, mountain (tsoto), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
317. Quail, valley (sihigi), eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
318. Hellidiver (grebe) (pagaiu) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
319. Loon (patsihapo) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
320. Sea gull (kuna'oto) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
321. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
322. Pelican (pesuse) eaten	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
323. Eggs used	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
324. Duck (pahi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
325. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
326. Goose (wag'oto) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
327. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
328. Young	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
329. Heron (wasa) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
330. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
331. Bittern (whitepahe) (towowai'kadik) eaten	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
332. Crane (kwrinde) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
332a. Eggs used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
333. Mud hen (coot) (wuipa') eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
333a. Eggs used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
334. Avocet (painu'kwrit) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
335. Snipe (sahito) eaten	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
336. Killdeer (pahi'taingi) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
336a. Ruffed grouse (kahna) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336b. Prairie chicken (pakoho) eaten	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
336c. Sage hen (kahni) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Ka	To	Tv	Pa	Mo	At	So	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
Insect Food														
*337. Caterpillars (plage) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	◦	+	◦	+	+	-	-	+	+
*338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	◦	-	-	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
340. As food	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nuts) eaten	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (hin) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
*348. Cricket (nije or nije) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
348a. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
349. Grasshopper (natata's) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
350. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
351. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
352. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
353. Ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
354. Stored, buckskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Bear liver eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	+	-	+	◦	◦	◦
361. Puma taboo	-	+	-	-	-	◦	-	◦	◦	◦	-	◦	-	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	◦	◦	◦	◦	+	+
363. To young	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	◦	◦	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	◦	+	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	◦	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	-	-	-	+	+	◦	+	-	+	+	+	◦	-	-
369. First kill taboo, if shot	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	◦
369a. If trapped	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
373. Mother makes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	◦	-	◦	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	◦	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
377. To mother	-	◦	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
379a. To anyone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
*388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	+	+	+	-
389. 5 nights' continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
389a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*391. Washing before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
392. Washing during hunt without special effect	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	◦	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Steam bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
395. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	◦	-	-	-	-	-	-
397. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 782 796

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	El	Kl	Ha	To	Ye	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
396. Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401. Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
402. To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+
403. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
404. With prayer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
405. Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
406. Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 282 252 251

Gathering

*410. Acorns (sia)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411. Leaching in cage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
413. Grinding in mortar (paruam)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Plants

*430. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
434. Cactus fruit eaten (suva or matsa)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
436. "Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
436. Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437. Needles brushed off	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
438. Roasted in ashes	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

443. Pinon Nuts (tsum)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	*	+
*443a. Hooked pole (tsuma) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
445. Had fire bed	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*446. Had separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
451a. Piled on ground, covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453. Cooked seeds stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
454. By burning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
458. Grass lined	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
459. Lined with pine-leaf mill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
*462. Nuts ground on metate (matsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
462a. In mortar	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
463. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
464. In "hat" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
*465. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA [942]

NWA [423 262]

[p.374]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Al	
Miscellaneous Plant Foods															
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihavi)	–	+	+	+	+	*	*	–	*	–	–	+	–	+	262
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	*	–	–	+	–	222
472. Boiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	251
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	
475. Willow-sap sugar	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	252
476. White pine pitch as sugar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	–	+	–	–	–	+	
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	[261]
482. Pitch	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Other Plants and Seeds Used															NWA
*482. Tallow crumo (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482a. Sunflower (akôpâ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	137
*482b. Sunflower (peed)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222
*482c. Sunflower (akô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	262
*482d. Sunflower (tsaiake)	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482e. Sunflower (tsaipaeô)	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	
*482f. Pickleweed (tuhavu)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482g. Sego lily or painted cup (tapaxegi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
*482h. Sego lily or painted cup (sanako)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	
*482i. Saltbrush (akôô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482j. Rabbit brush (tavisigap)	–	*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	
*482k. Rabbit brush (sigap)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
*482kk. Rabbit brush (mogoôkapi)	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482m. Deghenn (milkweed) (wihawi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA
*482n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
*482o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482p. Wild tobacco (paivuna)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[276]
*482q. Sorrel (atsa) paeta	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
*482r. Saltbrush or tule (siawô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482s. Cattail (tee)	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482t. Spike rush (pamaiwo)	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482u. Saltbrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	
*482v. Sagebrush (seawa)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	
*482w. Saltbrush (wasin)	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482x. waai	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*482y. cammoigi	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	
*482z. hiavi	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484. Joint fir (tsukapi)	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484a. saiagava	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484b. Indian balsam (tosa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	*	–	+	+	+	+	+	
*484d. wada	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	+	+	+	
*484e. yuya	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	
*484f. tsapagi	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484g. tivea	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	
*484h. tivasi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
*484i. Indian potatoes (sumai?) (sugo or kiga)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
*484j. Indian potatoes (sputai)	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	
Gathering Implements															NWA
*485. Digging stick (pivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	222

[p. 375]

N 226 227 ports Smilacina sessilifolia Nutt. used by Owens Valley Paiute to stupefy fish.

293a. Ki, Kt. Both Kuyui informants independently told of stupefying brook trout by building a smudge near the bank of a creek and fanning the smoke over the water.

294. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 251).

295. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 249): Streams diverted primarily for irrigation, but fish taken. Since the Paiute to the north diverted streams for the express purpose for fishing, it is conceivable that irrigation was an outgrowth of diverting for fishing.

Animals Eaten

N 262 825 297. At: Dogs were eaten when the people were starving.

297c. AE: Porcupine was used as food, but it also had a special prognostic property. If a sick man ate porcupine and it caused him to vomit it was a sign he would soon die; if it did not make him vomit he would surely get well. SF, being ill, wished for some porcupine to learn his fate.

A [262] A [787]

297g. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255): Gopher (mü'iya). TÜ: Pocket gophers' holes were raided to get the store of tovusi usually found there.

297i. Ki: - (Kelly, 91).

297k. Ki: Wood-rat skin was used to charm girls. If a stone was rubbed on a skin and then thrown at a girl, she would lie down anywhere with the thrower.

N [832]

297n. N. Paiute: kUpa or kUbö is probably Citellus douglasii or C. oregonus. Commonly called ground dog, ground hog, or ground squirrel.

297p. Kt: White weaselskin used by shamans.

N [301] [777] 832

297r. Kt: Dried bats were used as charm (medicine) for gambling and love.

297s. Kt: A small elk, which lived in the tules, is said to have occupied Humboldt Valley before improved methods of hunting introduced by white people caused its extinction. Ki: Elk known to have existed in California, but seldom, if ever, seen around Pyramid.

N [136]

297z. Kt: "We don't eat coyote because he is uncle to everyone."

297aa. Ki: BA's great-grandfather was supposed to have hunted buffalo in Warner Valley. Buffalo (pagu'tsⁿ) hunted near Eagleville (Kelly, 81). At: A buffalo skull was found by the Indians on Disaster Peak not far from McDermitt, Nevada. This find was probable basis for belief that buffalo once ranged in that country.

298. Bears do not occur in most of Paiute area. Owens Valley: Afraid to hunt it (Steward, 253). Kt: "Bear not eaten because it is aunt to everyone."

W [26]

298g. Wa, At: Lizards eaten when the people were extremely hungry. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

298h. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 255).

298m. Leonard, 117, says frogs were eaten.

[p. 4-26(W)]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. TO: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W [222 825]

342. TO: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (kŭa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [262] 362. TO: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W 365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

● [262] 367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. To: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NR20
Achumawi NR5

N 137 122 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Nat. commōsigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavō, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [362] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tōvusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. At: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pōrō.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagō knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to

N [764] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. TO: The Tōvusi went

[p. 529 (A)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[3] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[4] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas.[5] Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[6]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[3] La Barre, 61.
[4] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[5] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

Gibson E-5 (no date) 1981 HTH Wasko HTH

[P.395, A]

771 Few, if any, Wasko activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Wasko. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Wasko.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

832 Apparently the Wasko have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Wasko has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Wasko, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 789 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

[178]

842 754 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2288)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

[845] [843]

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

[263] [856]

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after the birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[262] [302] [178]

[P. 376, A]

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(271)
(262)
(263)

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo truths. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

(124)
(262)

(574)
(202)

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

(778)

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

(178)

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

(856)
(824)

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

(829)

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs.

(782)

This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

(431)
(178)

(515)

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

(302)

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

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The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

(574)

In 1924 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

Involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegelέyu and the bone his Hindu wegelέyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights. 756 [171] [755]

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegelέyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath. 955 756 [262] [263] [515]

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery. [783]

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that people do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men attempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo. "... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and cannot be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48; Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control, three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by women that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

762 626 562 [157] [154]

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Suicide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo become hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a person may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor consideration.

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dõ·ša?) was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tšša? ʔi·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in R. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men go-
[783] ing to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days
later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second men-
[178] struation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

Involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dengberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook seperately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continues. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had halos formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

NM 171 *7945 746 [Fruit] ●

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to find her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

881
[271]
[262]
[263]

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[124]
[262]

[574]
[202]

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778]

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178]

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856]
[824]

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824]

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782]

[431]
[178]

[515]

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302]

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it. . . the way they did it in the old days."

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The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV, a, b. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belé'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 A [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35, + Aw.]

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (ʒigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dɔ́·ɬaʔ)[2] was put on next to the abdomen [829] and cottonwood tree bark (tɬ́ɬaʔ ʔí·ɬ) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to -88- Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752]
[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. [178] The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

762
cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [157]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

TABLE I:

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance: 147 158 121

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [871]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

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[12]
[273]
[77]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
648 schools, or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroborated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

147
158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
● 273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p. m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[6] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[7] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[8] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[6] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[7] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[8] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[9] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribe—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 2.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

OTHER PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

TOTALS OF ALL PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'e, ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825

824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

[224]

[262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23

[262]

[224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not
[177] smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba''kumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa''ei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

[P. 370, B]

756 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but [177] there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke [755] in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
[424] a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through [787] the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P. 393, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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"Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated--moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord.
10. Tule boat and long wood pole.
11. Snares.
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents.
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage.
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache.
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu).
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?).
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket.
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p).
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega).
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p).
2. Bone and willow whistles.
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bet and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C.
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo).

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: KIT—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ty	Kl	KU	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Ma	At	So	Ty	Wi	Ki	Al
Miscellaneous Plant Foods														
*471. "Cane" or reed sugar (pihevi)	-	+	+	+	+	*	-	-	*	-	+	+	+	-
471a. Obtained from neighboring area	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	*	-	-	+	-
472. Boiled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
473. Dried and beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
475. Willow-sap sugar	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
476. White pine pitch as sugar	-	*	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
477. Pinon pitch as sugar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	-	-	+	+	-	+
478. Chewing gum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+
479. From plant root	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
480. Rabbit-brush root	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
481. Rabbit-brush bark	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
482. Pitch	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
482a. Berries dried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
482b. Roots dried and stored	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Other Plants and Seeds Used														
*482. Tallow cruse (atsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482a. Sunflower (ahtpa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482b. Sunflower (pasá)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482c. Sunflower (ahtó)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482d. Sunflower (kwaiaka)	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482e. Sunflower (kwaipasá)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482f. Pickleweed (kwhavm)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
*482g. Sego lily or painted cup (tapavagi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
*482h. Sego lily or painted cup (sasaka)	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482i. Saltbrush (ahmi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482j. Rabbit brush (tavaiagup)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
*482k. Rabbit brush (sigup)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482kk. Rabbit brush (sagoddhapi)	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482m. Dogbane (milkweed) (wihavt)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482n. Sand grass (wai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482o. Blazing-star (kuha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482p. Wild tobacco (pahvmo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482q. Sorrel (atsa) pasia	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
*482r. Bulrush or tule (siavó)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482s. Cattail (tso)	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482t. Spike rush (pasagive)	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
*482u. Bulrush or tule (avi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
*482v. Sagebrush (asawa)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*482w. Saltbrush (washa)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482x. wasai	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482y. ocamasigi	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*482z. hiwavi	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*484. Jointfir (tsahapi)	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*484a. calagava	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*484b. Indian balsam (tsoa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484c. wata	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484d. wahi	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	*	+	+	+	+
*484e. yapó	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
484f. tsapagi	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484g. tiava	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484h. tavani	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
484i. Indian potatoes (sumaa?) (sego or Mgs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
484j. Indian potatoes (apatsi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Gathering Implements														
*485. Digging stick (pivé)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
486. Point one end	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kn	Ts	Ts	Pa	Mo	At	Sh	Tg	Wd	El	Ad
1887. Peyote	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (beaites)	–	°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	°+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

N WA 276

Pipe

°1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	°–	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
°1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1909. Rosewood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. °Doctor°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

°1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
°1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	–	–	–	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

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°Tobacco (pai'yume)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
1939. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	°	+
1939. Root of tsamp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1937. Other bark	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
°1944. Cocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1945. Attached to stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1947. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	°	+	+	–	–	+	–
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
°1953. Sheep-horn rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1956a. Used by dancers	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1958. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1960. Deer's-ear rattle (witsavige)	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	°	°	–	+
°1973. Notched stick (mihuzegi)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1974. Plain, notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1979. Used in "bear dance"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1981. Bussers (tsa'sthiyu)	+	+	–	–	–	°	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1982. Deer patella	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982. Buckskin disk	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Rock	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
°1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	°	°	–	–	+	–	+	°	°	+
1986. 2-headed drum	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1992. 6-12	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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N 436 177 489 W [434] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ki: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 172] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tŏtsikwŏkwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tŏ: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu´iBa^{pa}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534 ## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

W [534] 1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N [178 759]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

WASHO-NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTISM

A Study in Acculturation

BY
OMER C. STEWART

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE PEYOTE PLANT

PEYOTE (*Lophophora williamsii* Lemaire), a small, spineless cactus, grows from a carrotlike root. Its hemispherical top surface, grayish green in color, shows an inch or two aboveground and is divided into small segments. From each segment protrudes a minute tuft of hairlike fibers which in the depressed center of the top have the appearance of matted fuzz. Although all parts of the plant are at times used, the dome-shaped top is usually cut (leaving the root to send out small new shoots) to become the "peyote button" when dried.

Since the natural habitat of the peyote cactus is limited to the valley of the Rio Grande below Deming, New Mexico, and the plateau desert country of northeastern Mexico, Indians must travel to this area or have the dried buttons shipped to them. The vicinity of Laredo, Texas, is the principal source of supply for Indians in the United States.

Numerous chemical analyses have been made of peyote, revealing in young plants a single alkaloid, Pellotine ($C_{12}H_{19}O_3N$); in mature plants up to nine: Anhaline ($C_{10}H_{13}ON$), Anhalamine ($C_{11}H_{15}O_2N$), Mescaline ($C_{11}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonidine ($C_{12}H_{17}O_3N$), Anhalonine ($C_{12}H_{15}O_3N$), Lophophorine ($C_{13}H_{17}O_3N$), Pellotine, Anhalinine, and Anhalidine. Lophophorine is an oily, colorless liquid; the other alkaloids can be crystallized. These alkaloids fall into two classes, the strychninelike and the morphinelike, somewhat antagonistic in action, which might account for the different stages of intoxication experienced. Different chemical composition of plants and opposing action of alkaloids, plus variations in susceptibility of the individual users, complicate the physiological problems connected with peyote eating.[1]

Most scientific investigators have pronounced peyote both non-habit-forming and innocuous as generally used, yet they have not found it of real therapeutic value. The euphoria it produces, judging from controlled clinical experiments[2] and native testimony, is usually accompanied by a preliminary feeling of exhilaration followed by a state of lassitude, without, however, inducing sleep. In this latter condition, it is often impossible to resist the impulse to vomit, without being followed, however, by sickness. Sensory hallucinations, especially visual, usually accompany the secondary stages of intoxication. More often seen with the eyes closed, the visions are extremely variable and unpredictable, but color hallucinations are most common.

The early Spanish explorers in Mexico observed the ceremonial use of peyote and mentioned its intoxicating property. Sahagun in 1560 was the first to write about peyote, and Hernandez in 1638 described it botanically. Hijar y Haro (p. 687) lists fourteen authors who wrote of peyote in Mexico before 1800. From 1894 to 1902, Lumholtz gave the first modern ethnographic accounts of its use in Mexico among the Huichol and Tarahumara. At about the same time, Mooney published

[1] Summarized from La Barre, 139–140. [2] Guttmann, 1936, 203–221.

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short accounts on the Kiowa peyote cult in Oklahoma, which is the first notice we have of its presence among extant tribes in the United States.[5] Since then, it has received the attention of numerous ethnographers, chemists, physiologists, and psychologists; it was the subject of a doctoral dissertation by Vincenzo Petrullo in 1934 and by Weston La Barre at Yale in 1937.

Similarities between the cults in Mexico and the United States suggest some remote relationship, but numerous differences invalidate any theory of recent direct diffusion. Since modern peyotists in Mexico and the United States are separated by the entire peyote-growing area, both probably learned to use the cactus from peoples formerly living within the peyote's natural habitat. The presence of peyote users in the area of northeastern Mexico during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is well documented,[6] as is the fact that Lipan and Mescalero Apache visited them and used peyote with them as early as 1770.[7] The Apache attended peyote meetings and probably Catholic services while at the Coahuila missions and might easily have formed a new ritual when they returned to the United States, incorporating into it elements from any or all the ceremonies they witnessed while in Mexico. All peyote rituals north of the Rio Grande are remarkably similar, and appear universally to include elements of Christian ideology and ritual integrated with aboriginal ceremonial elements.[8]

The spread of the peyote cult is well known throughout the Plains from the Mescalero and Kiowa who had it by 1870 and 1880 to the Chippewa in Canada by 1936.[9] Shonle thought the Rocky Mountains would act as an effective barrier to its spread to the tribes in Idaho and California; however, it has been at Fort Hall and among scattered groups of Ute, Goshute, and Shoshone in the Great Basin for over a decade. This paper is concerned with its introduction among the Northern Paiute and Washo Indians of western Nevada and eastern California.

Ideology of Peyotism

In spite of recognized differences in the cults of various tribes, peyotism is sufficiently uniform everywhere in the United States to permit a single general description. The purpose of the cult is to heal and to protect through the worship of God by means of peyote. It is almost impossible to distinguish the Supreme Being of peyotism from the Christian God. Peyote serves as an intermediary between the devotee and the Divinity, and as such has addressed to it all supplications. The dried peyote button has infinite aspects and attributes. The exact relationship between peyote as an incorporeal intermediary, as a palladium, as a corporeal fetish, and as a dried cactus to be eaten, is not easily understood. Probably very few peyotists have ever attempted to formulate the integration of peyote's several attributes, thinking and speaking of it as a "medicine," a "power," a "protector," or a "teacher," praying to it as the symbol or representative of a spirit or God, and eating it as an aid to obtaining assistance from, or offering thanks to, the Supreme Divinity. Distinct theologies of peyotism would be about as numerous as the individuals supplying them; but in spite of variance in esoteric concepts, common beliefs are uniform. Universally, alcoholic beverages are condemned by peyotists; and love, hope, charity, ambition, and honesty are considered necessary for happiness.

[5] La Barre, 1938, reviews nearly all of the scientific and historical literature on peyote and gives a thirteen-page bibliography.

[6] Beals, 1932, 216.

[7] Antonio Pena, 1770, MS; Juan de Ugalde, 1787, MS; also Stewart, MS.

[8] Radin, Opler, Petrullo, La Barre, and others consider Christian elements recent additions. Evidence to the contrary is presented in my Ute Peyotism (see Bibliography).

[9] La Barre, 1938, 109–122; Shonle, 1925, 58.

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

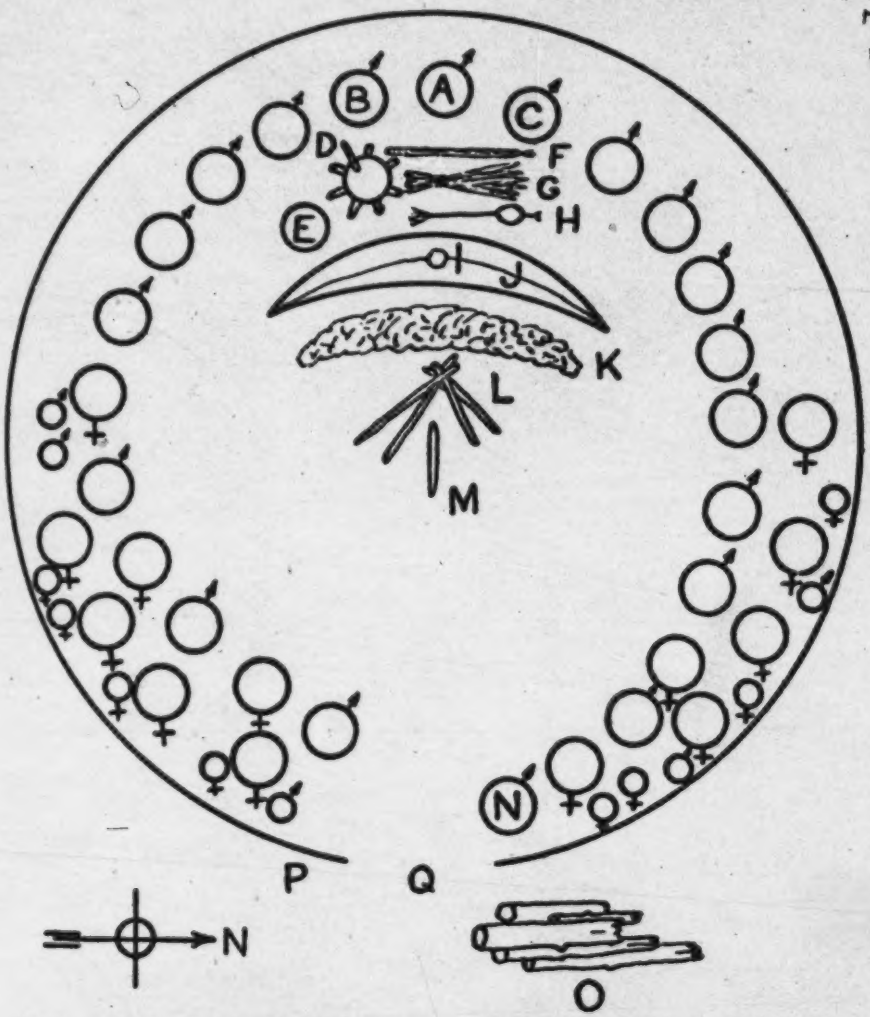

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

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The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.*

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.* The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

* See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

* See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

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Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doc (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doc there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doc's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doc was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[29] The In-

[29] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[*] La Barre, 61.
[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[*] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[*] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[11] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[12] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[13] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[14] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[11] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[12] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[13] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[14] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[10] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[10] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: "... the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: "... the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts ... it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[11] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 ... as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[12] Steward, 1933, 318.

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APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[49] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[50] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[51] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[49] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[50] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[51] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

N W 1171 *7795 796 [illegible] [illegible]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kio	Ab 2	Da 1	Da 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WIS	Ute	Com	W-P	Tmt
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
36. Pottery jar	°+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+	°+	−		
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+		+	+	
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	(+)	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	°−	°−	°+	−	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
43. Star significant	+	+	+			°(+)					°+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	+	°(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		°−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
55. Usually by cedarman	+	°−	+	+	+	°−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	°(+)	−	−	−	−	−	°+	+	−	−	−	−	
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	−	−	+	

| Element | Canvetsos | | |

Element	Occurrence																				
	H T	K-A	Ka	Cam	Ka	Ab	Da	Da	Wa	Ne C	Cr	Cr	Wa	Ow	Ow	Ow	Tim				
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	++				
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+				
123. All pass to south of moon		−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	−	+	+				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	°+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	°+	−	+	−	−	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
137. Chewed	+		+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	°+	+	+	−	°−	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	°+	°+	+	+	−	+				−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		°+	+	+	−					−	°+	+	+	°+	+	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
146. Fire on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedar-man throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	°+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	°+	+	−		+	+	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Continued on next page)

N W
1171
1795*
1796
1803
1804

Element	Occurrence																		
	Ut T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ash	Del	Dea	Wis	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Uta	Gos	Pa-P	Tim		
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+•	+	+			
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+•	•+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+•(+)		−	+	+	+	+		
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+		+	+	+		+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	•(+)	+	+		
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	•(+)	+	−	•+	−	+	+		
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+		
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+		
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	(−)	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+	+		
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	−	+	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

N W [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WR8: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab 8: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab 8: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab 8.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 205a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (tabe) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piegs) eaten	+	-	-	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	-	-	-	-	°	+	+	°	°	+	-	-	-	-
339. Ants eaten	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
340. As food	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
341. As tonic	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (nota) eaten	-	-	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kua) eaten	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
348. Cricket (miju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35la. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (metata's) eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
354. Gathered in baskets	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
356. Roasted in pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
357. Ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
358. Stored, buckskin bags	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	+	-	+	°	°	°
361. Fetus taboo	-	+	-	-	-	°	+	°	°	+	-	°	.	-
362. Deer heart taboo	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	°	+	+	+
363. To young	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	°	+	°	+
364. Liver taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	°	-	-	-
365. Deer lung taboo to young	-	-	+	°	-	-	-	-	-	+	°	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	+	-	-	-	-	-
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	°	-	-
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	°	-	+	-	+	°	°	+	+	+	+	°	-	°
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
369a. If trapped	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	°	-	-
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	°	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
376. To father	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
377. To mother	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
379. To all village	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
379a. To anyone	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	+	+	+	-
389. 5 nights' continence	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
389a. 1 night's continence	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	-	-	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
395. Talking during bath	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	°	-	-
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	°	°	-	-	-	-	-
397. Kept from dogs	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-

N W A ● 262 136 [278] ●

W [252 251]

N W A 262

N W A 224

N [784]

N W A [783]

[p. 373]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
980. Paint	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
984. Or 4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	*	+
988a. Meat, decayed	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
989. Liver	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
*990. Gall	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
*991. Decayed blood from heart	–	–	*	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	*	+	+	–
992. Rattlesnake poison	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
993. Red ants	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
994. Special plant: tavisiqup	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	*	+	–	–	–	–	*	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	–	+	+	*	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
999a. 1 longitudinal groove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1004. Perforated horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1005. Mt.-sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1006. Antelope horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
*1006a. Several holes	–	–	–	*	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1006. 2 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
1009. 3 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1009b. 2 holes	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Quiver (Sangstoa)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "pealing" off	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, rsewed	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	*	–
1013. Fawnskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Beaverskin	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	*	+	+
*1017a. Piece of beaverskin	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	–	*	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	–	–	–	–	–	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	*
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1022. Thrusting spear	+	+	–	–	–	+	*	–	–	–	+	–	–	*
*1023. Shield (tapá)	+	+	–	–	–	+	*	–	–	–	+	–	–	*

[P.385]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 137 222 262 [278] Nutt. sawava leaves used as tea for colds, etc. My informants insisted this was in pre-white days.

483w. Identification: Atriplex argentea Nutt. unaka seeds used. Habitat, favored desert conditions, good soil needed. DW, a Pakwi, called the same plant sunu.

483x. Identification: Chaetadelpha wheeleri Gray. masai, an Indian lettuce, green vegetable food. Habitat, only favored spots where soil is good.

483y. Identification: Glypotpleura marginata Nat. commösigi eaten as greens. Specimen furnished by Miss Beyers, Indian Service teacher, from a collection made by her Indian students at Schurz.

483z. Identification: Hermidium alipes Wats. hiwovi used as medicine. Specimen from Miss Beyers; see note 483y.

484. Identification: Ephedra torreyana Wats. tsudupi tea for medicine; powder to use as salve.

N [278] 484a. Identification: Psathyrotes annua Gray. saiagava, emetic and physic. DW: "If one doesn't vomit he dies." Habitat, desert.

N W [278 226] 484b. Identification: Leptotaenia multifida Nutt. toza used for fish poison; smoked and chewed by Indians to cure a cold. Habitat, shady places on hillsides. Wa: The same word, toza, in both Paiute and Washo languages designates the root of Indian balsam. At: PS was first to mention use of toza as fish poison. He also mentioned rye grass (Elymus condensatus Presl.), watca wotavö, for house building.

484c. Identification: Chenopodium album L., from Steward, 1933, and Kelly, 1932.

W [362] 484d. Identification: Suaeda depressa var. erecta Wats., from Kelly, 98. wada seeds eaten. Wa, At: wada absent from Washo and Atsa areas.

484h. tövusi, nut grass. Habitat, meadows or stream banks. Steward, 245: "probably Brodiaea capitata Benth."; Mark Kerr of Independence, California, had "Taboose" identified at the University as Cyperus rotundus L., according to Frank Essene, Ms.

A [222] 485. AE: A crosspiece was placed on end of digging stick to serve as handle. Paiute name of digging stick is pörö.

N [249] 505. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 247).

509. Owens Valley: Tobacco yield was increased by burning, pruning, and irrigating (Steward, 319). Tg: The Tagö knew that tobacco grew better in burnt-over places, but they did not set the fires. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N [342] 527. Wd: BJ said there were no caves near Burns, Oregon, but there were many of them on Juniper Mountain. These caves were thought to

N [744] have been inhabited during winter months, also used for burials. BJ had seen the caves, had never seen anyone living in them, yet remembered "old-timers" telling of the caves as habitations.

N [317] 529. Seven bands absolutely denied aboriginal use of any salt. Only PS of McDermitt even mentioned any salt from plants. Tö: The Tövusi went

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo N72e
Achomawi N55

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. Kl: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

W [411] 985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September.

W [278] 992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

N 413 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [411] [p. 432 (B)]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pʌ'ɬ'ɛ.n tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gae) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (tʌ"cok) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tʌ'lmu also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 200 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more [437] [296]

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket." [281] [283] [437]

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins. [281] [435]

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (gčliwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a tčlčlupa. A single tčlčlupa was stored in a damp place until other tčlčlupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made. [192]

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was megu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaye¢gi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [324]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (mellin) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 291

The breechclout was gumyoyaburwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (p¢kishu wigaa) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [224]

Washo NT20
Achumawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. NUMBER.: 329—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ya	El	Ed	Ha	Ye	Ye	Ye	Wa	At	Ba	Tg	Wi	El	Ad
900a. Gouges	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
900b. Glue	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
900f. Sinopels	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900h. Coyote bone: glue	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900k. Tibia	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900l. Rabbit bone: tibia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900k. Radius	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900l. Cactus spine (awls)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900m. Awl cases: bark bundle	-	•	•	•	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
900n. Beakskin	-	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Drill														
904. Shaft with stone point	•	•	-	•	-	-	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•
904a. Point attached to shaft with glue	•	•	-	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
905. Shaft with bone point	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	•	-	-
906a. Hafted bone point	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	•	-	-
906. Shaft with bone point	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	•	-	-
907. Stone knife for drill	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Various														
907. Broken cobble for chopping	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
908. Natural cobble for hammer	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
FLINT FLAKING														
909. Flint (Empire') flaker	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
906. Sharp point	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
906. Notched end	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
906. Of antler tip	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
907. Of wi.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
908. Flint warmed	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
910. Beakskin hand pad	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
911. Pressure flaking	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin seamed first	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
914. Tanning: with brain	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
914. With spinal cord	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
915. Tanning agent cooked	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
921. Tanning agent kept: in place of intestine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
921a. In perimedial sack	•	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
922. Graining: scud and stretch	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
923. Rubbing stone used	•	•	•	•	-	-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
924. Smoking	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
925. 1 side only	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
926. Both sides	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
927. Hide tied funnel shape	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
928. Hide on tripod over fire	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
929. Juniper-bark smoke	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
930. Wood-chip smoke	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
931. Done by men	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
932. Done by women	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

NWA 412

NWA 324

NWA 281

NWA [942]

[p.285]

Washo NT20

Achumawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	El	Kt	Kn	Te	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Ma	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
	Hair Dressing														
1386.	Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387.	Grass bundle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1388.	Rye-grass-root bundle (sal'ava)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1389.	Rabbit-brush bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1390.	Man's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1391.	Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1392.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1393.	Coiled on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1394.	Tied up on head	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1395.	Hangs	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1396.	Front lock sticks up	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1397.	Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1398.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1399.	Braid in fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1399a. Sea-otter (pasaga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381.	Women's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1383.	Tucked under basket hat	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1384.	Tied back of neck	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1385.	Middle hair part	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1386.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387.	1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388.	Hangs	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1389.	Tied on top of head	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1390.	Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	·	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	[illegible]	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
1391.	Red paint	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1392.	Red paint in part	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–
1393.	Narrow	–	+	+	–	+	+	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1394.	Mud against lice	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
1395.	Braids fur wrapped	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396.	Washing: with plain water	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1397. With white clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1398.	Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400.	Depilation: of beard	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401.	Of eyebrows	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1402.	Of pubic hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1403.	With stone flake	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1404.	With fingernails	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1405a.	Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1405b.	Periosteum for grease	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	Headgear														
1406.	Woman's basketry hat	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1406a.	Man's bark hat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409.	Man's fur cap	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410.	Tanned buckskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411.	Fawnskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412.	Antelopeskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413.	Mt. sheep lambskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1415.	Muskratskin	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1416.	Beaverskin	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1416a.	Badgerskin	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417.	Wildcatskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418.	Coyoteskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1420.	With quail tufts	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1421.	With other feathers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422.	With horns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
1429.	Hair net	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

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		To	Ki	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Ki	Al
1425.	Fur armbands, held by string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+	*	–
1425a.	Badger fur only	.	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1426.	Band around head	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1427.	Tanned hankskin	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1428.	Cottontail fur	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1429.	Other fur	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
	Robes and Capes														
*1432.	Woven (twined) vegetable fiber	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	*	+
1433.	Woven (twined) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1434.	Tanned hides, fur left on	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1435.	Deer hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1436.	Wildcat hide	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1437.	Badger hide	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1438.	Ground-hog hide	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1439.	Coyote hide	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1440.	Mt.-sheep hide	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	*	+
1441.	Gloves or mittens	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+
1442.	Panther robes	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	Shirts and Dresses														
*1444.	Women usually wear nothing	–	–	*	*	+	*	*	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
1445.	Woman's long gown	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
1445a.	Of deerskins: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1445b.3	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1446.	Of antelopeskins: 2	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	1446a.3 or more	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1447.	Of mt.-sheep skins: 2	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	*	–	+	+
	1447a.3 or more	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1448.	Knee length	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
1449.	Shin length	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1450.	Skins front and back	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1451.	Insets on sides	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1452.	Poncho type	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1453.	Sleeves: elbow length	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
	1454. Fringed	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	1455. Flaps over upper arms	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	1456. Sleeveless	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1457.	Decoration: paint	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1458. Tubular-bone beads	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1459. Glass beads	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1459a. Olivella (type) shells	.	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1460. Haliotis-shell (puldas) pendants	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1461.	Men wear nothing	.	.	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	–	–	–	–	+
1462.	Man's shirt	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	*	+
1462a.	Of deerskins: 1	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	1462b.2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1463.	Of mt.-sheep skins: 1	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
	1463a.2	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1464.	Of antelopeskins: 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1464a.2	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1465.	Skins front and back	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1466.	1 skin, poncho style	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1467.	Shirt tied at neck	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1468.	Opening down front, thong for lacing up	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1469.	Sleeves: elbow length	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
	1471. Fringed	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1471a. Flaps over upper arm, fringed	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	1472. Sleeveless	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ta	K1	K2	M	To	T0	Pa	Wa	At	Sh	Ig	Wd	K	Ar
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
Skirts														
*1475. 1 skin around waist	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1476. For women	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1477. Of buckskin	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1480. Fringed	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1482. For women	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1483. Knee length	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1484. Fringed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1485. Of deerskin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1489. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1490. For men	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1491. Of skin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1492. Fringed	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1493. Of shredded bark	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1494. Braids on cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1495. Worn with back apron	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1496. Worn under dress	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1497. Large back apron	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1503. Vegetable-fiber skirt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1504. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1505. Of shredded bark	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1506. Twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1507. Grass	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1508. Breechcloth (G-string type)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1510. For women	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1513. Bark	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1515. Leggings	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
1517. For women	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1519. Fur	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1520. Tule	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1521. Sage, twined	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1522. Juniper	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1525. Knee to ankle	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
Footgear														
1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1531. Sole flat	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

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NWA 291 ● 261 ● 294

		Ts	Kl	K2	Kl	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1532.	Sole molded to foot	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1533.	Heel seam	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1534.	Ankle flaps added	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1535.	Ankle height	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1538.	Tongue added	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1538a.	Olivella-shell beading	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1539.	Skin moccasin, 1-piece	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1540.	Seam on outer side of foot	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542.	Seam up heel	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543.	Seam up toe	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1545.	Uppers added	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546.	Ankle height	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547.	Calf height	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1549.	Hard sole added	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550.	Tongue added	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1551.	Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552.	Badgerskin	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1553.	Ground-hog skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1554.	Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1554a.	Regularly for babies' use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
*1555.	Woven-bark moccasin	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1556.	Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557.	Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558.	Deer hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1559.	Rabbit hide	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1560.	Badger hair	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1561.	Woven-bark overshoe	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
*1562.	Sandal	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1563.	Leather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1564.	Bark	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
*1564a.	Tule and rushes	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1565.	Snowshoe	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1566.	Circular shape	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
1567.	Oval shape	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1568.	Tennis-racket shape	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1569.	Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
	1570. Sinew	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1572. Withes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	1573. Sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1574.	Lacing: across	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
	1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

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GAMES

*1577. Ball Race (wutakai) + + + + + + + – + + + + + +

1578.	Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1579. And return	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
1580.	Goal: line on ground	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
	1580a. Paired posts	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1581.	Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582.	Stuffed skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a.	Wrapped sagebrush	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1583.	Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
	1583a. 5	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1583b. 8	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	1583c. 12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1586.	Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587.	Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a.	Moccasins optional	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 395]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'l'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[20] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɔc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"'wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pako'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"'cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lmu also served as food.

[20] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *log.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muca''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
[462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadas).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. [illegible] baskets.
   a. [illegible] born infant type. [412]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus).
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [415]
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game. 481
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more.

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbsys¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysʔgi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (melliu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pʔkishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Bn	Tg	Wd	Kl	AV
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Nat (mana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185a. Yale	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1196. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BASKETS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (hötoonyu)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Head held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopimkwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240. Bag (mara makwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tea kihoyö)														
1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1256. All basketry covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

NWA 283

NWA [323]

NWA 482

NWA 854 285

[P. 389]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

WEAVING (other than basketry)

Skin Blankets

1137. Animal fure used (twisted strips)
1138. Rabbit (hunted) fur
1139. Rat fur
1140. Wildcat fur
1140a. Muskrat fur
1141. Squirrel fur
1141a. Mole fur
1142. Coyote fur
1142b. Meadow-mouse fur
1143. Loom (stimts): 2 parallel bars
1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground
1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other
1145. 2 vertical
1147. Warp: 2-ply
1148. Single strip
1149. Plain stick for twisting
1151. Twisting on thigh
1152. Weft: of string
1153. Of buckskin
1154. Twined weave
1155. Sex of maker: male
1155a. Female

Feather Blankets

1156. Bird skins used
1157. Mud-hen skins
1159. Skins sewn together
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (see. 1137-1156)
1162. No. of ply warp: 1
1162a. 2

1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets

(See also 1194-1196)

1164. Material: juniper bark
1165. Sage bark
1165a. Tule matting
1169. Weaving: twined

1171. Nets

1173a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (stimi) fiber
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick
1174a. Stick carved (like Hopi net needle)
1176. String ball on stick
1178. Knots: bowline at edge
1179. Weaver's
1180. Overhand
1180a. Square
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood
1180c. Fingers
1180d. Stone
1180e. End of shuttle

[P.338]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mokhi'tsat) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muca"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
[462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bi'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kŭmbĕ'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.[1] [2]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 37 -- An.]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285 ●

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many [171] respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that [482] of the Pavioso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[1] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[2] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII,[4] figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

285 824

The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the [439] west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and [137] is therefore sparingly used.

285 192

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	himû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [see cat. #6, p. 41--An.]
[2] [see cat. #6, p. 53-- An.]
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49-- An.]
[4] [see cat. 116, P. 51--

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

White sewing element	ta'bak
Bracken root	mecawé'gacl, mecewé'gasi
Redbud bark	dôbi'mûs takpasa (literally "Miwok Indians sent"), or ltpasa'

TECHNICS.

285 Five technics are employed by the Washo. Two of these are plain and diagonal twining, and two are coiled technics; the three-rod foundation, and the single-rod foundation. The three-rod foundation coiling is called helme de mi'mû or tsiñam ce'mû by the Washo, while the single-rod foundation coiling is called baiyûta'ti. No names for the two twined technics were obtainable from the several informants consulted. Examples of these technics are shown as follows: plate XII, figs. 1 and 2 show plain-twined baskets, and plate VII, fig. 2 shows a diagonal-twined basket. The three-rod foundation is found in figure 1 of plate VII, and in plates VIII[2] and IX,[3] while single-rod coiling is represented in plate X. An interesting[4] feature of the last named technic is that many of these baskets are made with the pliable elements carefully spaced so as to form exact and symmetrically placed, radiating lines extending from the starting point of the basket. This leaves exposed [531] a large part of the foundation material but produces a rather pleasing effect in which the lines of sewing elements become ornamental. Such baskets are shown in figs. 3 and 6 of this plate. The fifth technic is three-strand twining, which is used only to reinforce the points of burden baskets, and in starting knots for the twined cooking baskets. As the outer surface of a basket is viewed, all twining progresses in a clockwise direction, while the reverse is the case with coiling.

Border Finishes.

About the opening of the burden basket is bound a hoop and about half way down its inner surface is attached a second hoop

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 43 - - Am.]. [3] [see cat. 116, p. 47. Am.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 45 - - Am.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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to give further rigidity to the basket. Both these hoops are fastened by a simple whipping or over and over sewing with ordinary pliable elements. A similar binding hoop is sewed about the edge of the winnowing basket of both types, seen in plates XI and XII, and about the seed beater, seen in plate XIII, fig. 2. Also a hoop is used in finishing the large diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2), but here the binding is so closely placed as to completely cover the hoop.

In twined baskets, wherever the rigid elements end and a finish is necessary, these are turned over and woven together in the manner shown in fig. 1. Over this the hoop is bound as above described.

1.

Many coiled baskets have no special finish about their edges. Some, however, are bound by a simple whipping with a single strand of the pliable element passing around the upper rod of the topmost coil. Of the bound baskets available for comparison, all those of single-rod foundation have the binding passing over the space of only one regular stitch. Of three-rod foundation baskets this binding element passes over either four or six of the regular stitches. This binding, especially where long stitches are taken, produces the effect of a rim of twisted cordage, as may be seen in plate VII, fig. 1. The baskets available also show that this binding, as the observer looks at the opening of the basket and follows the coiling in a contra-clockwise direction, runs from the inner to the outer surface of the basket. One instance only was encountered in which the reverse was the case.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket	tsiña'm
[482] Burden baskets	
Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic	mama'i
Plate XIII, fig. 6.	
Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic	tatūba'būli
Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.	
Small basket, same as above	mamaiña'mi
Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic	mugi'wut
Plate XIII, fig. 3.	
Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic	
Plate XIII, fig. 1.	ītma'gū, darū tso'hoi
[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2.	tapūli tugē'būl
Handle of seed beater	ta'pūl
Body of seed beater	tugē'būl acū
Winnowing basket	
Coarsely woven	tugē'būl
Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.	
Finely woven	mūda'l
Plate XI.	
[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3.	pi'kūs
Fish basket	metsayē'ūl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical kūya'nda
Plate VII, fig. 2.

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degīkûp*, dēûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

*degīkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

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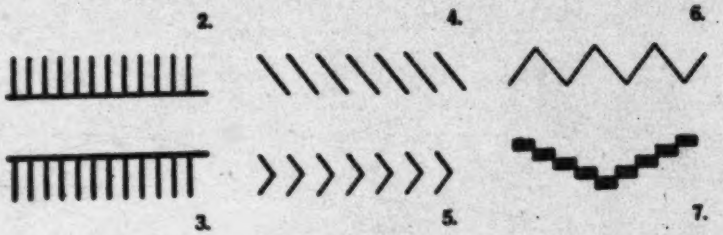
Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi"gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû eliwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbile'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bila, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'ikûl, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

BASKETS.

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Figure 1. Large basket of three-rod foundation. Catalog number 18303. Diameter 22 inches (56 cm.).

Figure 2. Large cooking basket of diagonal-twined technic. Catalog number 18325. Diameter 20.5 inches (52 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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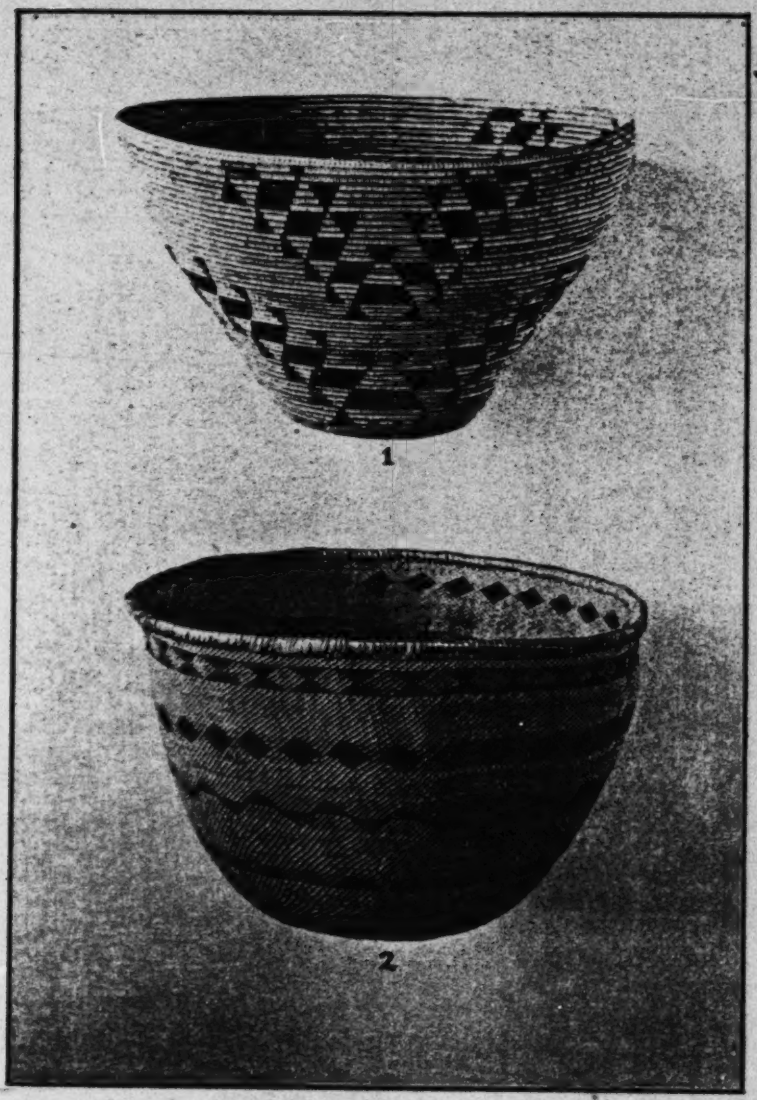

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[P. 41]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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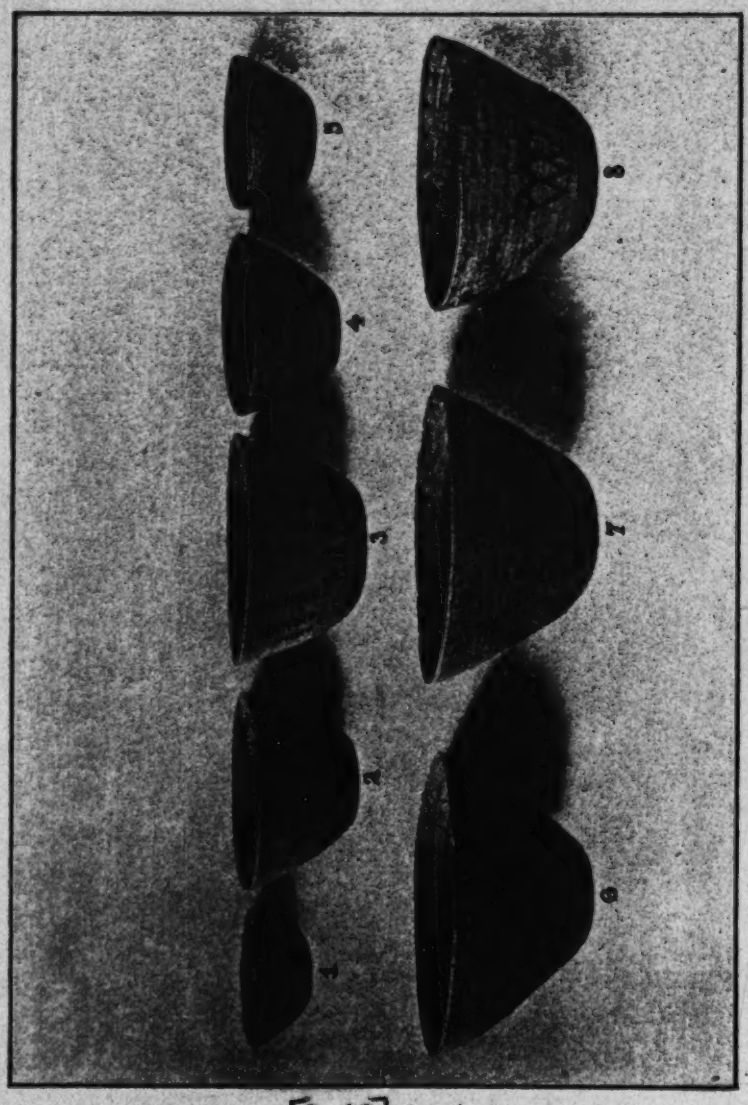
OLD COILED BASKETS USED FOR COOKING AND SERVING FOOD.

Figure 1. Catalog number 18337. Diameter 10.2 inches (25.5 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18331. Diameter 14.6 inches (37 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18329. Diameter 17.2 inches (43.5 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18330. Diameter 13.4 inches (34 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18334. Diameter 11 inches (28 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18327. Diameter 20.8 inches (53 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18324. Diameter 21.5 inches (54.5 cm.).
Figure 8. Catalog number 18326. Diameter 19.5 inches (49.5 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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[P. 43]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

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NEW BASKETS OF THREE-ROD FOUNDATION SHOWING VARIOUS DESIGNS, SOME OF WHICH ARE MODERN.

Figure 1. Catalog number 18350. Diameter 7.2 inches (18.3 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18348. Diameter 7.8 inches (20 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18353. Diameter 7.8 inches (20 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18349. Diameter 8.3 inches (21.2 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18340. Diameter 12.4 inches (31.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18342. Diameter 9.3 inches (23.5 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18344. Diameter 9.1 inches (23 cm.).
Figure 8. Catalog number 18341. Diameter 11.2 inches (29.5 cm.).
Figure 9. Catalog number 18347. Diameter 9.2 inches (23.3 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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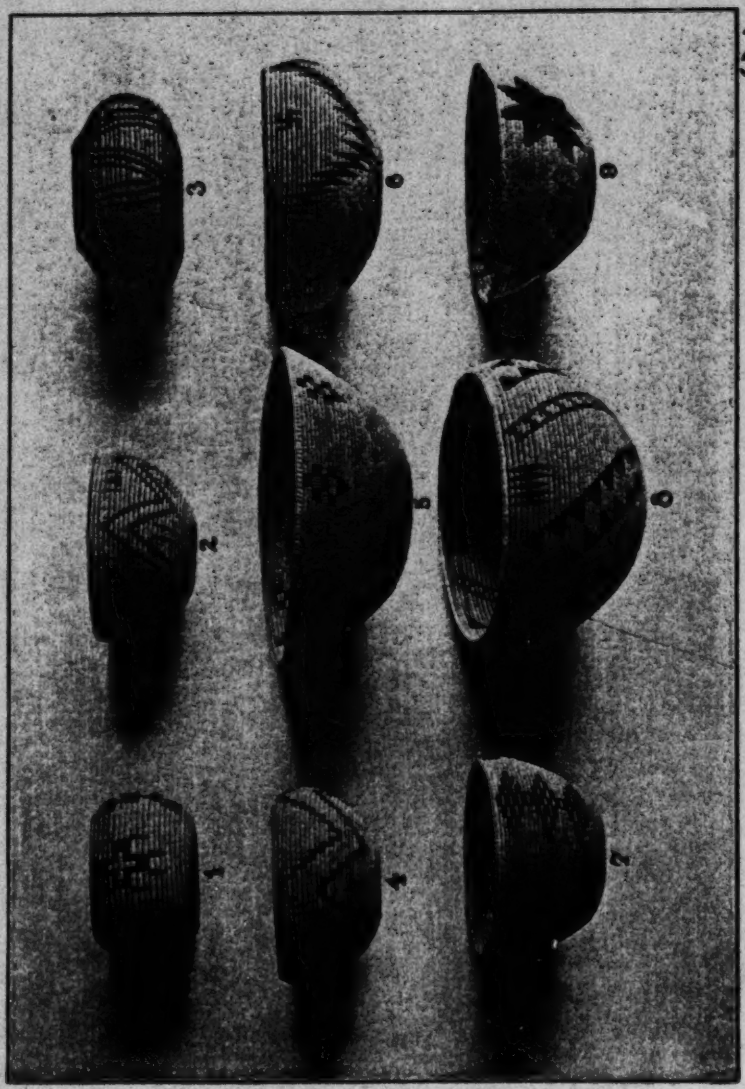

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BULL. FUEL. MUS., MILW.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

NEW BASKETS OF SINGLE-ROD FOUNDATION.

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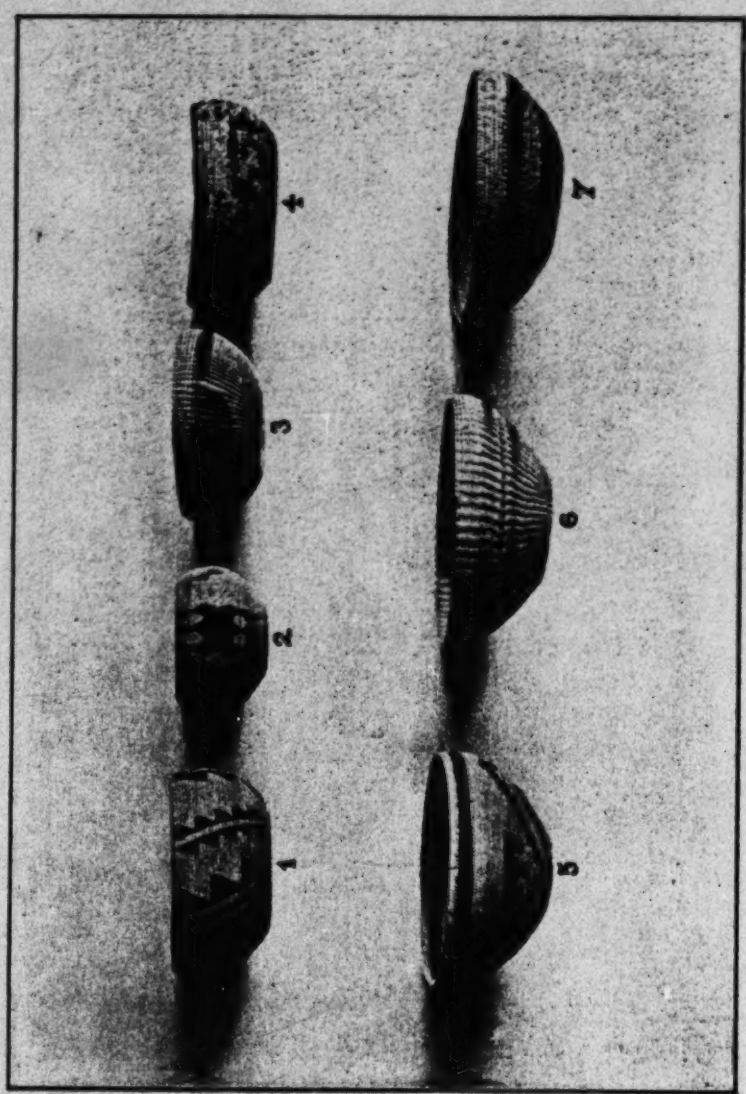
Figure 1. Catalog number 18345. Diameter 8.9 inches (22.5 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18352. Diameter 6.3 inches (16 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18357. Diameter 7.5 inches (19 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18346. Diameter 8.1 inches (20.7 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18355. Diameter 9.3 inches (23.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18356. Diameter 10.2 inches (26 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18343. Diameter 10.1 inches (25.7 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

FINELY WOVEN WINNOWING BASKETS.

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Figure 1. Catalog number 18305. Length 19.3 inches (49 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18304. Length 22.3 inches (56.5 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18306. Length 19.8 inches (50.5 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18313. Length 19.3 inches (49 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18312. Length 18.7 inches (47.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18309. Length 20.1 inches (51 cm.).

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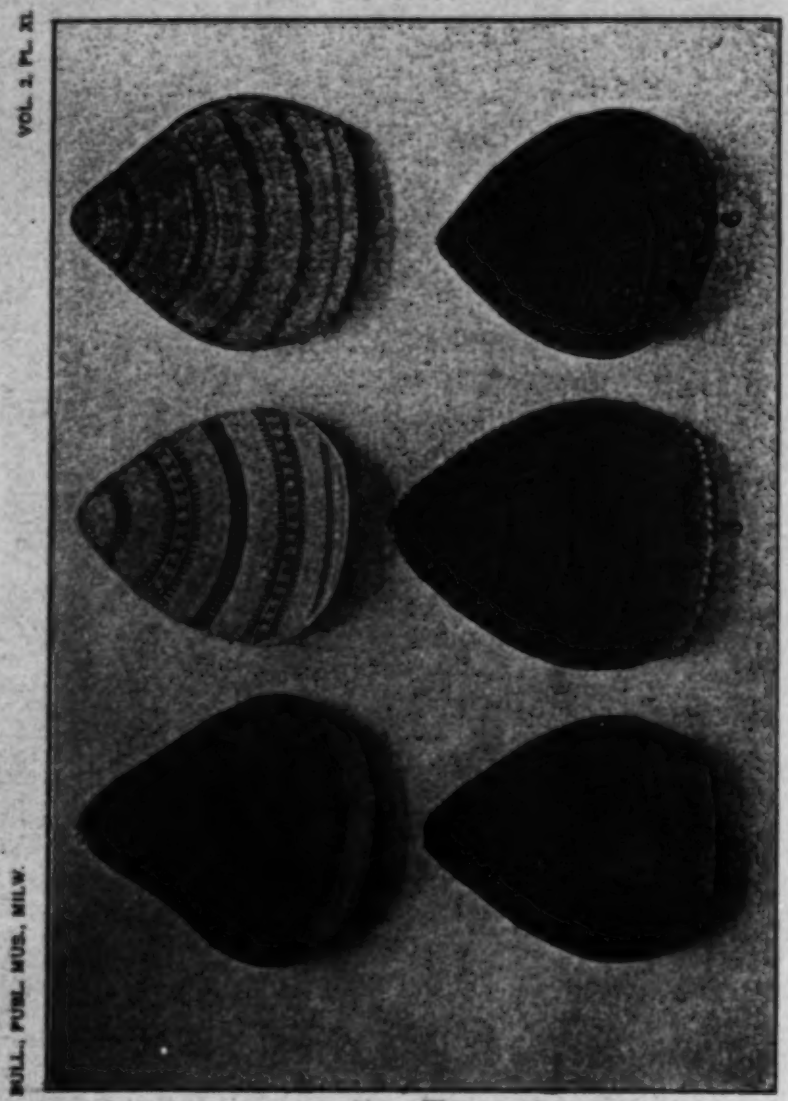

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[P.49]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

Figures 1 and 2. Coarsely woven open work winnowing baskets. Catalog numbers 18315 and 18314. Lengths 19 inches (48 cm.) and 22.6 inches (69 cm.), respectively.

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Figure 3. Cradle basket. Catalog number 18302. Length 38.8 inches (99 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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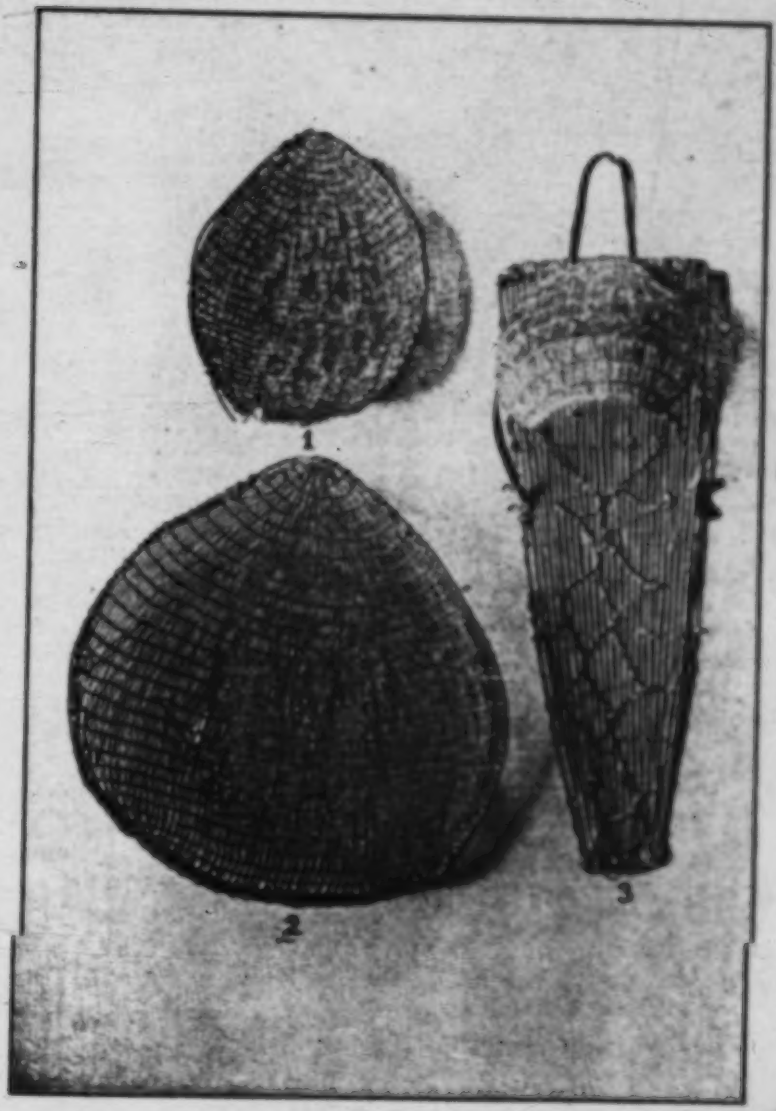

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[P. 51]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

HARVESTING BASKETS

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Figure 1. Coarsely woven burden basket used especially for gathering pine cones. Catalog number 18323. Length 16.5 inches (42 cm.).

[412]

Figure 2. Seed beater. Catalog number 18316. Length 20.8 inches (53 cm.).

Figure 3. Finely woven diagonal-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18321. Length 19.1 inches (48.5 cm.).

Figures 4 and 5. Coarsely woven diagonal-twined burden baskets. Catalog numbers 18319 and 18320. Lengths 21.4 inches (54.5 cm.) and 18.7 inches (47.5 cm.), respectively.

Figure 6. Coarsely woven plain-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18318. Length 26.2 inches (66.5 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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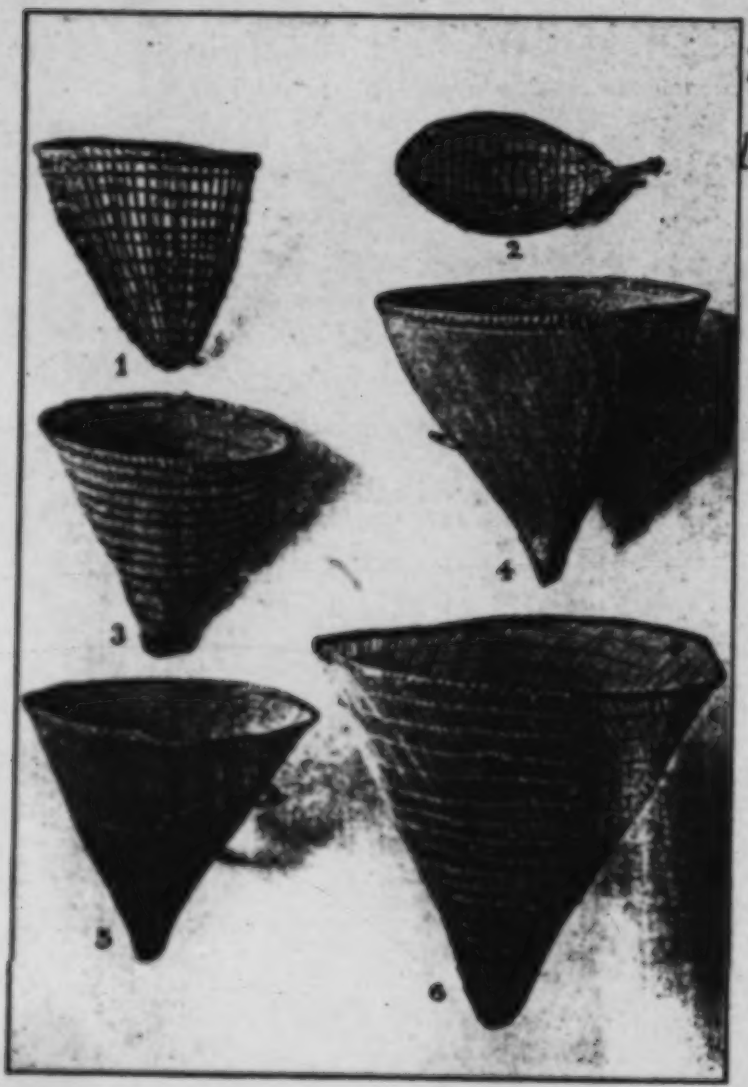
[412]



[P. 53]

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-306).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her second period occurred. One informant insisted that [841] in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the ● 285 basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, [535] these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and [871] associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1936. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2375-2386, 389-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

[This plate has not been processed--Analyst]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebitaʧt) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadas).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (dʧgikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (kʧtip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type.
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [226]
9. Spoon (itdamkut).
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbaysʧgi).
2. Arrows (mʧskisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ta	El	Ed	Ha	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Ba	Tg	Wd	El	Ad
	1024. Rawhide	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1025. Wooden rim	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1026. Feathers attached	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1027.	Armor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1028.	Club, stone headed (tŏkuimmu)	–	–	°	°	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	°	–	–
	1028a. Stone is bunkakia on end of thong	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1029. Plain rabbit club only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1031.	Sling (takui'wu'wagh) as toy (cf. 1860a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
	1031a. For war and hunt also	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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BASKETRY

1032.	Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

1033.	Willow for coil foundation (tŏtsic'kwa)	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1034.	Willow for twine foundation (tŏtwic'kwima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1035.	Coil and twine weft of willow sapwood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+
1035a.	Tule	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	°	+	+	–	+
1039.	Inner willow bark brown	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1039a.	Fern roots for dark brown	–	–	°	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1040.	Pussywillow black	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1040a.	Material buried to dye	·	·	·	°	+	+	–	+	+	°	+	+	–	–
1041.	Red feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1042.	Yellow feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1043.	Strands scraped through hole in cap	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1044.	Applied decoration: black paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1045. Red paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
	1046. Yellow paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–

Basket Weaving

1048b.	Wicker	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1049.	Coiling	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1051.	1 rod	+	+	+	°	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1052.	2 rods	–	+	–	°	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
1053.	3 rods	–	+	+	°	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1054.	2 large, 1 small rod	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1055.	4 rods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1056.	Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1057.	Counterclockwise	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1057a. Split stitch	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1058.	Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1059.	Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1060. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1061. 3-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1064.	Bead decoration, aboriginal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1066.	Feathers woven in	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Basket Forms

1067.	Twined seed beater (taika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1071.	Twined winnowing basket (tiwahan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072.	Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074.	Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075.	Open twined (wata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076.	Close twined (tasme or tima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077.	Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a.	Angular tray (tasa)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1080.	Twined	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1082.	Conical carrying basket (kurua)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084.	Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085.	Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088.	Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089.	Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090.	Rod-and-bundle rim	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091.	Fishing tray (awakui)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a.	Bipointed, opening on side	·	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1092.	Plain twine	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a.	Mesh made	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093.	Twined hat (hotcoumi)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1094.	Hemispherical	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1095.	Black design applied	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1096.	Twined water jug (ose; cf. 866)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1096a.	Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1099.	Rounded bottom	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1100.	Pointed bottom	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1101.	Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1102.	Pitch on outside	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1103.	Pitch on inside	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1104.	Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1105.	Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–
1108.	Handle: horsehair	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1108a.	Willow	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1110.	Buckskin	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
1111.	Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1112.	Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	→	+	+	+	+	+	–
1113.	Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1114.	Food bowl (taida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1115.	Coiled	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1116.	Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1117.	Pitch coated	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
1118.	Basket for boiling (epo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a.	Coiled	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1118b.	Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1119.	Ladle (tamkaam)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1120.	Twined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1121.	Coiled	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1122.	With handle	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1123.	Lids modern	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1123a.	Lids aboriginal	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1130.	Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131.	Bags (mare'e)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131a.	Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132.	Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1133.	Of twined tule	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134.	Mat (ohaa)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a.	For door	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135.	Of twined sage bark	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136.	Of twined tule	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	Kt	Kn	To	Ts	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ta	Wi	Kl	Af
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Nat (wasm)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Beaskskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185a. Tule	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BASKETS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kötsuwpa)	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wasm)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (mare mokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tas kihopö)														
1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Hood rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1255. All beadskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

NWA 283

NWA [323]

NWA 482

NWA ● 854 285 ●

[1.384]

N 285 [418] made for temporary use, especially to transport fish, and were often hurriedly made for an unexpected use, then thrown away once the food had arrived safely to camp. Sa: - (JM). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [285] 1039a. K2: JM did not know where "old-timers" got basketry material. Wa: Dark brown and black obtained from bracken-fern roots. These are W [305] buried before use.

1040a. Paviotso: "Shoots dyed black by burial in mud" (Curtis, 70). Ku: AL said willow was dyed brown or black just by burying in any ground near Fallon. Color depended on time material was left in ground. Sa, Tg: Informants said willow dyed black by leaving in hot mud.

Basket Weaving

It is interesting that the relative abundance of modern Northern Paiute weaves is just opposite to that of the basketry found in Lovelock Cave, near the center of the Paiute area. Wicker, N [174] denied being known by informants, was the most common type in the cave; coiled ware, considered a recent innovation by the Paiute and less made than twined ware, was second in total number of pieces found in the cave; twined ware, considered by informants as the only true Paiute ware and still much more frequently seen in Northern Paiute basketry collections, was anciently only about a third as common as coiled ware and a tenth as common as wicker.

N [172] 1048b. Lovelock Cave: 1115 pieces of wicker work were found (Loud, pls. 27-28, and p. 60). A small piece of wicker basketry which I obtained from Humboldt Cave was shown to all but one informant. All denied Paiute use of the technique.

1049. Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process, ..." (Curtis, 15:70). Ki: BA said, when the technique was discussed, that coil technique was used but he denied that any specific basket was coiled when questioned concerning the several types. The younger men thought coiling a Paiute practice. N [177 172] Coiling recent introduction (Kelly, 120).

1051-1055. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65).

1052. Ku: - (AL).

1053. Ku: - (AL).

1056. Paviotso: "I observed a Paviotso woman proceeding from left to right, i.e., clockwise, in sewing a small, semiglobular coiled basket" (Lowie, 233).

1056-1057. Most of my informants were men and so probably did not know the intricacies of basketmaking; however, I tried to supplement their statements by asking the women. Ordinarily, all were unconscious of a fixed procedure and said individuals differed.

1057. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 66).

N [124] 1057a. Ki: A small piece of split-stitch coiling from the 1936 University excavation of Humboldt Cave near Lovelock was shown to informant, and the method of its manufacture was dem-

N 235 [124] onstrated. DG insisted the method was formerly employed at Pyramid Lake; however, I think it doubtful. His brother, K2, denied it.

N [72] 1059-1063. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69).

1064. Bead work only in recent times.

1064a. Paviotso: Curtis shows 9 modern beaded baskets on copy of photograph opposite page 76.

W [285] N [72] 1066. Wa: Feather baskets made for Indian doctor; few made. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 68).

Basket Forms

N 235 415 1075. Paviotso: "Trays (tsamön'ö, ya'ta')" open and closed twine (Lowie, 234, and fig. 19,a).

1082. Carrying baskets had different names according to size and use. Some were: tsata, kurus, idïwa, kawono.

N [227] 1091a. Paviotso: Curtis shows a bipointed "Nixon" type fish basket on photograph opposite page 74. K1: Jane Holbrook, 75, Paiute at Nixon, was commissioned by someone to make an old-time fish trap. It was still in her possession. Made of slightly whittled willows, it

had a coarse open-twined weave. As it was closed at both ends, it had an oblong shape, 3 feet long with a diameter of 1½ feet. Minnows were supposed to enter the trap by way of a hole, 2 inches square on one side. (See fig.)

N [291] 1093. Paviotso: Twined hats (Lowie, 233, 237, fig. 17). Used small basketry hat (Curtis, 70). Owens Valley: Used basketry hat for protection against pitch and tumpline (Steward, 241). K2: "Indians near Pyramid Lake had no hats. The ones near Suzanville did" (DM). See note 1406, for use.

1096. (Same items as 868) Paviotso: "Jugs or bottles are twined and pitched, and are conical in .... lower half, and bulging to a hemispherical shape truncated by the neck in the upper portion"; bases are pointed, rounded, flat, and in some cases dented in the center (Lowie, 233-237, fig. 20,a). Wd: - (SC). Steward, 273, calls this "water olla."

1099. To, Tö: In old days Paiute made only pointed bottoms, round bottoms since white people's advent.

1101.

Baskets of Reid collection; photo by Robert H. Heizer.

[p.434(A)]

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	El	Kr	Ma	Te	Pa	Pa	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Kl	Ar
WEAVING (other than basketry)													
Skin Blankets													
1137. Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138. Rabbit (hunted) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139. Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1140. Wildcat fur	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1140a. Muskrat fur	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1141. Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1141a. Mole fur	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1142. Coyote fur	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1142a. Meadow-mouse fur	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1143. Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1144. 2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1144a. 2 horizontal, 1 above the other	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1145. 2 vertical	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1147. Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148. Single strip	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1149. Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1151. Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1152. Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1153. Of buskskin	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
1154. Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155. Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155a. Female	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Feather Blankets													
1156. Bird skins used	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1157. Mud-hen skins	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1159. Skins sewn together	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1160. Skins woven, like with fur blankets (see. 1137-1155)	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1162. No. of ply warp: 1	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
1162a. 2	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
1163. Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+
(See also 1134-1136)													
1164. Material: juniper bark	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1165. Sage bark	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
1168a. Tule matting	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169. Weaving: twined	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1171. Nets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1173a. Nets of dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174. Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa net needle)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
1176. String ball on stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1178. Knots: bowline at edge	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1179. Weaver's	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1180. Overhand	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1180a. Square	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1180b. Mesh gauge: wood	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1180c. Fingers	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–
1180d. Stone	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1180e. End of shuttle	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.338]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

DRESS AND ADORNMENT	To	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Kl	At
1322. Necklaces (tûrakiapi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tacui)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botô)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahaka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidôwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1331. Animal teeth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1332. Dewclaws (takaoma or tamitaô)	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Mouse	·	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1341. Reeft	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342a. Quills	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	–	[illegible]
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1348. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1351. Hair	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dreams	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oroôpi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (ohu)	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitoôtaigan)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1365. Specularite (yukupi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+

[p. 391]

Washo NT:20
Athabaskan NS5

ARTHROPOLOGICAL MUSEUM

| | | |

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muca"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
[462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cums'li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'o'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women* and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

* On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbé'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship. 622 [692] [428] [178]

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt. 624

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe. 844 431

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy. 595

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional. 585

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast. 764 [178] 765 769

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men. 291

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist- [53]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is l'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called tl'pek, and a red, called sawa'saš. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 31 - - 4n.]
[2] [See cat. 46, p. 33 . . 4n.]

881 252 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approxi- [415] mately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was [491] merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [432] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were 881 crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's house to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her clan. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassiere and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint "brought down from the mountains." He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a Dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 137 140--Analyst]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.
789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
[648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain
dances" on their property in return for hundreds of
food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because
white men were the victims of the fraud it was con-
sidered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of
stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until
the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (233-231)
[437] The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers
were extremely valuable and could be traded for any-
thing including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour
or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up
until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doc-
tor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and
released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description
of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[234] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One
old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept
them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such
experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers
were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but
still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by
chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked
up where they were shot.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
● 291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather
suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders'
describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually
from the upper arms and thighs of particularly power-
ful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost some of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable
of handling the immense power, are made of eagle
feathers. Other peyotists favor the idea powerful but
nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Mor-
riam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette
casually during conversation. In prewhite times the
tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the
shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced
the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed
delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote
ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
771 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *poles-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tayum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Ásibe*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoiiti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (magodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (um|¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasas), yellow (waltastsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsiauapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

[See end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebitaʧt) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadpa).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (dʒgikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (kʧtip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (beyudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets.
   a. New born infant type. [412]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [226]
9. Spoon (itdamkut).
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbeysʧgi).
2. Arrows (mʧskisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow. [412]
5. A quiver (itpetsu) of buckskin.
6. A flint flaker (itbeyuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (beyako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily. [283]
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [229]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil). 412
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Cocoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game. 481
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breech- 291
clout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

291 [778]

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely minimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow.

175 291 [481]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet."

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." [481] And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark."

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

513 237

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (tiϕli dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe.

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

2/2 [See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 :- Analyst]

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tishč̣shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (ḍumbsyṣ̣gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (ḍ¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysʔgi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (meliiu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshuda) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 291

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwa while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pʔkishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

439
484

The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storege techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

[291] [433] [621] [463] [251] [628] [648] [871]

438

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

[301] [439]

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

[439]

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

439

The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

[114]

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

I [see cat. 116, end plate II, following p. 74--Analyst]

PLATE II 2/1

251
291

a. Breaking plasmoids.

291
251

b. Basic Dish breaking out plasmoids in front of a plasmoid cavity. This illustrates the great size of these cavities.

2/1 [Legend appears on p. 74, Col. 86—Au.]

[End Plate II]

[Legend appears on p. 74, cat. 86 -- Ed.]

[End Plate III]

PLATE III

PLATE IV 1/1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

a. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

● 291

[End Plate IV]

1/1 [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

PLATE V 1/1

342
●291
415

a. Winter house and bedrolls.

342

291
482
854

b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

291
516
524

c. Washo Dick holding two rolls of basal grass plaques.

3/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

221

a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

221
178
[177]

The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

[624]
[237]
[291]
[411]

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

224
624
756
[182]

Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

224
624
[114]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

ITEMS AND ALTERNANTS	Yo	El	Sp	Ea	Ye	Ty	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	K	Ar
1322. Necklaces (tzeklaca)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1323. Shell beads (tcoai)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1324. Shell disk	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1325. Olivella (tupe or bate)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1326. Dentalium (pa'aka)	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1326a. Haliotis (pa'dowa)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1327. Glass beads	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1327a. Horn pendants	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1328. Animal claws	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1329. Bear	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1330. Wildcat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1331. Animal teeth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1332. Dewclaws (takaamaa or tumitsa)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1333. Charred pine seeds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1334. Bone tubes	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1335. Of bird bone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1336. Of mammal bone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1336a. Cane tubes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1337. Belts	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1338. Belts of: buckskin	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1338a. Yulo	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1339. Animal fur	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1339a. Mouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1340. Beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1341. Roots	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342. Bones	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1342a. Quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1344. Applied over greased skin	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1347. Water	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1348. Pigment applied to: face	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1349. As rouge	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1350. Body	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1351. Hair	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1353. Stick	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1354. Pigment applied after bad dream	-	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1357. Pigment: black mineral	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1358. Charcoal	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-
1360. White mineral (ivi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1361. Red mineral (pa'wime)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1362. Blue mineral	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1363. Yellow mineral (ocopi)	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1364. Green mineral (paitsotaigan)	-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1365. Specularite (pahapi) (galena?)	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•

Washo NT20

Achumawi N55

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL REVIEW

	Hair Dressing																		
1386.	Hairbrush: porcupine tail	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1387. Grass bundle	•	–	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1388. Yew-grass-root bundle (sal'sem)	•	–	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1388. Rabbit-brush bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1389.	Man's hair: length to neck	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1391. Length past shoulders	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1392. Hangs loose	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1393. Coiled on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1394. Tied up on head	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
	1395. Bangs	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1396. Front lock sticks up	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1397. Middle hair part	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1398. Braid over each shoulder	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1399. Braid in fur wrapped	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1399a. Sea-otter (passage) fur used	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1401.	Woman's hair: length past shoulder	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1402. Bangs loose	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1403. Tucked under basket hat	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1404. Tied back of neck	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1405. Middle hair part	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1406. Braid over each shoulder	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1407. 1 braid (behind)	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1408. Bangs	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1409. Tied on top of head	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1410.	Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1410a. Bone tubes	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1411. Red paint	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1412. Red paint in part	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1413. Harrow	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1414. Rod against lice	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1415. Braids fur wrapped	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1416. Washing: with plain water	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1417. With white clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1418.	Cutting head hair: with stone	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1419.	Depilation: of beard	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1421. Of eyebrows	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1422. Of pubic hair	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1423. With stone flake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1424. With fingernails	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1425a.	Bone cup or tube for hair oil	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1430b.	Perforatum for grease	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
	Headgear																		
1431.	Woman's basketry hat	•	•	–	–	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
1433a.	Man's bark hat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1435.	Man's fur cap	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1440. Tanned bearskin	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1441. Foxskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1442. Antelopeskin	–	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1443. Mt. sheep lambskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1445. Muskratskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1446. Beaverskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1446a. Badgerskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1447. Wildcatskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1448. Coyoteskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1450. With quail tufts	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1451. With other feathers	•	•	•	–	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1451. With horns	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1429.	Hair net	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•

NWA [515]

NWA [335]

NWA 291 291

[p. 392]

Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

[illegible]

		Ve	El	Ri	Ma	To	Ti	Pa	Ne	At	Ja	Ta	Ki	El	Ot
1455.	Fur cymbomb, held by string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1455a.	Badger fur only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1456.	Hand covered hand	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1457.	Tanned buckskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1458.	Cottontail fur	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1459.	Other fur	-	o	-	o	o	-	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o
	Robes and Capes														
1460.	Woven (twined) vegetable fiber	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	o	-
1459.	Woven (twined) fur	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1464.	Tanned hides, fur left on	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1465.	Deer hide	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1466.	Wildcat hide	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1467.	Badger hide	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1468.	Ground-hog hide	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1469.	Coyote hide	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1440.	Mt.-sheep hide	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1441.	Gloves or mittens	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1443.	Panther robes	-	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Skirts and Dresses														
1444.	Women usually wear nothing	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
1445.	Women's long gown	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1445a.	Of deerskins: 2	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1445b.3	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1446.	Of antelopeskins: 2	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1446a.3 or more	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1447.	Of mt.-sheep skins: 2	-	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1447a.3 or more	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1448.	Knee length	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1449.	Shin length	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1450.	Skins front and back	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1451.	Insert on sides	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1452.	Poncho type	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1453.	Sleeves: elbow length	-	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	-
	1454. Fringed	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1455. Flaps over upper arms	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1456. Sleeveless	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1457.	Decoration: paint	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1458. Tubular-bone beads	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1459. Glass beads	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1459a. Olivella (type) shells								o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1460. Haliotis-shell (paidua) pendants	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1461.	Men wear nothing	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
1462.	Men's shirt	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1462a. Of deerskins: 1	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1462b.2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1463.	Of mt.-sheep skins: 1	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
	1463a.2	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1464.	Of antelopeskins: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1464a.2	o	o	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1465.	Skins front and back	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1466.	1 skin, poncho style	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1467.	Shirt tied at neck	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1468.	Opening down front, thong for lacing up	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
1469.	Sleeves: elbow length	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1471. Fringed	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1471a. Flaps over upper arm, fringed	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1472. Sleeveless	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NT20
Ashomawi N35

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL SERIES

1475. Decoration: paint	•	•	–	•	•	–	•	–	•	•	–	•	•	–	•
1476. Bone-head pendants	•	•	–	•	•	–	•	–	•	•	–	•	•	–	•
Skirts															
*1477. 1 skin around waist	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1478. For women	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1479. Of buckskin	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1480. Of wt.-sheep skin	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1481. Of wt.-lion skin	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1482. Fringed	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
*1483. 2 skins, sewed sides	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1484. For women	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1485. Knee length	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Fringed	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1487. Of fawnskin	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1488. Of wt.-sheep skin	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1489. Of antelopeskin	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1490. Small front apron	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1491. For women	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1492. For men	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1493. Of skin	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1494. Fringed	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1495. Of shredded bark	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1496. Braids on cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1497. Worn with back apron	–	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1498. Worn under dress	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1499. Large back apron	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1500. Vegetable-fiber skirt	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1501. For women	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1502. Of shredded bark	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1503. Twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1504. Grass	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1505. Breechcloth (U-string type)	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1506. For men	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1507. For women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1508. Of buckskin	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1509. For	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
1510. Bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1511. Woven vegetable fiber	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1512. Leggings	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
*1513. Leggings: for men	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1514. For women	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1515. Of skin, sewed	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1516. For	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1517. Tule	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1518. Bags, twined	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1519. Juniper	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1520. Length: hip to ankle	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
1521. Hip to knee	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1522. Knee to ankle	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
Footwear															
1523. Habitually barefoot	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
*1524. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1525. Soft upper	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1526. Hard sole	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1527. Badgerskin sole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1528. Sole flat	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Ashoshwi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Mf	Kl	Yo	Yo	Ne	Ne	At	Sa	Yg	Mj	Kl	AK
1537. Sole molded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1538. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1539. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1540. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1540. Tongue added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*1540a. Olivella-shell beading	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	½	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	½	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1544. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1545. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1547. Calf height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1552. Bedgerskin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1559. Rabbit hide	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1560. Badger hair	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1562. Sandal	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1564. Bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
*1564a. Yale and rushes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1567. Oval shape	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1570. Sinew	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1573. Strips	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
GAMES														
*1577. Ball race (netsbm)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1576. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1579. And return	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1583c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1586. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-

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NB13 Northern Paiute NB13 NTRS NES

N 352 was removed by washing in water to which has been added ground pinon nuts.

1401. Ki: +, for youths and girls (Kelly, 115).

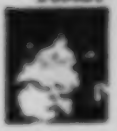
Headgear

N 361

1406. Paviotso: "They had basketry hats" (Lowie, 217). TS: Only a few of the women wore basketry hats, and those women only wore them from time to time, especially when gathering pinon nuts.

N [385 171]

1406a. TS: The twined sagebrush-bark hat was used after the arrival of the white people. (Figured here is a John T. Reid specimen, probably made by a Kupa Indian; Robert H. Heizer photograph.)



1410a. Paviotso: Badgerskin caps occasionally worn (Lowie, 217).

1423. Ki: + (Kelly, 114).

1425. Tg: Fur eyeshade sewed on cap. Ki: - (Kelly, 114, said eyeshades were only on capes).

1426. TS: "No headband in old days" (GW). MW said she had heard of use for games even before the white contact.

Robes and Capes

N [394]

1432. Paviotso: Baby blankets of sagebrush made (Lowie, 217). Ki: + (Kelly, 135).

W 1436, 1440. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

● [341] 1441. AE: Whole wood-rat fur turned inside out, served as warm mittens even before white contact. To: + (LP).

Shirts and Dresses

1444. Owens Valley: Women wore nothing above their waist, skirts from there down (Steward, 274). KE: Men seldom killed deer enough to supply skin clothes. KB: Only the best hunters were able to furnish their families with skin clothes. Most people wore nothing. TS: The Tövusi were good hunters, consequently women had plenty of buckskins to make clothes. The Toe were less active hunters so that their women had to wear grass skirts. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1445. Ki: Gown is shown by Kelly (pl. 20, a,b).

W [291] 1461. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

1462. K: Pyramid Lake Paiute buckskin shirt in Field Museum (Steward, 274). Ki: Picture of men's shirt and pants (Kelly, pl. 20,c,d). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [291]

Skirts

1475. Paviotso: "Men of the better class belted two deerskins about the waist" (Curtis, 69).

[p.436(A)]

Washo N728
Athapascan N55

1481-1488. Paviotso: "The more prosperous were skirts reaching to the knees" (Curtis, 69).

1488-1497. Paviotso: "Women of the poorer families had only a small apron in front and another behind" (Curtis, 69).

1493. AH: A shredded-bark apron was part of shamanistic costume, its only use.

1508. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 53). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): fiber skirt used by poor people.

1508. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Leggings

1516-1517. Paviotso: Men wore fringed buckskin leggings; women wore no leggings (Lowie, 217).

1517. Ki: + (Kelly, 109).

Footgear

1527. "Two-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; additional top or tongue might be added to either type (Loud, pl. 21). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 47).

1538a. Lovelock Cave: Moccasins beaded with Olivella were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 21).

1539. "One-piece" signifies the basic part of moccasin, sole and short upper; tongue, top, or sole may be added. Wd: + (BJ). Ki: Kelly, 110, figures a moccasin in construction, and remarks it is like Wissler's pattern 8.

1540. Wd: - (SC).

1549. Wd: - (SC).

1554a. Small moccasins with hair on found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, p. 47, pl. 22,e).

1555. Ki: Kelly, 109 (pl. 27), describes and pictures bark moccasin. (Figured are John T. Reid specimens.)

1556. Wd: - (BJ).

1560. Ki: + (AL); she said badger hide toughest material for soles, and that hair left inside to keep feet warm.

1561. To: + (RS). Wd: - (SC).

1562. Sandal a sole with strings or straps to hold it on the foot. Ki: + (AL). Although many sandals were found in Lovelock Cave (Loud, pls. 22, 23), GN insisted that "the Paiute didn't wear shoes like Jesus wore. I've seen pictures of Jesus." Paiutes mostly went barefoot in old days and traveled at night to avoid hot ground, GN said. AL said she saw old Indians wearing sandals of tule, grass, and rush.

[P.436(2)]

Washo NT28
Ashomawi N55

N A 291 [296]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ya	Ye	Ju	Mo	Al	Mo	Te	Wa	Li	All
1473. Decoration: paint	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1474. Bone-bead pendants	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
Skirts													
*1475. 1 skin around waist	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
1476. For women	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
1477. Of buckskin	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
1478. Of mt.-sheep skin	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
1479. Of mt.-lion skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1480. Fringed	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
*1481. 2 skins, sewed sides	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1482. For women	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1483. Knee length	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1484. Fringed	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1485. Of deerskin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1486. Of mt.-sheep skin	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1487. Of antelopeskin	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1488. Small front apron	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1489. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1490. For men	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1491. Of skin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
1492. Fringed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
1493. Of shredded bark	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
1494. Braids on cord	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1495. Worn with back apron	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1496. Worn under dress	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1497. Large back apron	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1508. Vegetable-fiber skirt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1504. For women	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1505. Of shredded bark	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1506. Twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1507. Grass	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
1508. Breechcloth (G-string type)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1509. For men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1510. For women	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1511. Of buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1512. Fur	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
1513. Bark	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1514. Woven vegetable fiber	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1515. Leggings	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
*1516. Leggings: for men	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
1517. For women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
1518. Of skin, sewed	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
1519. Fur	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
1520. Tule	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
1521. Sage, twined	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
1522. Juniper	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1523. Length: hip to ankle	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1524. Hip to knee	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1525. Knee to ankle	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
Footgear													
1526. Habitually barefoot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
*1527. Skin moccasin, 2-piece	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1528. Soft upper	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1529. Hard sole	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1530. Badgerskin sole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1531. Sole flat	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

[p.394]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. MATRIX.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ye	Kl	Mo	Kn	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ka	At	So	Tg	Wa	Kl	Al
1532. Sole welded to foot	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1533. Heel seam	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1534. Ankle flaps added	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1535. Ankle height	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1536. Tongue added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
*1536a. Olivella-shell beading	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1545. Uppers added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1546. Ankle height	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1549. Hard sole added	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1550. Tongue added	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1556. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1556. Moccasin lining	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1557. Shredded bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1559. Rabbit hide	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
1560. Badger hair	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1562. Sandal	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1564. Bark	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1564a. Tule and rushes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1565. Snowshoe	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1566. Circular shape	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1569. Thongs of: leather	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1570. Sinew	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1571. Vegetable cord	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1574. Lacing: across	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1575. Lengthwise	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
GAMES														
*1577. Ball Race (wutakpi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1578. Race: race along course	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1579. And return	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+
1580a. Paired posts	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1581. Ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582. Stuffed skin	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1582. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1582a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1582b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1582c. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1585. Propulsion with foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Bare foot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587a. Moccasins optional	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 395]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more.

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupe. A single t¢l¢lupe was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupe were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bialí).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumsǂwǂ) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilugǂl)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihǂpbeyǂgul)
3. Leggings (pǂkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodihǂp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mǂliuyǂk), necklace (umlǂsuk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wǂlyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

302 [412] [381] [765] [124]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut at the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (ftwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an hgumbeyst.

301 ● 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

439
484
[291]
[433]
[621]
[463]
[251]
[628]
[648]
[871]

The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

438

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

[301]
[439]

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

[439]

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

439

The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

[114]

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

Wada NT20
Ashawasi N5

NWA 854

NWA [982]

NWA 304

NWA 301

NWA 304

NWA [907]

NWA [84]

| | | |

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—CLOTHING: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ch	Lt	Cr	Ow	Pa	Yo	Mo	Ot	Ad	Ba	Pa	Wa	Ut	Ad
SKINS AND LEATHERS														
1355. Buckskin (tanned)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1356. Shell beads (tomi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1356. Shell disk	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1357. Olivella (tupa or tote)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1358. Dentalium (pikuhe)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1358a. Haliotis (pikuhe)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1357. Glass beads	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1357a. Bone pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1359. Animal claws	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1359. Bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1359. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1361. Animal teeth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1362. Bowlines (tobacco or tanline)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1363. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1364. Bone tubes	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1365. Of bird bone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1366. Of mammal bone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1366a. Cane tubes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1366b. Carved bone pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1367. Belts	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1368. Belts of: buckskin	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1368a. Tule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1368. Animal fur	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1368. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1341. Teeth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1342. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1343a. Quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1347. Water	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1348. Pigment applied to: face	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1348. As rouge	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1350. Body	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1351. Hair	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1353. Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1354. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1357. Pigment: black mineral	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1358. Charcoal	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1359. Soot (atoetaigan)	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1360. White mineral (ivi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1361. Red mineral (pa'uima)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1362. Blue mineral	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1363. Yellow mineral (ocoapi)	•	•	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oka)	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1364. Green mineral (paitoitaigan)	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1365. Specularite (yahapi) (galena?)	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

[p. 591]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 224 [787] luck for deer. He would dream of place and circumstances of hunt. Usually he learned not to kill the first deer, but to wait until the second, a big buck, came along. The place was called pai dŏpi ("clay rock"). W [30] Wa: Hunters painted themselves at times to help get deer.

Antelope Hunting

N [134] Paviotso: The statement by Lowie, 197, that "the antelope lived in the mountains, not in the valley" is of course a slip of reversal. The herds still extant occupy the valleys. Lowie, 303, also quotes the rather full and apparently authentic account from Hopkins, 1883, 55-57.

27a. K: Lowie, 304, tells of the Kuyui antelope hunt. Only where his elements differ from those here recorded is a note indicated. To: MW did not know of communal antelope hunt, but GW said he had heard of just one such hunt in Smith Valley, home of Tŏvusi. Special antelope hunting was denied for their Owens Valley neighbors by Steward, 253, who treats antelope and mt. sheep together. Antelope, male, watsi', female, or in general, tŏna'.

28. Ta: Corral called kuapŏ.

N [283] 28a. To: - (LP). Ta: A great rope, watsi'dŏgŏp°, about the size of a man's wrist, was made of twisted sagebrush bark. The rope was sometimes a mile long so that it could be placed on top of sagebrush and reach around a hill. Balls of sagebrush hung down between bushes. A: Rope of tules used at times instead of sagebrush-bark rope.

N [283 224]

29a. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57): Circles of sagebrush built around mounds of brush. K: A large mound of sagebrush was in the center of the brush circle (Lowie, 304). Ki: Mound of sagebrush in center of circle (Kelly, 84).

30. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

31. K: + (Lowie, 304). Ta: Converging lines of humans served as wings to guide antelope into corral. Wd: - (Bd).

N [746] 32. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 253). To: - (LP). Tŏ: The regular "captain" decided time of antelope hunt and the night before led ceremony, which included dancing, smoking, and the like.

34. K: + (Lowie, 304).

35. Wd: - (SC).

36. K: + (Lowie, 304).

N [534] 37. K: Hopkins and Lowie mention notched stick which used in Pyramid Lake antelope dance (Lowie, 304). Tŏ: Wild-rose stick with thorns left on was used.

38. N. Paiute: Stuffed hide made in conical shape and wrapped with rope, then rubbed with a stick (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 84).

41. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [276] 42. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Smoking morning and evening; pipe passed to right around circle 5 times.

[P.422 (c)]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [30]

1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 301 [139 172]

1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).

1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.

1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).

1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).

A [30]

1333. To: Bought from California. AE: Only women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.

1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.

W [30]

1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172]

1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

Belts

N 302 177

1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).

1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.

N 302 246

1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).

[72]

1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."

A [135]

1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill, SE of Alturas.

1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).

N [322]

1364. At: One Paiute word designates green and blue.

N [135]

1365. Kü, To: Yadupi was obtained in abundance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the material as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

N [776]

A [439]

Hair Dressing

W [302]

1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 302

1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).

1382. Ki: – (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).

1386. Tg: Tagö women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.

W [302]

1387. Wa: – (Smith, notes).

N [172]

1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).

1396. To: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa''ci and the t'aɲlɬe'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pɛ''ulɬt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɲlɬlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa''ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa''ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɲlɬlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pɛ''ulɬt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa''ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɲlɬ, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga''a" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mecki'tsat) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (mue<"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
[462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buck skin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, th

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

291 ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also
[513] as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California
171 areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.
192

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

[291] Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

178 Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now
182 gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white
291 neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

342 The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illus-
[171] trated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony*

881 252 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china [415] cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [291] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were [432] dressed alike.

881 Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre- 789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843 [845] A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

846 527 826 During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852 When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

881 [178] Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

881 114 [178] Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the [302] [784] [182] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

302 784 178 881 [177] The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

881 [115] The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

881
[271] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat
[262] meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the
[263] same as meat."

[124] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits.
[262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl
[202] eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing
[778] and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill
[178] nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure
[824] the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms,
[782] and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the
[431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu-
[178] ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high
● [302] point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased water-
[574] melon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades [535] ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 178 There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is [535] some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and [871] associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS

(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains. [178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were [782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's [627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is [797] usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the [768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[6]

650 When the husband of one of my informants died,

[648]

[6]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [848] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented [789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism [795] is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute [756] by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) [177] suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
● 302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
789 eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
[525] powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

● 302 796 [881] 825 789 778 763 825 Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [179]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302● 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

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According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (ʔeʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed. [868] [777]

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses. [778] [262]

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the 178

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. [756] A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

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The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race. 526 527

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing. 526 527 616 [754] [302]

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game. 526 527

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser. 524 527

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket. [887] [0147]

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would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

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In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ła?) and had red ocher (sawásan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?ɛ́mluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication
4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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527 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
[431] mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
[603] ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed
[852] to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîbek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk.
[757] The hood or sunshade (mi?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes [753] explained as the cause of sicknesses.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] [783] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá·du? ɛ́úhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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535 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
DRESS AND ADORNMENT														
1322. Necklaces (tŏrakiapŏ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsoai)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or bots)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidoa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–
1331. Animal tooth	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1332. Deerlegs (tahawone or tomitsŏ)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1336a. Cane tubes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Tule	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Mouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1341. Hoofs	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342a. Quills	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1351. Hair	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1359. Soot (atuctaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1363. Yellow mineral (oarŏpi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (ohu)	·	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (puitŏtaigan)	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+

NWA 301 237

NAW 291

NA [B21]

NWA 202 ● 286

NWA [785]

[p. 391]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 302

NWA [515]

NWA [335] NWA 281 291

	Hair Dressing	Ts	Kl	K2	Kk	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1366.	Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367.	Grass bundle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1368.	Rye-grass-root bundle (mal'awa)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1369.	Rabbit-brush bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1370.	Man's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1371.	Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1373.	Coiled on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1374.	Tied up on head	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1375.	Bangs	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1376.	Front lock sticks up	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1377.	Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379.	Braid is fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1379a. Sea-otter (pasuga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381.	Woman's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1383.	Tucked under basket hat	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1384.	Tied back of neck	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1385.	Middle hair part	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1386.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387.	1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388.	Bangs	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1389.	Tied on top of head	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1390.	Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1390a. Bone tubes	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1391.	Red paint	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
1392.	Red paint in part	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
1393.	Marrow	–	+	+	–	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1394.	Mud against lice	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
1395.	Braids fur wrapped	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396.	Washing: with plain water	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1397. With white clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1398.	Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400.	Depilation: of beard	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1401. Of eyebrows	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1402. Of pubic hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1403. With stone flake	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1404. With fingernails	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1405a.	Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1405b.	Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	Headgear														
1406.	Woman's basketry hat	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1408a.	Men's bark hat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409.	Men's fur cap	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1410. Tanned buckskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1411. Fawnskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1412. Antelopeskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1413. Mt. sheep lambskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
	1415. Muskratskin	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
	1416. Beaverskin	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1416a. Badgerskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1417. Wildcatskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1418. Coyoteskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1420. With quail tufts	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
	1421. With other feathers	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1422. With horns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1423.	Hair net	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	·	–	+

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 844

		Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AS
	2184. Hot stones for warming ground	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2185. Pit warmed	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
	2186. Husband gets firewood	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2187.	Delivery: mother kneels	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	·	-
	2188. Mother lies flat	-	-	·	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	·	+	+	+
	2191. Strap tied around waist	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194.	Midwife usually is: husband	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2195. Person with special power	-	-	·	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2196. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2197. Any female relative	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	·	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2199. Grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a.	Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2200.	Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	-	-	·	·	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	·	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	·	-	·	+
2203.	Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	·	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	·	+
	2205. Thrown in brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	+	-	-
2207.	Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	-	·	·	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
2208.	Treatment of mother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2212. Salt taboo	+	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2213. Work taboo	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	2214. Uses scratching stick	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2215.	Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2216. Paints self	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[202]	2217. Gives away old clothes	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	·	+	+	-	-	-	-
	2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	·	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2221.	Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2222. Steamed when born	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2224. Bathed every morning	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	·	-	+	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	-
NWA 2225.	Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	-	-	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	-	·	-	·	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2227. Tied with string	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	-	+	·	·	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
[846] 2229.	Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2229a. Placed in sack with yadupi	+	+	·	·	+	-	-	·	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	·	·	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	-	+	·	·	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	2232. Placed in antelope wallow	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
NWA	2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	·	·	·	·	·	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	·	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
844	2238. Buried shady side of sage	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
846 2239.	Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	·	+	·	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	-	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243.	Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2245. Any woman	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 805]

NWA 855

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Te	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Af
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
*2304. First Menstruation (muhadancmani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2326. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2336a. Use special cup	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340a. Every 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
*2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

NWA 881 784

NWA 881 [302]

[p. 410]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

Necklaces

W [301]
N 301 [139 172]

1324. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1325, 1326. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 105).
1326. K2: DM got his dentalia at Susanville about 30 years ago; 25 shells cost seven dollars.
1327a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42).
1332. Ki: + (Kelly, 117).
1333. Tō: Bought from California. AE: Only women used pine-seed beads. Were used as beads on dress. Obtained from California Indians W of Achomawi.
1334. Paviotso: "Some who paid much attention to appearance had a bone cylinder in the nasal septum" (Curtis, 69). Wd: Fish vertebrae strung to wear were the only bone beads.
1335. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1336b. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, also, pl. 12,c and University neg. 15-5931).

A [301]
W [301]
N [172]

Belts

N 292 177

1337. Tg: Belts were made of wihavi (dogbane).
1340. Beaded belts made only since white contact.
1348. Paviotso: Men and women painted face daily with red or white material (Curtis, 69).
1361. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109). Ki: "Red paint is yellow rock which is burned and ground."
1362. AE: Blue paint in hole near Tittle Hill, SE of Alturas.
1363. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 109).
1364. At: One Paiute word designates green and blue.
1365. Kū, To: Yadupi was obtained in abundance from a site in White Cloud Canyon, SE of Lovelock. The property now belongs to Mr. John T. Reid, mining engineer, who called the shiny powder "hematite." Mr. Otto F. Heizer, another mining engineer of Lovelock, identified the material as Fe_3O_4, "speculorite." I suspect it is the same as that listed by Steward as "galena," which it resembles. It was used to ward off evil spirits, especially bad dreams. Ki: Yadupi got from Nixon Indians. AE: Yadupi was obtained from the Paiute even in early days before white people.

N 302 296 [77]
A [135]
N [322]
N [135]
N [776]
A [439]

Hair Dressing

W [302]
N 302

1375. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1378. Paviotso: "Men arranged the hair in 2 braids, with the ends wrapped with strips of otter fur" (Curtis, 61).
1382. Ki: – (Kelly, 115, but she cites De Angulo's statement that the hair was worn loose).
1386. Tg: Tagō women learned braiding of hair from Araitsi of Warm Springs, Oregon. Before that they just let hair hang loose. Borrowed braiding style before white people arrived.
1387. Wa: – (Smith, notes).
1390a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 38).
1396. Tō: Pitch in the hair or on the hands

W [302]
N [172]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dsyoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tegil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

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Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 854

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	Kt	Kn	Yo	Yn	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Kl	Ar
	1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[942]	1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUTILATIONS

NWA	1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
304	1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1275. With bone awl	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
	1276. With wooden awl (taviaigup)	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1278. When youth	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1279. All males	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA	1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1282. All females	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
301	1285. Man's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1285a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	1295. Woman's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
304	1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1303. Females	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1304. Man's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1305. Woman's bone nose pin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[901]	1306. Tattoo (nawagi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1307. Cactus needle	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1307a. Porcupine quill	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1311. Done when: child	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
	1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1313. Any time	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1316. Legs	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1317. Body	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1319. Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[844]	1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[P. 390]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 328 N [114]

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 354 482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 736]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N 304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kt: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p. 435(A)]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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AND
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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

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The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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124

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31.(see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93 -- Analyst]

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[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred
[732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt
[888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there
[262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231
241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history
177 since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin.

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[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

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The Kings Beach complex type site, Pla-9, runs along the beach of the northern shore of Lake Tahoe in the vicinity of the towns of Kings Beach and Tahoe Vista.

Although Martis complex materials were not found stratigraphically below Kings Beach materials, the Martis complex was assigned a much earlier date. These authors suggest (1953, 21) that "the Martis Complex may have flourished some time in the first two millennia B. C." while the Kings Beach complex is equated with the historic Washo and "had a relatively shorter duration and perhaps 1000 A. D. is about all the age we can now assign to it."

The great time depth of Martis was assigned on the evidence of the use of basalt for flaked implements and the recovery of a boatstone (boat-shaped spear thrower weight) at the Martis type site. Since their report another boatstone has been found at Dangberg Hot Springs (Do-8) at a depth of 18 in. This hot spring was a favorite Washo campground, and has yielded a number of artifacts of both the Martis and Kings Beach complexes.

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Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 22) explain the lack of stratified sites in their highland survey as based on "a tendency for people to settle in a spot which has not before been used." Their evidence is mainly that the sites are in open areas and that local supernatural beliefs indicate a fear of previously occupied spots. This tendency clearly breaks down in the case of spring sites in the lowlands.

The following elements are listed for the two complexes:

Martis

"1. Basalt preferred material for chipped implements.
2. Obsidian and chert used very rarely.
3. Projectile points fairly large and heavy, roughly chipped, variable in form.
4. Mano and metate for seed-grinding.
5. Cylindrical pestle and bowl-mortar (?).
6. Boatstones (and atlatl ?).
7. Economic emphasis on hunting and seed using.
8. Basalt flake scrapers with pressure-retouched edge abundant.
9. Expanded-base finger-held flaked drills or punches common.

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] [417] (diyu itgumsčwč), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak bčhčsing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá·du? ɗúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 971 [492]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (meki'tsat) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muca"gau nu"ci) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
[462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

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The hair was cut (gumgsowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut. 302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ihṭ́pbeyṭ́gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored. 301 237

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin. 304 301 [756]

Necklaces (umiṭ́suk), bracelets (mṭ́liuyṭ́k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (dṭ́eliṭ́ṭ́gi dṭ́tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (pṭ́sumṭ́li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (unstrung) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish. 301 [237]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (tsṭ́chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama). 302 304 [531] [386]

The process of pricking the tsṭ́chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation. 302 [757] [177]

The red ochre (saweasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick, 302 386 [317]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsetaini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tegum), fish (stabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317]
[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

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[221]

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[342]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 222

	To	Ki	Ki	Ki	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Mo	Ki	Al
487. Spatulate end	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
488a. Point both ends	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
489. Of mt. mahogany (tupi)	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
490. Of serviceberry (tmavoi)	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
491. Of greasewood (tonovi)	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
492. Conical seed basket (tümuyumo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
493. Basketry seed beater (tsika)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
496. Stiff edged	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
499. Seed knife ("sickle")	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
500. Wooden	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
501. Shin bone	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
501a. Stone	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

Agriculture

Wild Seeds

NWA 2N1

508. Wild seeds irrigated	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
509. Burning for tobacco	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	°	+	+	°	+	+	+
510. Burning for wild seeds	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+

Seed Storage

NWA 251

521. Storage in pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
522. Bark or grass lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
523. Storage in basket	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
525. Storage in bark bag (kwisi)	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
526. Storage in buckskin bag	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	°	+	–	–
527. Storage in cave	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–
528. Storage in rock crannny	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

Food Preparation

NWA 317

529. Salt from: playa	+	+	+	–	°	°	+	°	–	–	–	–	–	
530. Mineral from rocks	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
530a. Trade from south	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
532. Small mammals roasted, eaten whole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
533. Roasted, entrails removed	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
534. Roasted, entrails boiled, eaten	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	
535. Meat: dried on coals	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	
536. Dried on frame in sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
537. Dried in trees	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
538. Smoked	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
539. In house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	
540. Pulverized	–	+	+	–	–	+	°	°	+	+	+	–	–	
541. Mixed with seeds	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	
542. Mixed with berries	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
543. Mixed with fat	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	
544. Stored in sage bags	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
545. Tripe eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
546. Blood cooked in pouch, gut	+	–	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	
547. Fish	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	
548. Dried in shade, not sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
550. Smoked in sweat house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
551a. Spawn (eggs) dried with seed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	
552. Pulverized	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
553. Bone: cooked bone ground	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	
553a. Only fish bones ground	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
554. Ground bone cooked	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
555. Vertebrae ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	
556. Joints ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	
557. Entire bones: marrow extracted	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	

[p. 376]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

time with; that's all," to "it is just as important as the drum and the singing. Yes it means something; everything we use has a meaning. Right now I don't know the meaning, but it is a symbol."

The drum used by the Washo in Peyote ritual is usually made from a three-legged iron pot of a type formerly used by miners; these pots are approximately eight to ten inches in diameter and about six inches in depth, including legs an inch and a half long. The drum is considered a sacred object of great importance to song; thus the ritual of tying the instrument before a meeting or singing practice is carefully observed. The kettle must have been tested for timbre before it is chosen for use; the deerhide must be "Indian cured and tanned," and it is preferable that it not come from a deer which has been shot. At the beginning of the evening, the kettle is filled one half to three quarters full of water; seven pieces of glowing charcoal are added and the hide is then wetted in the water and stretched over the top of the pot. At this point it is the special task of the drumchief to fasten the drumhead by an intricate "star" design of thong or rope fastened from each of the seven pebbles (which should be naturally polished and not "made by machines") placed under the edges of the hide. The tie is referred to as the "star" because its completed design resembles a star shape viewed from the bottom of the pot. The hide is stretched taut in this way and seldom has to be retightened during the evening; it is kept wet by occasional shaking.

The drumstick is usually a carved, highly polished piece of hardwood, and individual Peyotists like to make and keep their own drumsticks which become potent with the power of drumming and singing after long use. During a meeting, drumsticks sometimes get out of hand and cannot be controlled; drummers say that the stick "drummed by itself," and that they no longer had a sense of holding it.

In performance the drum is ordinarily held between the knees and tipped slightly away from the player; the drumstick is held lightly between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the wrist is kept flexible. On occasion, arm and wrist are made rigid so that the drum can be struck with full force; this seems to be reserved for high points in the song when specia' emphasis is required. The drum is held by the four fingers and "worked" with the thumb of the left hand. The thumb is used for stopping the drumhead; it is pressed firmly over the surface of the hide until just the right pitch and timbre are achieved. Every drummer, during each song and with every drum, has to experiment anew for the right "place." To achieve a particularly "tight" sounding tone, the drummer sometimes lifts the drum to his lips, drinks a bit of water from it, and then blows air through the hide until the pressure from within distends it; bloated drums give an especially hard and desirable sound. Two or more drums are never used at one time.

Questioning about the problem of "good" drumming brings forth a varied response; two typical answers are:

The drummer is supposed to follow, but he carries the singer. He has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch. He might have to shake the drum now and then to

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRICT.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 283

	To	Kl	KS	Kt	To	Td	Pe	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AS
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1182. Bat (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185a. Tule	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1195. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On basketry hat (kotomoyo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1240. Bag (maro nokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tsa kihopo)														
1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+

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NWA 854 285

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [434] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsŭm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mŭm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

1 [see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Ed.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bi'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kūmbē'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV.

GRINDING IMPLEMENTS.

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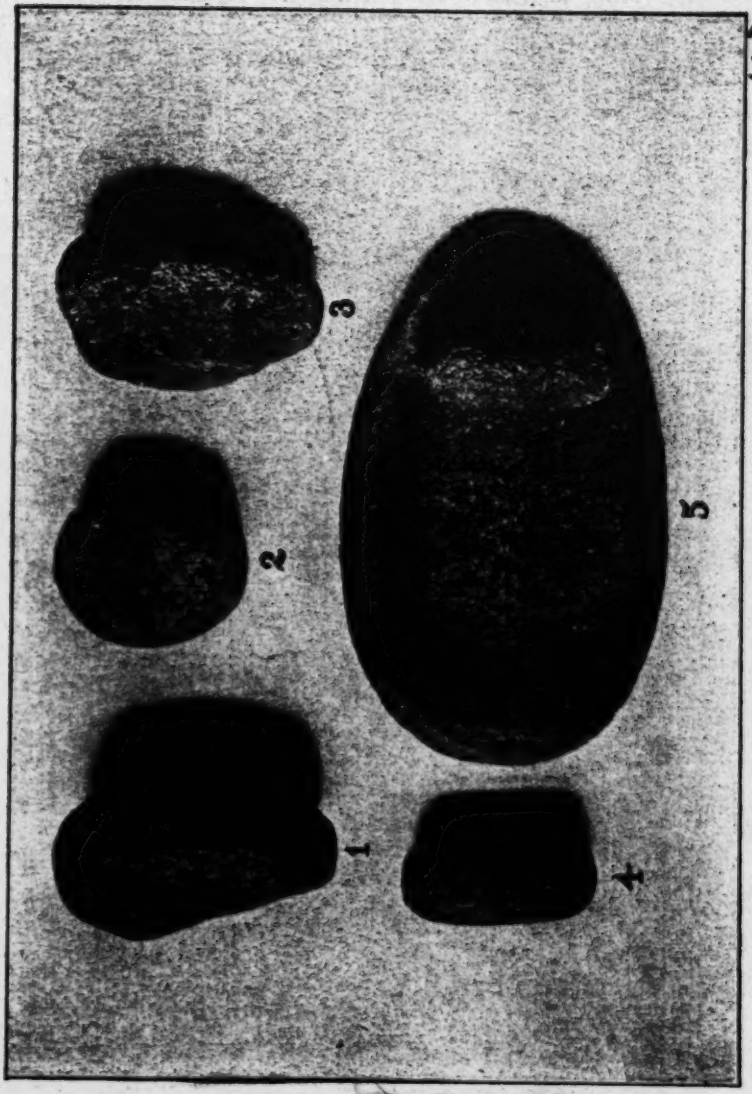
● 324

Figures 1-3. Cobble stone pestles. Catalog numbers 18371, 18370, and 18372, respectively. Length 9 (28 cm.), 6.5 (16.5 cm.), and 8.8 (22.5 cm.) inches, respectively.

Figure 4. Stone muller. Also used as a pestle. Catalog number 18374. Length 6.8 inches (17.5 cm.).

Figure 5. Stone metate and muller. Catalog number 18369. Length 17.3 inches (44 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Kl	Kd	Kh	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
*885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
887. Scapula	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*888a. Tibia	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
889a. Radius	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*890. Cactus spine (mavu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
892. Awl case: bark bundle	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
893. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Drill														
*894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
895. Shaft with bone point	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
895a. Unhafted bone point	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
896. Shaft with horn point	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various														
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLINT FLAKING														
903. Flint (tupic') flaker	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
909. Flint warmed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
927. Hide tied funnel shape	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
929. Juniper-bark smoke	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
930. Wood-chip smoke	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 383]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muee''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
[462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'saft. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gūm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darū tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE II.

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Figure 1. Washo slab house made of lumber in the same manner as were the old bark slab houses. End view showing the covered doorway.

Figure 2. Side view of the same house shown in fig. 1 and showing its elliptical ground plan.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

342 Figure 1. Washo brush house.

412 Figure 2. Washo boulder mortar and cobble stone pestle.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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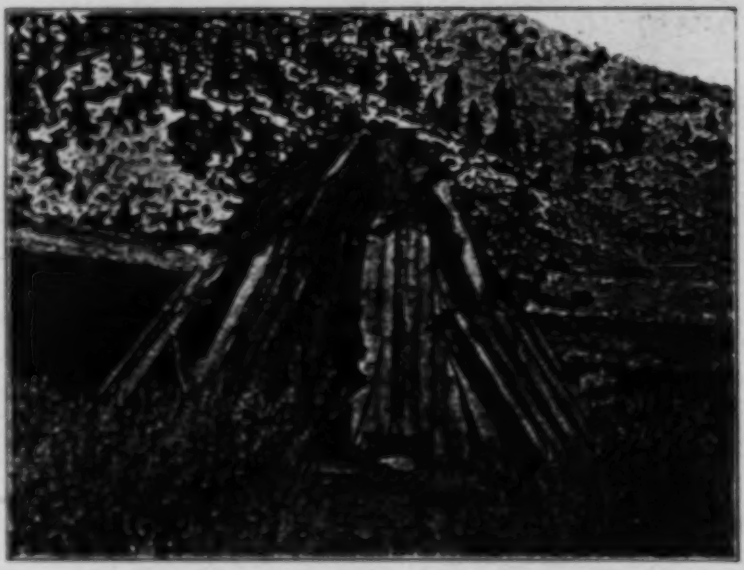

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[P.31]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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1

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2

[P. 33]

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 [795] [756] This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[787] 776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

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[611] [581] [1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P. 399, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[221] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l--a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
[656] justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[1]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[1] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (w¢lyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dip¢k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglel¢l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolel¢l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgumsčwč), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak bčhčsing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [758]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

237
Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical 513
houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather 342
while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the 592
basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared 22
together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was 462
some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the [463]
baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of 43
Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. 433
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161]
the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less [439]
trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language [423]
isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips [251]
and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The 114
data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174]
unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342

291
482
854

b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

291
516
524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

These photographs were taken by Omer Stewart of Washo informants 1937 and 1938.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

171

secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

361
311
[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

172

[114]
[124]

Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

[317]
[312]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

172
226
[221]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

[342]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Ki	Ki	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Ki	AK
558. Feet dried	+	–	+	–	–	–	°+	–	°+	°+	–	+	+	+
559. Feet ground	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
559a. Feet boiled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
560. Earth oven	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
561. Hole with hot rocks, earth cover	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°+	–	+	–	+	+
°562. Boiling: with stones in thorax	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
563. In basket	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
565. One bent stick to pick up stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
566. Pair forked sticks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
567. Pair straight sticks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°568. Boiling in pot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
569. Broiling	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
570. On forked stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
571. On coals	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
572. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
573. In basket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
575. Seed meal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
576. Husk burned from seed	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
577. Cannibalism	–	–	°+	°+	–	–	–	–	°+	–	–	–	+	–
°HOUSES														
Dwellings														
Windbreak														
578. Brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
579. Withe fence of brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
580. For temporary camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	–	–
581. For summer camp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
Sun Shade														
°582. Brush or tree only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+
°583. Posts supporting roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
584. Posts: 6-8	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
584a. Any number	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
585. Horizontal brush roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
586. Side walls: 1	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
586a. More than 1	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°587. Domed Wickiup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
588. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
589. For winter use	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	°–	+
590. Dome of arched willows	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
591. "Cone" of bent willows	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+
592. Circular ground plan	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594. Height (feet): 6-8	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
594a. 8-10	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
595. Diameter (feet): 8-14	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
595a. 14-20	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
597. Covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
598. Layers of grass (wiisva)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
599. Tule or brush	+	+	+	°+	°+	°+	–	–	+	°+	°+	+	–	+
600. Mat	–	–	–	°+	°+	°+	+	–	°+	°+	°+	+	–	+
602. Earth, 1 or 2 feet up wall	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
603. Pole-thatch binders	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
605. Doorway: 1	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	°+	–	+
606. On E side of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	°+	–	+
606a. Opposite wind	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
607. Flush with wall	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		+
607a. Entrance passage	+	+	+	–	°+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

N W A 251 252

N 266

N 342

[p.377]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 342

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kt	Kh	To	Ts	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	Ag
608. Door: of twined bark	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
608a. Of twined tule	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
609. Of twined grass	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
609a. Of tule bound between pairs of sticks	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
610. Floor covered with grass	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
611. Fire: indoors, center of house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
612. Outside house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
613. In hollow pit	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•	–	+	+	–	+
614. Smoke hole in roof	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
615. Tripod-Foundation House	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	•	–	–	•	+	–
616. For summer use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
617. For winter use	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
618. Foundation poles in tripod	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
619. Forked poles interlock	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
620. Tied at intersection	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
•622. Cone-shaped House, Circular Ground Plan	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	•	–
623. Height, 10 feet	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
624. Diameter, 15 feet	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
625. Exterior encircled with stones	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
626. Covering	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
627. Tule	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
628. Bark	–	–	–	•	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	•	–
629. Grass: 2 layers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	•	–
629a. 3 layers	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
630. Twined sage-bark mats	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
631. Mats	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
631a. Buffalo skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	•	–
632. Pole-thatch hinders	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
•633. Earth (entirely)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
635. Pine "sod"	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
635a. Brush	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
637. Doorway	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
638. E side of house	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	•	–	–
639. Flush with wall	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
640. Vestibule or tunnel	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
642. Height (feet): 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
642a. More than 4	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
643. Door	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	–	•	–	–	+	+	–
644. Of mat	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
645. Of skin	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
646. Of brush	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
647. Of twined bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
648. Fireplace	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
649. In center of house	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
651. Pit, 3 inches deep	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
652. Smoke hole in roof center	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
•653. Gabled House	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
654. For winter use	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
657. Ridgepole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
658. Height (feet), 10	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
659. Width (feet), 12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
660. Length (feet), 15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
662. Covering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
663. Brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
664. Bark	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

Washo NT29
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Kh	To	Yo	Pa	Ow	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	K1	AS
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	°+	+	+	+
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	°+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	°+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (nasanovi)														
688. Wikiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	°+	°-	°+	-	°+	-	+	+	°+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	°+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
693. Brush	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	·	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	·	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	·	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
703. Of twined grass	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
°704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Cabled-Type Sweat House	°+	-	-	-	-	-	-	°-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
°727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	°+	°+	+
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	°+	+

[p.379]

N 342 constructions changed from domed to conical, as Kelly, 104, suggests, or whether both kinds were built at the same time. I believe house forms were not stable but depended upon the available materials and whim of the builder. Inasmuch as the framework was chiefly willow, dome-shaped houses were probably more common.

● [W 342] 580-581. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

582. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265): Domed willow shade. At: In old days all Paiutes had was willow half dome or willow half circle with end leaning toward center. There were no flat roofs.

583. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265). Ki: + (Kelly, 105, pl. 18,c); however, my informants said only brush enclosure was known formerly.

587. "Paviotso lodges were nearly hemispherical." "A very thick thatch of dry piñon needles was applied, and this sometimes covered with earth" (Curtis, 15:70, also pl. 78).

589. K: Picture of Pyramid Lake Paviotso dwelling (Lowie, 204, fig. 6). At: In old days some people would, at times, build no permanent winter camp. PS remembers his family wandering all winter much as they usually did only in summer. He did not remember why, yet thought it was to hunt. Although clothing was scant and often wet, PS did not remember being cold. Nights were spent huddled around a fire with only the shelter afforded by a few sagebrush piled as windbreak. Ki: Dome-shaped winter houses were said to have formerly existed (Kelly, 104).

N [291]

600. Kl, To, Te, Sa, Pa, Tg: House was built of tule "mats" which were made by binding masses of tules between 2 or 3 pairs of sticks. The Tag made also woven mats.

606. Wd: - (SC).

607a. To: - (LP).

613. At: A ring of willows was sometimes placed around fire to keep grass used to sleep on from catching on fire.

615. At: Paiutes used only tripod-type house after white people came. Wd: Tripod-type house used to be covered with buffalo skins. After buffalo left, grass and tules were used.

622. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264). Ki: Conical houses borrowed from north (Kelly, 104, pl. 18,b). Some denied any shelter besides the shade or windbreak for aboriginal times (Kelly, 106).

628. To: - (LP).

629. Ki: + (Kelly, 104).

N [224] 631. Wd: - (BJ). Informant said buffalo had been seen near Saddle Butte, but Wada never hunted them. Ki: Tule mat sewed and twined (Kelly, 104, pl. 19,c).

633. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 264).

638. Wd: - (SC).

640. To: + (BS).

643. Wa: Door was of woven willows, that is, of basketry.

653. Owens Valley: + (Steward): Mountain house used in fall and winter had 2 upright poles and ridgepole.

343

343 OUTBUILDINGS--description of domestic nonresidential buildings (e.g., cookhouses, latrines, menstrual lodges, bathhouses, granaries, barns, stables); special characteristics of each; construction; etc. See also:

Stables and stalls 231
Cookhouses 252
Boathouses 504
Latrines 514
Bathhouses 515
Menstrual lodges 841

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pahɛ'"tsiɣ t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

515 224 789 [343]

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

[114] [177] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 224 756 787 The Antelope chief (al'ɣus kumɔmli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 573.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lay) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [415] [251] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women cooperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. [252] [415] The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a't'ahi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mends"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. *He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as* to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other cooperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] Op. cit., 12.

[P.399, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

"I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.

"A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (680-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

[787]

224
[136]

Antelope (Fig. 73).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (aswasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [758]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ks	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (masanovi)														
688. Wikiup-Type Sweat House	+	+	?	-	?	-	?	-	+	+	?	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
693. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	?	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
703. Of twined grass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
713. Gabled-Type Sweat House	?	+	-	-	-	-	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	?	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.379]

N 342 678. Tg: Although no special storehouse was built, an elevated cache was prepared and covered with a woven sagebrush-bark mat.

686. Ku: + (AL). Wd: - (SC).

Sweat House

N 343 Sweat house: nasanovi (Atsa); navaduva (Kūpa); navagia novi (Tagō).

688. K2: Sweat house is a recent acquisition from northern tribes. Ku: + (AL). GN said old-time Paiutes took hot baths in warm mineral springs, but sweat-house baths were not known. AL denied this and insisted that her grandmother took steam baths and maintained that it was a Paiute institution. GN and AL both were used for some parts of list. Unless their ideas disagree no mention will be made; the reader may assume that all data are from GN or that AL substantiated data, unless a note explains the contrary. To: BS and LP both said that sweat bathing was a recent acquisition but it is now firmly instituted. + (Lowie, 308): "The Fallon Paviotso call the sudatory 'naBarinana.'" Pa: - (Curtis, 70). "At Walker lake sudatories were unknown" (Curtis, 169). Tg: Although the sweat house is almost universally used by the Paiute on Owyhee Reservation, DS said the Tagō never had it in old days. The Tagō Paiute learned it from the Warm Springs Indians, the Araitsi, a non-Paiute band. Sweat house first used by Paiute about 60 years ago.

689. Ki: + (Kelly, 202, pl. 19,b).

704. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 265, fig. 4). A conical earth-covered semisubterranean sweat house was denied by my informants.

713. Ts: ND had seen a gabled, grass- and earth-covered sweat house at Honey Lake, built against a hillside. Wa: "The sweat house was an earth-covered, conical hut over a shallow excavation. Three forked posts, set respectively in the center and near the rear of the pit, supported a two-piece ridgepole, against which willow poles and slabs of bark were leaned. Heat was generated directly by fire. The sweat bath, instead of being a regularly recurring event, was employed only to relieve actual physical ills" (Curtis, 94). W [343]

727. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

728. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

733. To: + (Lowie, 308).

735. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

744. Ki: Bather prays to sun (Kelly, 203).

745. To: - (LP).

747, 748a. Ki: + (Kelly, 203).

750, 751. Ki: "Women never used sweat house" (CW). "Women bathe alone sometimes" (KH). "Women and men sweat together" (BA).

753-759. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266).

763. Ku: GN insisted that Kūpa menstrual hut existed in pre-white days. He knew that Kuyui had no menstrual hut. N [841]

763,b,c. To: - (LP). Wd: - (SC). N 346

764. Paviotso: "The dance house a brush en-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 ● [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we [789] wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbo*.

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The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 343 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 343 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1 [See cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (petalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p. 47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, 423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[1]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[2] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[1] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[2] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right aide according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[5] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[6] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[7]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[5] La Barre, 61.
[6] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[7] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewi'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewi'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket	tsiña'm
[482] Burden baskets	
Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 6.	mama'i
Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.	tatûba'bûli
Small basket, same as above	mamaiña'mi
Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 3.	mugi'wut
Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic Plate XIII, fig. 1.	ltma'gû, darû tso'hoi
[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2.	tapûli tugé'bûl
Handle of seed beater	ta'pûl
Body of seed beater	tugé'bûl acû
Winnowing basket	
Coarsely woven Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.	tugé'bûl
Finely woven Plate XI.	mûda'i
[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3.	pi'kûs
Fish basket	metsayé'ûl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical kūya'nda
Plate VII, fig. 2.

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degīkûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

*degīkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

285

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XII.

Figures 1 and 2. Coarsely woven open work winnowing baskets. Catalog numbers 18315 and 18314. Lengths 19 inches (48 cm.) and 22.6 inches (69 cm.), respectively.

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Figure 3. Cradle basket. Catalog number 18302. Length 38.8 inches (99 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[352]

[p. 51]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color.

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil.

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements.

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras.

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc-

1/2 [This plate has not been processed -- Haeberlin]

5;Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

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is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumsʧwʧ) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumpoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tatlugʧl)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihʧpbeyʧgul)
3. Leggings (pʧkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodihʧp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mʧliuyʧk), necklace (umlʧsuk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (saswasau), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wʧlyauwi).
9. Feathers (taisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebitsɬt) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285

1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadpa).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (dɬgikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (hɬtip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudste). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets.
   a. New born infant type. [412]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus).
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [415]
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (baiohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbayɬgi).
2. Arrows (mɬakisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapa) were used on the arrow. [412]
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin.
6. A flint flaker (itbeyuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (maahoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelil) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuepo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

846
527
[431] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
[605] mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
[852] ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dibek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen. 5

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
[757] grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (mafyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 Susie Dick made one of these cradles for
A Grace Dangberg.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 342

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kh	To	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Al
665. Twined-bark mat	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
666. Pine sod	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
667. Earth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
668. Doorway	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
669. Side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
671. Flush with wall	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
673. Fireplace inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
674. Pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
675. Smoke hole in roof	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
House Interior														
676. Bed of: grass or brush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
677. Twined bark	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
678. Twined-rush mat	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
679. Furs	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
680. Skins	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
681. Woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
682. Bedcovers: woven-fur blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
683. Furs sewed together	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
684. Tanned skins	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
685. Indoor storage pits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
686. Indoor storage bags	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
687. Special storehouse	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat House (nasawavi)														
688. Wicking-Type Sweat House	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
689. Domed willow frame	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
690. Covering: mats	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
692. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
693. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
694. Skin	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
695. Canvas	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
696. Earth	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
697. Pine "sod" (needles)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
698. Pit, 1 foot deep	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
700. Door: on any side	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
700a. Of hide	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
701. Of twined brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
702. Of twined bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
702a. Of twined grass	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+
704. Conical-Type Sweat House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
712. Gabled-Type Sweat House	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
714. 2 interior posts	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
715. Ridgepole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
717a. Built against side of hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
718. Roof covering	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
719. Brush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
720. Grass	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
721. Earth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
722. Door	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
724. Flush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sweat-House Operation and Use														
727. Heating by: fire inside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
728. Rocks (heated outside)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
729. Pit for rocks	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-

NWA 343

NWA 345

515

[p.379]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

In aboriginal times a conical house was occasionally built in the southern Paiute region, but the typical house there was a hemispherical one thatched with bark or grass. 342

The summer brush house of the Washo varies from a mere low enclosure to a completely covered, dome-shaped house (plate III, fig. 1). The latter, which is the usual Washo form, is found very frequently as a summer dwelling among the Paviotso to the east and occasionally, also, among the Miwok to the west. For warmth and for cooking purposes, every house was provided with an open fire. [171] [354]

An earth-covered dance house similar to the usual semi-subterranean dance-house of the California area, was formerly used in this region, though none is now to be found. This house is called daya'limi. 344 [171]

FOODS AND THEIR PREPARATION.

The foods of the Washo were in aboriginal times essentially of the Great Basin type. Many of these primitive foods are still somewhat used, but the whiteman's foods now supply a large part of the wants of these Indians, so that it is possible to find at best but few of the primitive foods in the possession of any one family. 262 177

THE RABBIT.

The jack rabbit (pe'leû), and the cottontail (tsa'li), are the principal game and were formerly taken by means of a long rabbit net, such as is used by the Paviotso. None of these nets could be found among the Washo at the present time, but they are described as being in every respect the same as the net used by the Paviotso. This net was from twenty-four to thirty inches in height, had a mesh about three inches square, and was usually some three hundred feet long. Two or more of these nets were often connected end to end forming either a straight or a V-shaped fence-like trap, into which a number of men drove the rabbits from a distance of a mile or more. The net was held by stakes at about ten-foot intervals, or was fastened to the bushes so that it was held 224

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshuda)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

342 [178] [768]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use. [251]

222 342

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

342 [361] [312]

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

[823] [824]

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

[513] [354]

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] [417] (diyu itgumsčwč), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [387] gathering firewood (maak bčhčaing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

NWA 412 [253]

NWA [356]

NWA [252]

NWA [415]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Kk	Yo	Ya	Pa	Wa	At	Ma	Tg	Wa	Kl	Ak
830. Grinding on 1 side	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
830a. Both sides	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
831. Use: for seeds	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
832. For meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–
833. For bone	–	•	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	•	•	–	–	–
834. For paint	–	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–
835. Cleaning: with fingers	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–
836. With porcupine tail	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–
837. With sage-bark brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–	–	–
838. With grass-roots brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	–
841. Scraping with stick	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
839a. Did not clean metate	–	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
843. Oval-shaped muller	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
844. Back-and-forth motion	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
845. Rotary motion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (patu)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	–	–
848. Paddle (ogo)	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or tsiki)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	–
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
860. Wooden spatula for eating	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
863. Twined willow cup (tsiki)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
863a. Coiled willow cup	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
*864. Stone bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–
*866. Pottery bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
*868. Bicornical basket (cea; cf. 1098)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
Knives (whi)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
871. Wrapped in buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
872a. Sinew wrapped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
873. Horn handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
874. Bone knife	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•
875. Broken cobble for cutting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Scrapers (gwasaam)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•
877. Horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•
878. Bone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
879. Rib, various	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
880. Horse rib	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•
881. Shin, deer	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
882. Femur, end notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•
883a. Scapula	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Awls (wiha)														
884. Horn	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
886. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•

[p.382]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tc.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa''ci and the t'aɬɬe'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe''uldt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬdlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa''ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa''ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬdlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe''uldt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa''ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'aɬɬdl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ts'ilga''s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. [221] Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. [785] One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping [842] of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

[R 572, A]

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ritual. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2163-2344)

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[172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called manhillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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[484]
[361]
[172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

> "One winter there was a lot of Washoe camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754

Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

CHAPTER 38.

THE WASHO.

Affiliations, 569; habitat, 569; numbers, 570; culture, 571; husbandry, 571; dress and implements, 572; buildings, 572; religion and society, 573.

AFFILIATIONS.

The Washo have been unduly neglected by students of the Indian. What little is on record concerning them makes it difficult to place them.

Their speech, which is rather easy to an English tongue and pleasant to the ear, is distinctive and very diverse from that of the Shoshonean Mono and Northern Paiute with whom they are in contact and association. Such investigation as has been made—and it has not gone very deep—points to the Washo language as being Hokan and therefore no longer to be regarded as an independent stock. Still the affiliation with other Hokan languages can not be close. The position of the Washo makes this comparative distinctness remarkable. For a detached and quasi-independent little group the Washo are on the wrong side of the Sierra. Diversity is the true Californian habit. The moment the Plateau is entered single dialects stretch for monotonous hundreds of miles, and the basic Shoshonean tongue continues without interruption across the Great Basin and even over the Rockies. Now the Washo are a Basin tribe. Their settlements were all on streams that flow eastward to be lost in the interior desert. Even as the artificial lines of statehood run they are as much a Nevadan as a Californian people. Their anomaly as a separate fragment is therefore in their location.

It is tempting to conjecture, accordingly, and especially on the basis of their probable Hokan kinship, that they are an ancient Californian tribe, which has gradually drifted, or been pressed, over the Sierra. But there are no concrete grounds other than speech to support such an assumption.

HABITAT.

The Washo territory is the upper and more fertile drainage of the Truckee and Carson Rivers—streams born in California mountains to perish in Nevada sinks. How far down they ranged on these

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed]
--Hamlyst

13 The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude 133 within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 36 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys 133 east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

132 The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock [137] vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

[137] In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe [241] climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

433 The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of [457] sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry [233] in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important [234] agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

[315] Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very [36] abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 16 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every [13] direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1920. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (11) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Isidoe), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenith). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called yʔoshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (1) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (Dʔbʔmu shʔʔsh;"can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: Bʔbil ("walks zig-zag"), Wʔgʔl (sounds made as a child when he was asking for mʔgʔl which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), Bʔʔbitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama Hʔwe ʔe ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (5) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Dantanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Sahin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupents in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kaveyo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 49?

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Heglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (aswasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household. 592 596

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale stega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek. 592 596 361 221 222

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor 592 596 433

?Pmod E-5 (1968-1987)1968 NT90 Washo NT20

[P.360, B]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1926, pp. 87, 89; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Siskin, 1938, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 66).

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POPULATION

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1845, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 300 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1926, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called wélmelšiʔ. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called ɸáʔwaʔlu, and the California Washo are called hágalešiʔ, with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Simpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1926, p. 90). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the wélmelšiʔ are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the wélmelšiʔ camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The ɸáʔwaʔluʔ lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed hágalešiʔ and ɸáʔwaʔluʔ. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake.

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SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry

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7:Powell B-5 (1922-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegelèye, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
468 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

● 361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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8; Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

INTRODUCTION

Like many other Great Basin peoples the Washo have been unevenly studied by professional anthropologists. A common theme that runs through much of the early written comment, and into the ethnographic literature of the first few decades of this century, is the anticipation of their imminent extinction. In the very earliest accounts of mountain men and travelers they were frequently mistaken for Paiutes, and in the reports of the Indian agents of the 1850's and 60's they were seldom considered worthy of mention except as an extremely depressed and dependent group in the process of dying out or being absorbed by their more aggressive neighbors.

Population figures reported during the 19th century were highly contradictory and misleading, for they failed to take into account the extreme mobility of the Washo, and the dispersed character of settlement pattern even during the winter months. Furthermore, the Indian agents were concerned primarily with those peoples within their areas of jurisdiction who presented well defined administrative and political problems to the government in the protection of the interests of American migrants and settlers. The Washo offered minimal resistance to the intruders. They were never sufficiently organized to make effective demands in their own behalf, and within a very few years of contact part of the population had established itself in semi-sedentary dependent colonies around white settlements. It was groups of this sort -- particularly in the vicinity of major white settlements in the Carson and Truckee valleys -- that were identified as "The Washo tribe" in early reports. Little or nothing was known of actual territorial distribution of the people, and agents were ignorant of many bands that maintained some degree of autonomy and isolation.

Another factor of importance in defining the status of the Washo as a group is the placement of their territory in relation to westward American expansion. The core of this territory is made up of a chain of fertile valleys on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevadas from Antelope Valley in the south to Honey Lake in the north. The abundance of water, fish, small game, edible plants and seeds made this a relatively rich region for hunters and gatherers. The extensive growth of pinenut trees on the mountains forming the eastern boundaries of their territory and the availability of acorns on the western slope of the Sierras provided large harvests of staple seeds. Large game was also plentiful in the mountains.

The attractiveness of this region, and its potentialities for farming and grazing, were noted by the first travelers who passed through it to California after enduring the arduous trek across the dry expanse of the

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentally dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today. 616 [178]

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200. 361 [628] [178] [162]

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 300) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life. 595 587 595 587 178

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a 602 125 554

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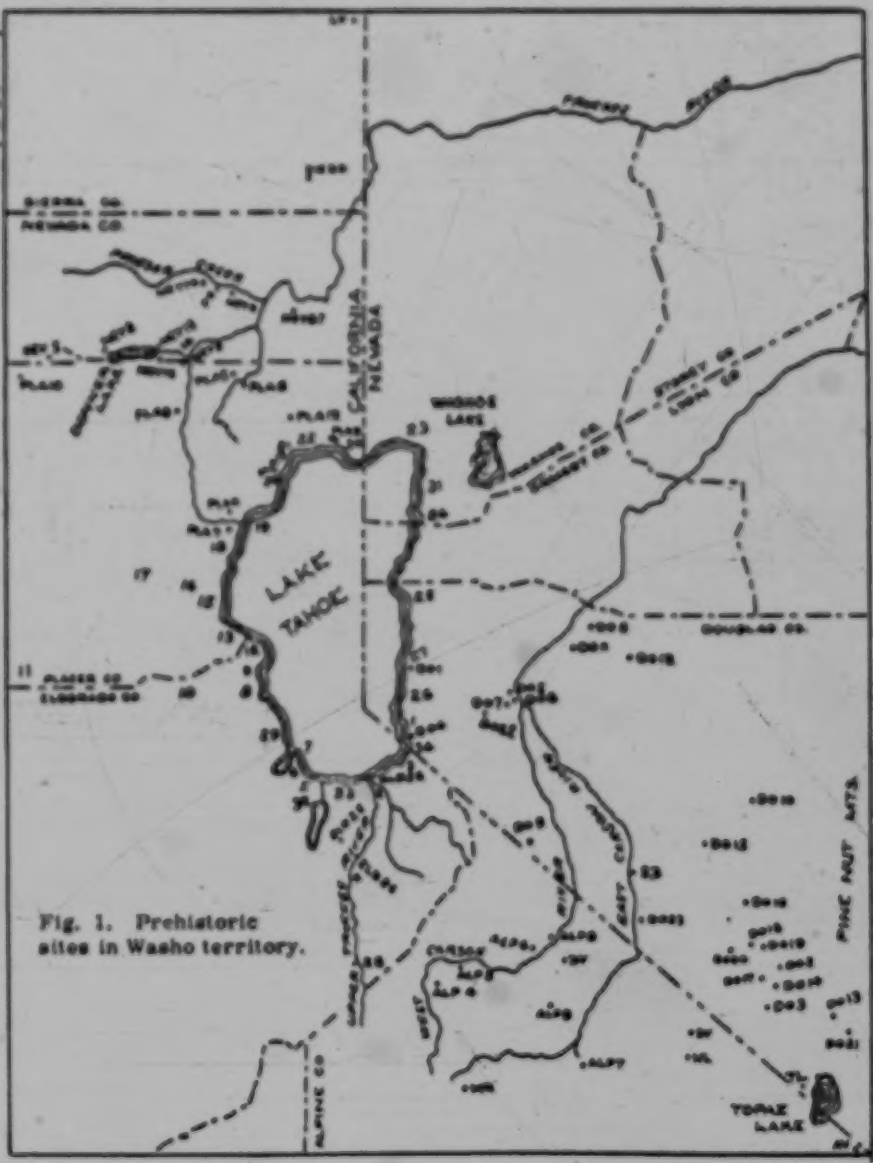

Fig. 1. Prehistoric sites in Washo territory.

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secure and prepare these (hooked pole, roasting of nuts, carrying baskets); mano and metate; twined basketry techniques and basket form (e.g., winnowing trays); temporary brush house; antelope hunting method by 'charming'; private ownership of clumps of piñon trees."

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[172]
[133]

Washo winter use of the highlands had been of research interest in recent years. In an archeological survey report Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 18) state that "permanent occupation at elevations over 5500 feet in prehistoric times would be hazardous or impossible." Continuing the project, Elsasser (1960, 26) considered 4000 ft. the approximate dividing line between summer and winter habitation for the California side, and he stated that "in aboriginal times . . . little or no land, even at the highest elevations was unknown to the Indians." From ethnographic evidence Freed (1954, 1) stated in reference to Lake Tahoe (6275 ft. elevation), that "if there was to be no pine nut crop, a family might choose to winter at the lake."

The Freed Survey of Lake Tahoe

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Freed (1954) conducted a survey of Washo habitation sites in the Lake Tahoe area by interrogation of Washo informants. The map accompanying the present paper gives the location of sites discussed and mapped by Freed. The sites are numbered 1 through 31, (see note 2 for further discussion of the map).

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[312]
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[221]

Freed's site #6 is a deposit of red clay near the lake; #10 is at Rubicon Springs (the mineral water of which was used for internal disorders), which was on a trade route into central California; #16 is a cave at the foot of Stanford Rock where hunters sometimes stayed; #17 is a camp among oak trees; #27 (26-Do-1) is the cave at Cave Rock used for shelter; and #29, #30 and #31 were resting places rather than campsites. The rest of the sites were used primarily in connection with fishing, although hunting and gathering were additional considerations. Freed (1954) says:

[342]

> "The Washo spent the summer months fishing in the streams around the lake, each family moving to another river whenever it saw fit but usually confining itself to a particular section of the lake's perimeter . . . the camps were usually in open spaces close to the lake shore. . . . A camp might consist of five or six circular windbreaks (gado), each housing a family.

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The Kings Beach complex type site, Pla-9, runs along the beach of the northern shore of Lake Tahoe in the vicinity of the towns of Kings Beach and Tahoe Vista.

Although Martis complex materials were not found stratigraphically below Kings Beach materials, the Martis complex was assigned a much earlier date. These authors suggest (1953, 21) that "the Martis Complex may have flourished some time in the first two millennia B.C." while the Kings Beach complex is equated with the historic Washo and "had a relatively shorter duration and perhaps 1000 A.D. is about all the age we can now assign to it."

[312] The great time depth of Martis was assigned on the evidence of the use of basalt for flaked implements and the recovery of a boatstone (boat-shaped spear thrower weight) at the Martis type site. Since their report another boatstone has been found at Dangberg Hot Springs (Do-8) at a depth of 18 in. This hot spring was a favorite Washo campground, and has yielded a number of artifacts of both the Martis and Kings Beach complexes.

[361] Heizer and Elsasser (1953, 22) explain the lack of stratified sites in their highland survey as based on "a tendency for people to settle in a spot which has not before been used." Their evidence is mainly that the sites are in open areas and that local supernatural beliefs indicate a fear of previously occupied spots. This tendency clearly breaks down in the case of spring sites in the lowlands.

The following elements are listed for the two complexes:

Martis

"1. Basalt preferred material for chipped implements.
2. Obsidian and chert used very rarely.
3. Projectile points fairly large and heavy, roughly chipped, variable in form.
4. Mano and metate for seed-grinding.
5. Cylindrical pestle and bowl-mortar (?).
6. Boatstones (and atlatl?).
7. Economic emphasis on hunting and seed using.
8. Basalt flake scrapers with pressure-retouched edge abundant.
9. Expanded-base finger-held flaked drills or punches common.

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [826] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [361] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by W my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- N ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the [177] Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

9. d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

W N 175 177 648

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W 175 177 648

W [183] [476] [574] [735]

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

W 175 177 361 648

W [161]

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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W
175
177
648
361
[161]

number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925). It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.

N
W
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177
648

The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

W
[137]

The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage- [314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the [415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) [411] said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mecki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood [824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. [237] A poison (muca"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern [314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both [291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted [283] cap made of string derived from some reed.

291 Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill [462] was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

● 372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [387] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kl2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
780a. 3 or 4	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
783. Rope to pull it across stream	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	°	+	+	–	–
FIRE MAKING														
784. Simple drill	–	–	–	°	–	+	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	–
786. Cane shaft	–	–	–	–	+	°	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
786a. Willow shaft	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
791. Bow drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	–
792. Artemisia hearth	–	–	–	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	–	°	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	°	–
793. Charcoal in pit	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	°	+	+
795. Bark in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	+
800. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS														
Mortar (paha) and Pestle (poduno)														
809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	–	+	+	°	°	°	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
810a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	+	[illegible]	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
813. Portable, irregular	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
816. Stone mortar, small	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
819. Wood mortar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
820. Cavity in log end	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
821. Sunk in ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
824. Stone pestle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
828. Pinon nuts	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Metate (nuta) and Muller (tuwu)														
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

NWA 561

NWA 372

NWA 412

[P. 381]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

W [501] 774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 788. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kū: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tō: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tō: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [372] 792. Kū: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 442 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kū: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). Al said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tō: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

N [773]

[p. 431(A)]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is ï'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called tï'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

302
[412]
[881]
[765]
[824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301
237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304
301
[756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301
[237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302
304
[531]
[386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

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[751]
[177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

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[317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pa'l'a.u ta.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gac) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sa"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paka'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lmu also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti''li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage- [314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the [415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) [411] said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper. 415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were 412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba''lohot) and arrow (mecki''tset) were the principal weapons. The wood [824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. [237] A poison (muce''gau nu''ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern [314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both [291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted [283] cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill 291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes [462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration [177] should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

● 411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 39 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bi'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kûmbë'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

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The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (balo'hat), and arrow (mûckît'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

[182]

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tî) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

[237]

The quiver (lt'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

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Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (belê'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

HUNTING WEAPONS.

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[415]

Figure 1. Quiver of tanned deerskin. Catalog number 18386f. Length 36.8 inches (93 cm.).

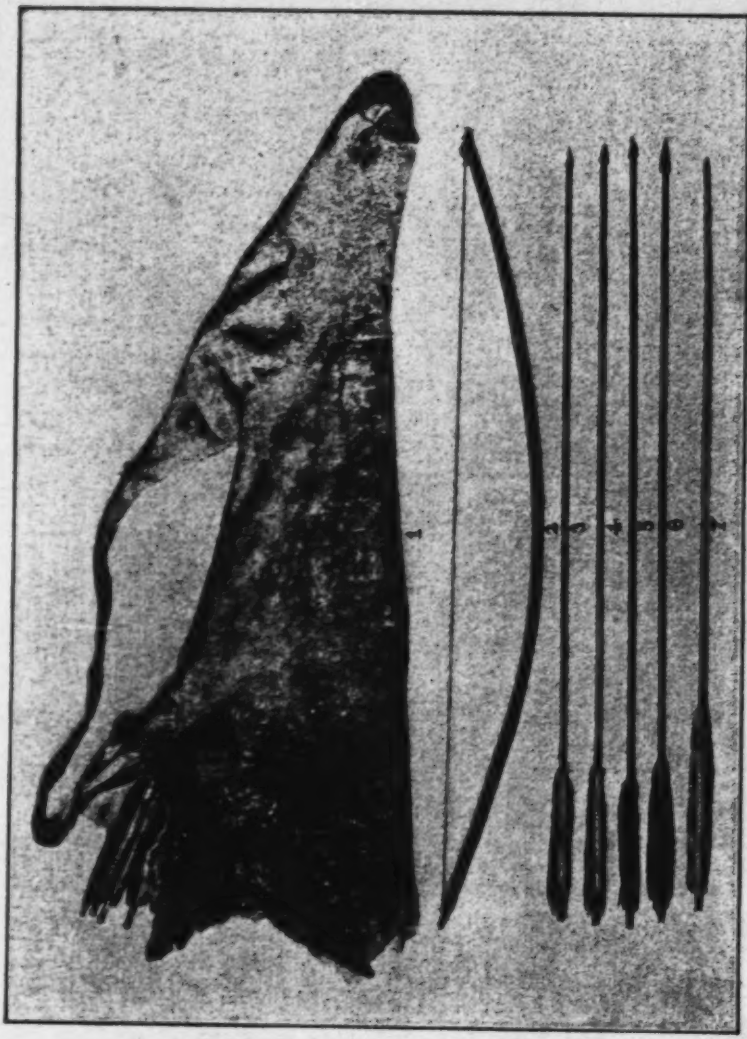
Figure 2. Wooden bow. Catalog number 18386a. Length 32.5 inches (82.5 cm.).

Figure 3. Arrow with flint head. Catalog number 18382. Length 31.9 inches (81 cm.).

Figures 4-6. Arrows with obsidian heads. Catalog numbers 18383-18385. Average length 32.2 inches (81.8 cm.).

Figure 7. Headless arrow. Catalog number 18386b. Length 30.8 inches (78.3 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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[415]

[P. 39]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *hŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimí;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadps).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type.
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul).
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaǫa), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game. 481
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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[411]

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

[178]

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

[114]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

172 circular arrowshaft straightener of steatite with a slanting 1/2 in. hole through the center was found here and is in the Museum of Anthropology at the University of Utah.

C. Iva Ashurst of Topaz, California, has collections from two sites west of Topaz Lake (TL) and U.S. Highway 395 in Douglas County, Nevada, close to the Nevada-California state line.

1. A cache of 21 leaf-shaped obsidian blades was found, on the south slope of a wash about 50 ft. west of U.S. 395 and 1/4 mi. north of Topaz Lodge. The blades, which were found stacked flat, range in length from 3 1/4 in. to 7 7/8 in., in width from 1 5/8 in. to 3 in. Their mean length is 4 1/4 in.; mean width is 2 in.

2. At a site 1/4 mi. west of TL-1, and at the foot of the mountain west of Topaz Lodge, more than 1600 glass trade beads were found in an area about 6 by 6 ft. In one spot of this site was a deposit of wood ash where a number of the beads had melted together. The beads were found scattered throughout the first 6 to 8 in. of deposit and apparently covered an area the size of a house floor with a fireplace in the center. The beads may have been used as a cremation offering.

Historic Washo Artifacts

172 411

In the Nevada State Museum there are projectile points from the Dr. Lee collection made by two Washo Indians, Lame Tom and Poker Charlie. Most of these are of obsidian although some are of glass, basalt, chert, or white porcelain. In one typical display circle of 24 points 16 are side-notched, 7 shouldered, and 1 barbed. Most of the points are the General (obsidian, 0-26 mm., concave base) and Delta (not obsidian, 27+ mm., V-shaped base) subtypes of the Desert Side-notched (DSN) points as defined by M. A. Baumhoff and J. S. Bryne (1959). In a sample of 109 of these historic Washo points not one was of the Redding (bell-shaped base and comma-shaped notch) or Sierra (basal notched) subtypes of the DSN.

All of the modern Washo points presented by Heizer and Elsasser (1953, Fig. 1), and attributed to H. N. Rust, are the General subtype of DSN. The DSN points found in the 1953 survey by Heizer and Elsasser at the Kings Beach type site are the General or Delta subtypes, or some variant of them. Two of the DSN points found at Eld-24 may be Sierran. Of the 23 DSN points in the Schubert and Hawkins collections at least four are the Sierran subtype. Elsasser (1960) claims that the Sierran DSN occurs throughout the Sierra

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 [412]

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

CULTURE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTIONS LIST

SYMBOLS USED

+ Element present.
- Element absent.
· Either question was not asked or informant did not understand.
* Reference to a note in the section "Ethnographic Notes on the Element List."

ELEMENTS	OCCURRENCE												
	Ts	Kl	Kl2	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wa	Ki	Al
SUBSISTENCE														
Hunting														
Deer Hunting														
1. Surround	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2. Drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2a. Communal	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-
3. Past ambushed hunter	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*5. Into enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6. Into enclosure with pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*8. Into trap, net, or snare	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*9. With fire	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*10. With dogs	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	-
11. In relays	+	+	+	-	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12. Shamanism	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13. Ambush	+	+	+	+	·	+	·	+	-	-	-	+	+	+
14. In pit beside trail	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
15. In pit beside spring	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
16. In pit around which brush fence	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
17. Single hunter stalks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
18. Runs down	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
18a. Runs down game when it is wounded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*19. Disguise	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
20. Deer head	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
21. Entire deerskin	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+
22. Brush carried	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
23. Poison arrow	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24. Fire to signal hunters	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*25. Formal chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
26. Informal chief	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	·	·
*27. Magic	-	-	-	·	·	·	·	·	-	-	-	-	·	+
*Antelope Hunting														
*27a. Communal hunt	·	·	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
28. Corral	·	-	+	-	·	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
28a. Sagebrush-bark rope	·	-	+	-	·	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·
29. Solid brush fence	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
*29a. Brush fence around hill	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
*30. Brush at intervals	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
31. Wings	·	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	·
*32. Shamanism	-	-	+	-	·	-	+	-	-	+	·	+	·	-
33. Shaman is chief of hunt	+	+	+	+	·	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
34. Shaman has an assistant	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
35. Shaman has special enclosure	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
36. Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	·	-	·	-
*37. Notched stick	+	·	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
*38. Grass-stuffed hide	-	-	-	-	·	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	·	+
39. Hoof rattle	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-

[p. 366]

Washo NT20●
Ashomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: KIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Ig	Kd	Ki	AV
40. Wand	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	•	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	•	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	+	–	+	+	–	–
47. Antelope mask	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
48. Round dance	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
49. Stumbling taboo	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
49a. Menstruating women taboo	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
50. Loss of objects taboo	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•	–
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	•	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	–	–	•	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
53. Messengers to antelope	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	–
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	•	+	•	+	•	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	•	+	+	•	•	+
57. Fires to drive	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
58. Shaman in corral	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
59. Shaman "closes gate"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
60. Special archer	+	+	–	•	+	–	–	+	•	–	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	•	+	•	•	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
63. Run down on horseback	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
64. Drive	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
65. Past ambushed hunters	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
66. With dogs	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
67. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
70. Ambush beside spring	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
74. Antelopeskin	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	•	–
75. Brush	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
77. Drive	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
78. Past hidden hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
79. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
80. With dogs	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
81. Into enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
83. Through V-fence	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
88. Entire skin used	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89. Fire to signal hunters	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
91. Magic	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
94. Club thrown	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	•	–
97. All people hunt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•	–	–

[p.367]

NVA 224
NA [56 27]
NWA [575]
N [231]
N X● [41]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 411

	Pa	Kl	Kl	Kl	Yo	Yo	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Ty	Mo	Kl	At
WEAPONS														
Bow (s65)														
*938. Self bow (sereadš)	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*	*	+
934. Length (ft.): 3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
934a.4	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
*935. Middle of bow sinew wrapped	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	*	+
936. Of willow	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
936a.Of juniper	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
*937. Sinew-back bow (nadanumadš or stan adš)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
938. Length (ft.): 3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
938a.4	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
939. Width (in.): 1 or 2	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
939a.More than 2	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
*940. Double curve	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
*942. Of juniper	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
943. Of serviceberry	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
944. Sinew in 1 layer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
944a.2 layers	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
944b.3 layers	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
*945. Glue: of horn	–	–	–	*	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
946. Of fish	+	+	+	*	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
946a.Pitch	*	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
947. From greasewood	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
*948. Horn bow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
949. Sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
950. 2 horns end to end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
951. Sinew backed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
952. Horn-backed wood bow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
953. Bowstring: sinew	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
954. Vegetable fiber	–	–	–	–	*	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
955. No. of ply: 2	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
955a.3	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
956. Position of bow: approx. horizontal	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
957. Slanting	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
958. Approx. vertical	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
959. Wristguard	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
*960. Bow designs	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	*	*	+
960a.Paint	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
Arrows														
*961. Arrow without foreshaft	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
961a.Length (ft.): 2	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
962. 2½	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
962a.3	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
963. Hardwood	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
964. Sharpened point	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*965. Crossed sticks near tip (for birds)	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*966. Stone head	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*967. Arrow with foreshaft	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*967a.Rosewood shaft	*	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*968. Cane shaft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*969. Hardwood shaft	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*970. Hardwood foreshaft	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*970a.Greasewood	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*971. Plain wooden point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*972. Wrapped for ducks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	+	–	–	–	–
*973. 4 cross sticks (for birds)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+
*975. Stone point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
*976. Bone point	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
977. Horn point	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–

[p. 334]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kc	Kn	To	To	Pe	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	As
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
984. Or 4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	–	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+
988a. Root, decayed	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
989. Liver	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
*990. Gall	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
991. Decayed blood from heart	–	–	•	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	–	–
992. Rattlesnake poison	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
993. Red ants	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
994. Special plant: tavisigqy	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	•	+	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1004. Perforated horn	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1005. Mt.-sheep horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1006. Antelope horn	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1006a. Several holes	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1009. 3 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1009b. 2 holes	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Quiver (hegutse)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	•	–
1013. Forskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	+	+
*1017a. Piece of bookskin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	•	•
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1022. Thrusting spear	–	+	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	•
*1023. Shield (topa)	+	+	–	–	–	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	•

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 411

		Yo	Kl	Kt	Kn	Yo	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Ju	Tg	Wa	Kl	AK
	1024. Rawhide	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1025. Wooden rim	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1026. Feathers attached	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1027.	Armor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1028.	Club, stone headed (tokuluama)	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1029. Plain rabbit club only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1031.	Sling (takni'wu'mugi) as toy (cf. 1808a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1031a. For war and hunt also	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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BASKETRY

1032.	Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1032a. Fish traps made by men	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

*1033.	Willow for coil foundation (tötsic'kwa)	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1034.	Willow for twine foundation (tötsic'kwima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1035.	Coil and twine weft of willow sagewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1035a.	Tule	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
1039.	Inner willow bark broom	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1039a.	Fern roots for dark broom	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1040.	Pussywillow black	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1040a.	Material buried to dye	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1041.	Red feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1042.	Yellow feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1043.	Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
1044.	Applied decoration: black paint	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	1045. Red paint	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	1046. Yellow paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

Basket Weaving

*1048b.	Wicker	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1049.	Coiling	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1051.	1 rod	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1052.	2 rods	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
*1053.	3 rods	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
*1054.	2 large, 1 small rod	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1055.	4 rods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1056.	Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1057.	Counterclockwise	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1057a.	Split stitch	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1058.	Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
*1059.	Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1060. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1061. 3-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1064.	Bead decoration, aboriginal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1064a. Modern	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1066.	Feathers woven in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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Basket Forms

1067.	Twined seed beater (teika)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.386]

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. Ku: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

W [411] 985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September.

W [278]

992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

N 413 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

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N 413 [72]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1005, 1006. Kū: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

N 415

Quiver

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).
1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.
1017. Ki: - (BA).
1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KH).

W [415]

1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). AE: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

N 411 [73]

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).
1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. AE: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.

W [411]

A [411]

1028. K2, Kū: GN knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Kūpa using them. DM described the tōkuivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tg, Wd: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of DM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.

N [23]

1028a. Kū: GN had heard of Bannock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

N 285

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. Tō: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).

N [172 177]

1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).

N [173]

1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

N [482]

[p.433(A)]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ew'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ew'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sagebrush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper. 415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were 412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (meki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. A poison (mues"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill 291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

252 These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV.[a] The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

252 262 [137] [222] [439] As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, [272] called me'tsûm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

252 [412] In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belé'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

324 412 [171] The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (de'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

[a] [See cat. 116, pp. 334 35.— Au.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bī'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kūmbē'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.[2]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 37 -- An.]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

IMPLEMENTS OF WOOD.

411 The Washo have a number of implements of wood. Of these perhaps the most important are the bow (balo'hat), and arrow (mûckit'sat), just referred to. At present only the simplest wooden [182] bow such as that shown in plate VI, fig. 2, is to be found. Formerly, however, a sinew-backed bow with strongly curved ends was used. One such bow was seen in possession of a white resident near Gardnerville, Nevada, who had secured it about twenty years ago from an old Washo. It was about the same length as the common wooden bow of the present day, and was strongly reinforced with sinew applied longitudinally and glued to the back or outer, rounded surface of the bow so as to form a coating from an eighth to a quarter of an inch in thickness.

As above mentioned, the arrows are sometimes provided with small points (matca'tĭ) of chipped flint or obsidian. Such an arrow was formerly used for hunting large game and for war purposes. Usually, though not always, it is provided with a foreshaft into which the head is bound with sinew, this foreshaft being itself bound with sinew to the main shaft. The rear of the shaft is provided with three fairly ample, carefully trimmed feathers, bound to it with sinew. These have a slight twist which gives the arrow a rotary motion. The notch is rather shallow. The arrows shown in this plate average about thirty-two inches in length.

[237] The quiver (ĭt'patsû), shown in fig. 1 of this plate, is made of dressed deer skin with the hair inside and is said to be typical of aboriginal days.

● 412 Of common utensils of wood the flat-bladed mush paddle (ka'as), and the looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), are still used. These are shown in plate V, figs. 4 and 3, respectively. The latter is employed especially for removing partly cooled stones from the baskets of piñon or other mush, while the former is employed for stirring in general. The usual wooden tongs are used for lifting these hot rocks from the fire, and a common stick is used as a poker, and is called tsû'hû. This simple implement is shown in plate V, fig. 1.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket — tsiñâ'm

[482] Burden baskets

Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic — mama'i
Plate XIII, fig. 6.

Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic — tatûba'bûli
Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.

Small basket, same as above — mamaiña'mi

Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic — mugi'wut
Plate XIII, fig. 3.

Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic
Plate XIII, fig. 1. — ĭtma'gû, darû tso'hoi

[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2. — tapûli tugĕ'bûl

Handle of seed beater — ta'pûl

Body of seed beater — tugĕ'bûl acû

Winnowing basket

Coarsely woven — tugĕ'bûl
Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.

Finely woven — mûda'l
Plate XI.

[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3. — pi'kûs

Fish basket — metsayĕ'ûl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE III.

342 Figure 1. Washo brush house.

412 Figure 2. Washo boulder mortar and cobble stone pestle.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[P. 33]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IV.

GRINDING IMPLEMENTS.

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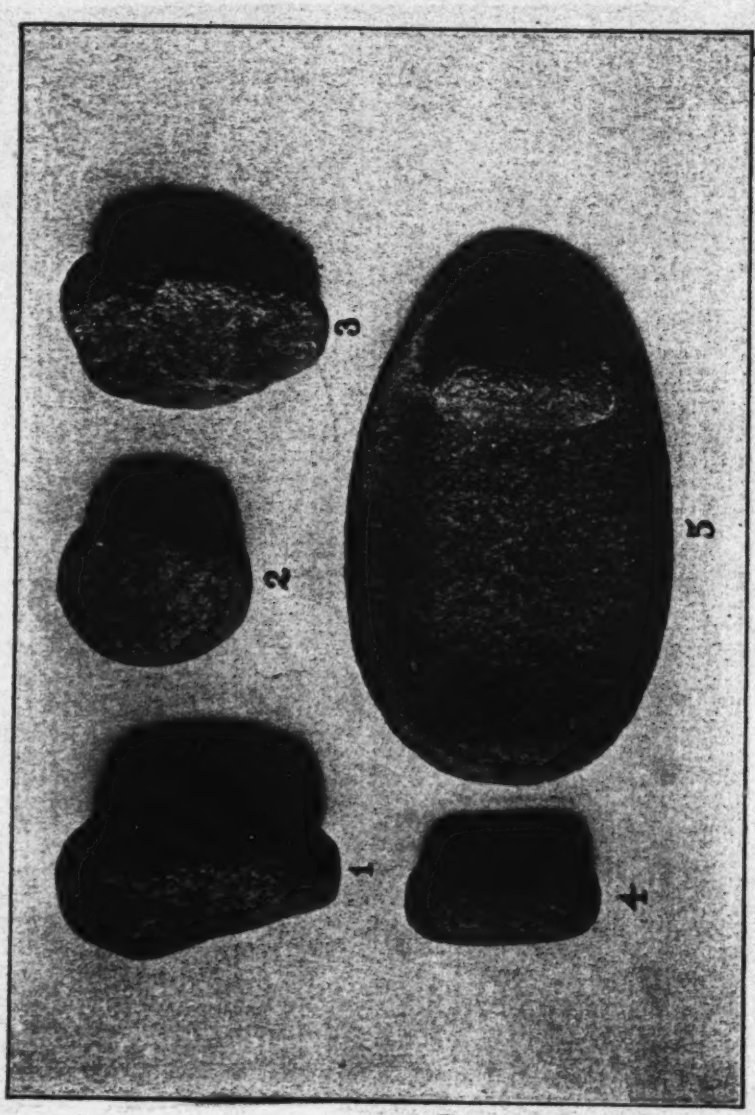
Figures 1-3. Cobble stone pestles. Catalog numbers 18371, 18370, and 18372, respectively. Length 9 (28 cm.), 6.5 (16.5 cm.), and 8.8 (22.5 cm.) inches, respectively.

Figure 4. Stone muller. Also used as a pestle. Catalog number 18374. Length 6.8 inches (17.5 cm.).

Figure 5. Stone metate and muller. Catalog number 18369. Length 17.3 inches (44 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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[P. 35]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE V.

412

COOKING IMPLEMENTS.

Figure 1. Wooden poker. Catalog number 18368. Length 24.7 inches (62.6 cm.).

Figure 2. Meal brush of soap-root leaf fiber. Catalog number 18375. Length 6.8 inches (17.5 cm.).

Figure 3. Looped stirring stick. Catalog number 18366. Length 26.2 inches (66.5 cm.).

Figure 4. Stirring paddle. Catalog number 18365. Length 31.1 inches (78.9 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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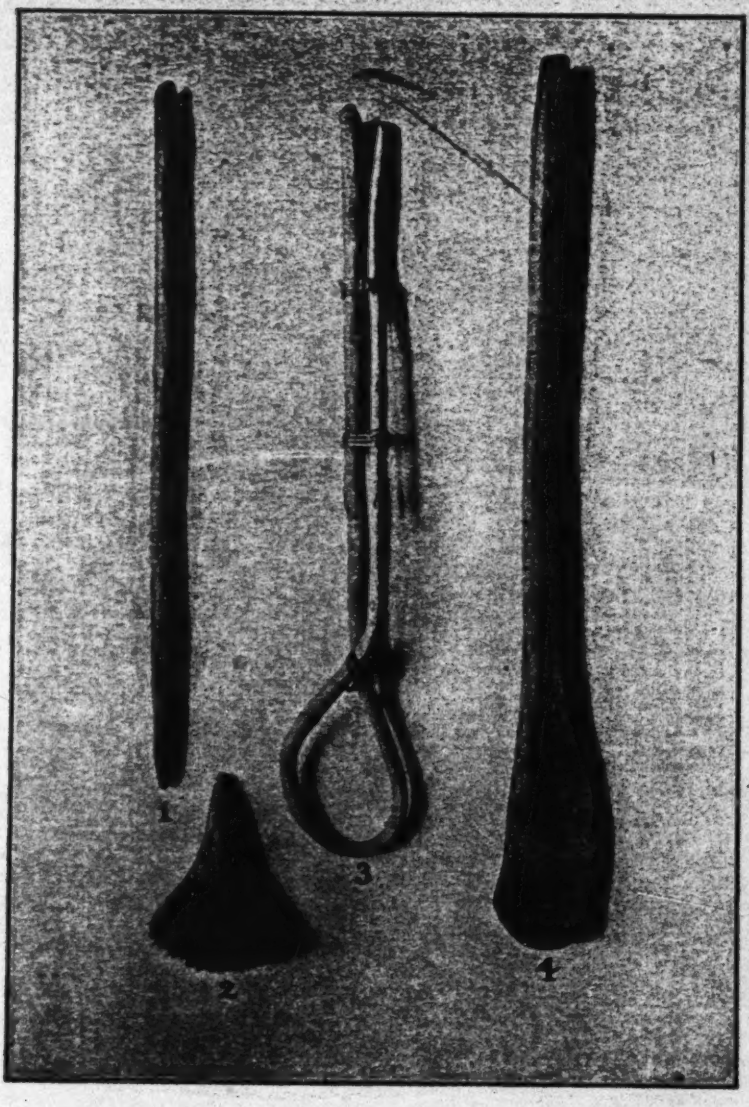

[P. 37]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

HARVESTING BASKETS.

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Figure 1. Coarsely woven burden basket used especially for gathering pine cones. Catalog number 18323. Length 16.5 inches (42 cm.).

[412]

Figure 2. Seed beater. Catalog number 18316. Length 20.8 inches (53 cm.).

Figure 3. Finely woven diagonal-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18321. Length 19.1 inches (48.5 cm.).

Figures 4 and 5. Coarsely woven diagonal-twined burden baskets. Catalog numbers 18319 and 18320. Lengths 21.4 inches (54.5 cm.) and 18.7 inches (47.5 cm.), respectively.

Figure 6. Coarsely woven plain-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18318. Length 26.2 inches (66.5 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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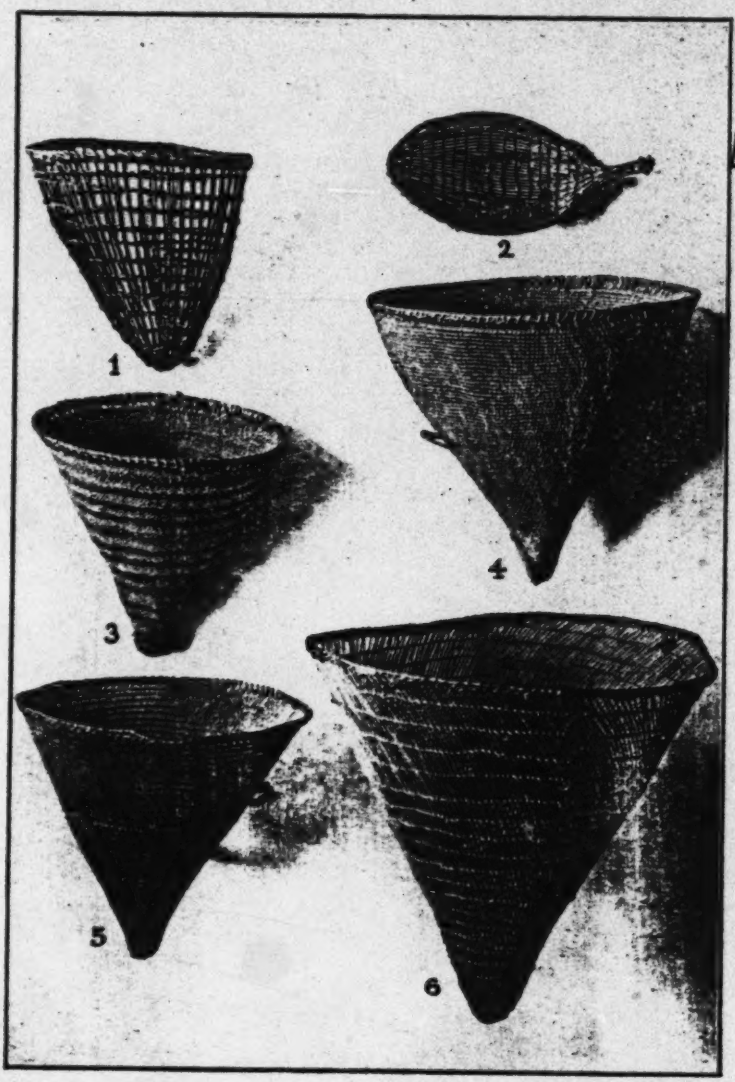
[412]



[P. 53]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [415] [412] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [846]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then [262] [222]

756 778 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which [278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was [752] poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER
(2567-2583)

756 789 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the [114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING
(2553-2556, 2566)

821 791 789 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by [756] individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lawe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *hūbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (medap) beads (maksu).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lysuwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scretching bone for tattoos.

[See end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285

1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadpa).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets.
   a. New born infant type. [412]
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul).
9. Spoon (itdamkut). [226]
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 44
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow.
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin. [412]
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 824
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds; particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 880

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut. 302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored. 301 237

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin. 304 301 [756]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish. 301 [237]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama). 302 304 [531] [386]

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation. 302 [751] [179]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick, 302 386 [317]

516
252
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415
●412

[Legend appears on p. 71, cat. 86 -- Ann.]

[End Plate III]

526
527
[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat chil-
[782] dren and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 93; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[222] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop
[782] be good and not make people sick.

527
178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 [412]

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?) was put on next to the abdomen [824] and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·ʔi) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
780a. 3 or 4	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
783. Rope to pull it across stream	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
FIRE MAKING														
784. Simple drill	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
786. Cane shaft	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
786a. Willow shaft	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
791. Bow drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
792. Artemisia hearth	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
793. Charcoal in pit	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
795. Bark in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
800. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS														
Mortar (paha) and Pestle (poduno)														
809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
810a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
813. Portable, irregular	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
816. Stone mortar, small	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
819. Wood mortar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
820. Cavity in log end	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
821. Sunk in ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
824. Stone pestle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
828. Piñon nuts	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Metate (nata) and Muller (tuwu)														
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

[p. 381]

NWA 412 [252]
NWA [356]
NWA [252]
NWA [415]

	To	Kl	K2	Kn	Yo	Ye	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	Al
830. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
830a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
831. Use: for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
832. For meat	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
833. For bone	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
834. For paint	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
835. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
836. With porcupine tail	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
837. With sage-bark brush	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
842. With grass-roots brush	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+
841. Scraping with stick	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
835a. Did not clean metate	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
843. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
845. Rotary motion	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Mush Stirrer														
847. Looped stick (patu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
848. Paddle (ogo)	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tsoko or tsiku)	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
863. Twined willow cup (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
863a. Coiled willow cup	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
864. Stone bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
866. Pottery bowl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
868. Biconical basket (osa; cf. 1096)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
Knives (wiki)														
870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
872. Flint blade hafted in wood	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
874. Bone knife	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (pbumpam)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, end notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
883a. Scapula	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Awls (witu)														
884. Horn	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
885. Artiodactyl bone: humerus	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

[p.382]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Tu	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AR
*885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*887. Scapula	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
888a. Tibia	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
889a. Radius	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*890. Cactus spine (awvu)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
892. Awl case: bark bundle	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
893. Beaskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Drill														
*894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
895. Shaft with bone point	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
895a. Unhafted bone point	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
896. Shaft with horn point	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various														
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLINT FLAKING														
903. Flint (tapic') flaker	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
909. Flint warmed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
910. Beaskin hand pad	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent cooked	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
927. Hide tied funnel shape	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
929. Juniper-bark smoke	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
930. Wood-chip smoke	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Done by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
932. Done by women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.383]

Metate and Muller

N 412 Owens Valley: + (Steward, 239).

830a. Ki: - (Kelly, 138).

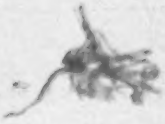
N [303] 834. Tü: Paint was ground to a fine powder, mixed with water, shaped into a small brick and dried. Powder was scraped from the brick as the paint was needed.

A [356] 835. AE: Mortars and metates were left out so that the rain would clean them.

N [252] 844. Paviotso: Seeds ground on metate with a forward and backward motion (Lowie, 208, 204, fig. 2), but "a forward and sidewise motion" was also used (p. 215).

845. Most informants demonstrated a back-and-forth motion using both hands on the mano. However, the shape of some of the metates and the condition of their worn surfaces suggest that a rather indefinite rotary motion was used. Some manos were too small to be held in two hands, which would also indicate an irregular movement with one hand, probably rotary. I did not inquire whether one or two hands were habitually employed.

Mush Stirrer



847. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 246). Tg: Spoon of mt.-sheep horn and basketry ladle were used to stir mush. The looped stick used only to "fish meat from hot water." Wd: - (BJ).

Spoons, Dippers, Etc.

852. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b). Kü: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,b, g, i).

863a. Tü: "The old-timers never knew coiling. This just started with younger generation." It is possible that this is true for all Northern Paiute.

N 415 864. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 169).

866. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 266). Steward, 269, cites Leonard's reference to pottery on Humboldt Lake which I criticized in note 338. Leonard visited Humboldt, Carson, Walker, and Mono lakes and refers to them collectively as "these lakes." Since he visited Mono Lake, and since we know they had pottery there, it would be safer to assume that is where he saw it.

867. Animal-stomach bag only used when other container lacking. Sometimes hunter will have no basket jug and then will use stomach of game.

868. Owens Valley: Steward, 273, translates osa, "water olla." Ki: Kelly, 124 (pl. 21,c), calls o'sa', "water jar." Kü: Loud, 65, (pl. 67), "basket water bottle." Same as 1096.

Knives

N 412 W [412] 870. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 277).

871. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[P-431(2)]

872. Owens Valley: + (Steward 227, and fig. 3,j).
873. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Scrapers

876. KH: Broken cobble used to scrape inside of hide, especially elk.
883a. KH: Scapula scraper from Humboldt Cave (U.C. Mus. cat. no.: 1-42991) was shown to informants. GN recognized scapula scraper and said it was used in old days to remove hair from hides. Specimen similar to Loud, 40, pl. 13,j.

Awls

885a-888a. Lovelock Cave: Awls from all these bones found in cave (Loud, 36).
890. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 271).

Drill

894. Owens Valley: T-shaped stone drills found archaeologically, but were not recognized by informant (Steward, 271). KH: - (GN). Wa: + (Smith, notes).
894a. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

Flint Flaking

903. To: Neither BS, LP, nor LP's wife had ever seen any flint flaking, nor had they heard how it was done. More surprising, LP and his wife were ignorant of skin dressing.
906. Tg: BS insisted that the Tagö chipped flint by means of a second piece of flint. The flaker was said to have been white flint held between two sticks tied together or in the split end of one stick, or it was a large piece of flint that was partly wrapped with buckskin. Except that flint replaced the antler tip, the technique was the usual pressure flaking.
909. Ki: + (Kelly, 141).

Skin Dressing

912. To: LP and wife professed no knowledge of skin dressing. BS furnished facts here presented.
924. Pa: "Only during last thirty years have Paiutes smoked skins."

WEAPONS

Bow

933. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Wd: Self-bow only for children. Ki: Boys' bow (Kelly, 143).
935. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Ki: (KH).
937. Owens Valley: + (Steward). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, m) AE: Sinew-backed

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

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Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gūm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darū tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 -- An.]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?). 756
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Ch	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	At
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
984. Or 4	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
989. Liver	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
*990. Gall	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
991. Decayed blood from heart	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
992. Rattlesnake poison	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
993. Red ants	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
994. Special plant: tavisigup	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
*995. Arrow release, primary	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1004. Perforated horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
*1005. Mt.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1006. Antelope horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
*1006a. Several holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
1009. 3 graduated holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
1009b. 2 holes	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
Quiver (hugutsa)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "peeling" off	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1013. Foxskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Raccoonskin	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
1017. Young antelopeskin	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1022. Thrusting spear	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
*1023. Shield (tepá)	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

[p. 385]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

A 411 bow obtained by trade from "down below" in California. The Achomawi traded sinew for the finished bows, which informant called "hickory." Sinew glued on with fish glue.

N 411 940. Owens Valley: Steward, 259, cites Chalfant's account of (mountain) "mahogany bows with reverse curves at ends."

942, 945. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

946. Ki: Sinew was wrapped not glued (AL).

948. Paviotso: "....the powerful recurved bow of mountain-sheep horn was not uncommon" (Curtis, 15:71).

953. To: - (LP).

954. To: - (BS).

960. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Ki: Undecorated (Kelly, 142).

960a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259).

Arrows

961, 966. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 262).

967. Paviotso: Arrows without foreshafts (Curtis, 15:71). Ts: Shaft usually made of chokecherry; some cane.

968. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 259). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, k,l).

969. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47, b,c).

970, 970a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260). Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 97, pl. 47,a).

971. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,a).

972. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,d). Sa: Arrows for ducks not wrapped, as in Owens Valley, but a feather was tied near point to keep arrow from sinking.

973. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, fig. 3,c).

975. None of my informants made arrow points. For the most part their knowledge of types was gained from arrow points they picked up. In private and public collections in the area several types occur. The 2-notch type seems to have been the most usual.

976. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 262).

W [411] 985. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

988. Owens Valley: Used a yellow mineral (Steward, 263). Ki: + (Kelly, 145): spleen, wild parsnip, and rattlesnake poison.

990. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

991. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). K2: Decayed blood was mixed with a yellow berry which gets ripe in September.

W [278]

992. Wa: + (Curtis, 92; Smith, notes).

995. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263).

996. Ts, Pa: Have secondary release, arrow held to string with thumb and index finger but middle and fourth fingers are used to help pull on the bowstring. Wa: Informant recognized that the Washo have same arrow release as Ishi had (University negative 15-5957).

Arrow Straightener

N 413 W [479] 998. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 260, pl. 4, fig. 1, shows oval straighteners as described by other Paiute). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

[p. 432 (b)]

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particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pa'Ta.n ta.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.* The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gse) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (s"'uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"'wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paka'tomn) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"esk) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called ta'lam also served as food.

* Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

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FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'eu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in
[411] the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (mecki'tact) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muee"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only piñon-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
[462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VI.

HUNTING WEAPONS.

411
[415]

Figure 1. Quiver of tanned deerskin. Catalog number 183861. Length 36.8 inches (93 cm.).

Figure 2. Wooden bow. Catalog number 183862a. Length 32.5 inches (82.5 cm.).

Figure 3. Arrow with flint head. Catalog number 183821. Length 31.9 inches (81 cm.).

Figures 4-6. Arrows with obsidian heads. Catalog numbers 183831-183835. Average length 32.2 inches (81.8 cm.).

Figure 7. Headless arrow. Catalog number 183862b. Length 30.8 inches (78.3 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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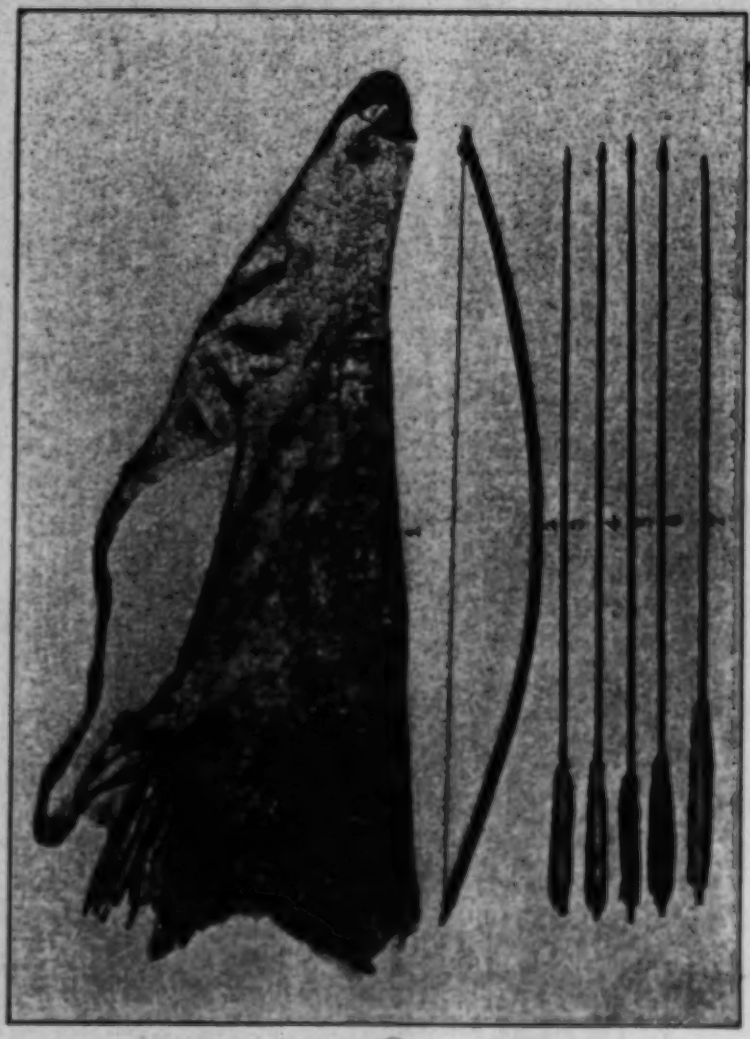

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[445]

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[P. 39]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131]

This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221]

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

[574]

881 252 [415] [412]

The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[846] [262] [222]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was pouted on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony*

881 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was
252 poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked
in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approxi-
[415] mately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china
cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was
held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn
bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were
not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a
small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in
the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs.
Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was
merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was
[291] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were
[432] dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were
881 crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles
535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her
pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and
danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so
that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an
angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point,
consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and
[533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-
wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet
[152] and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her
future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the
flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand
drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The
girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening
came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while
others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined
in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home
to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the
ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not
stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls
of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others con-
tinued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and
[302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body
with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the
house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it
[431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have
a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on 137 p. 140--Analyst]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *hübo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great. 433

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1] [251] [437]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewl), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959). 262 [554] [224] [237] [278]

Water (dima) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place 312 [415]

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

11. Bone awl (mibi?), needle (bebits¢t) and threads of sinew, buckskin, and vegetable fibers. 412 283
12. Paint mortar. 415

C. Baskets (singam). See Barrett (1917, 17-24) for a discussion of Washo basketry. The tight weave, decorated, coiled works are recognized as being among the most beautiful baskets ever made. Plate V, A illustrates some baskets. 285
1. Twined conical burden basket used with a buckskin or two ply twisted rope carrying strap.
   a. Large open weave (mamayt).
   b. Small open weave (washtanam).
2. Twined scoop-shaped trays.
   a. Coarse open work winnower and roaster (tugabul).
   b. Close weave (modal).
3. Large coarse open twined pinecone bowl (itmago).
4. Three rod foundation coiled.
   a. Large conical cooking basket (giuleu).
   b. Small mush bowl (itmahadas).
   c. Small shallow basket.
   d. Subglobular choke-mouth bowl (d¢gikup).
   e. Water bottle (possibly one rod foundation) with a pitch covering (k¢tip).
5. One rod foundation coiled.
   a. Close (singam).
   b. Ribbed (bayudate). [291]
6. Woman's hat ? [352]
7. Baby baskets. [412]
   a. New born infant type.
   b. Regular hooded flat type (bikus). [415]
8. Seed beater (tapuli tugabul). [226]
9. Spoon (itdamkut).
10. Fish trap.

D. Hunting and fishing gear. 411
1. Straight bows (balohat) of yew or pine wood. One variety was sinew backed. String of sinew (dideu) or fiber (dumbays¢gi).
2. Arrows (m¢skisit) of rosewood, reed, and willow (himo).
3. Arrowpoint (ma?sate) made by sharpening the end of the shaft or an insert piece that fits into the end of the shaft or by tieing on a small obsidian (patsaga), chert, or other stone point with sinew. [237]
4. Three tail feathers (tsisuapo) were used on the arrow. [412]
5. A quiver (itpatsu) of buckskin.
6. A flint flaker (itbayuk) of an antler tip used with a buckskin pad.
7. Grooved arrowshaft smoother (mashoni) of abrasive sandstone or volcanic pumice. [283]
8. Fish harpoon (bayako) with wood shaft and detachable point tied to the shaft with fiber cordage. [227]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmaiɬt), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bitsɬk), see Plate III.
2. Metate (dɬmgɬ) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bihɬ?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tashɬp). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (deɬk) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tashɬp). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbayaṣ̌gi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (melliu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The women also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyabuwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pṣ̌kishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [124]

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person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

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Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

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Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

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It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

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[197]
[484]

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

[317]
[262]

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

[192]

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PLATE III

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● 415
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[Legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Ru.]

[End Plate III]

PLATE V 1/1

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415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342

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482
854

b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

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524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 --Analyst]

[End Plate V]

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527
[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts: [415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, [252] and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, [782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo- [515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw [222] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop [782] be good and not make people sick.

527
178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. [535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although [262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 (412)

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyáʔu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

177
178 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
821 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
525 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (seʔliʔi, "to drag the
524 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʔya, melehéne? and ʕeʔwéʔwe?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[36] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals."

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[37] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit."[38]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[36] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[37] Lumholtz, 1900; Ziegg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Ziegg, 1935, 293-294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[38] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[39] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Ute pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Rosa Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okie among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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Achomawi N35

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORD

NWA 412 [258]

NWA [356]

NWA [382]

NWA [415]

	To	Kl	Kk	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Mo	At	Ha	Ty	Wi	Kl	Ak
850. Grinding on 1 side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
850a. Both sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
851. Tool for seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
852. For meat	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
853. For bone	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
854. For paint	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
855. Cleaning: with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
856. With porcupine tail	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
857. With sage-bark brush	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
860. With grass-roots brush	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
861. Sweeping with stick	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
859a. Did not clean metate	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
840. Oval-shaped muller	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
844. Back-and-forth motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
845. Rotary motion	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mush Stirrer														
*847. Looped stick (pato)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	*+	+	–	–
848. Paddle (ago)	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
Spoons, Dippers, Etc.														
*852. Mt.-sheep-horn dipper or spoon	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
855. Basket dipper or spoon with handle (tusha or talla)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
856. Basket dipper or spoon without handle	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
858. Jackrabbit-scapula spoon	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
859. Wildcat-scapula spoon	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
860. Wooden spatula for eating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
862. Twined willow cup (taiba)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
862a. Coiled willow cup	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
*864. Stone bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
*865. Pottery bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
867. Water container: animal-stomach bag	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
*868. Stomical basket (see; cf. 1098)	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	–
Knives (etc.)														
*870. Unhafted flint blade	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
871. Wrapped in buckskin	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*872. Flint blade hafted in wood	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
872a. Sinew wrapped	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
873. Horn handle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
874. Bone knife	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
875. Broken cobble for cutting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Scrapers (planes)														
876. Stone, broken cobble	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
877. Horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
878. Bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
879. Rib, various	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
880. Horse rib	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
881. Shin, deer	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
882. Femur, cut notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
882a. Sample	–	–	–	*+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Awls (etc.)														
884. Bone	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
885. Articulatyl bone: humerus	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kk	Ha	Yo	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Kl	Al
979. Ornamentation: 3 spiral grooves	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
980. Paint	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
981. Blood	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
982. Feathering: 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
983. Or 2	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
984. Or 4	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
985. Spiral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
986. Gum or pitch adhesive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
987. Sinew tied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*988. Arrow poison	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
988a. Meat, decayed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
989. Liver	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
*990. Gall	–	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
991. Decayed blood from heart	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
992. Rattlesnake poison	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	+
993. Red ants	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
994. Special plant: tavisigap	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
*995. Arrow release, primary	–	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
996. Arrow release, special	•	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
Arrow Straightener														
997. Flat 1-piece stone slab, unshaped	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*997a. Teeth used	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
*998. Oval stone slab, grooved	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
998a. 1 transverse groove	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
999. 2 or more transverse grooves	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
999a. 1 lengthwise groove	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1000. For cane shafts only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1001. 2-piece stone (pa'avi)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1002. 1 groove in each	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1003. For hardwood only	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1004. Perforated horn	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1005. Bl.-sheep horn	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1006. Antelope horn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1006a. Several holes	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
1008. 2 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1009. 3 graduated holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1009a. Perforated stone, oblong, 1 hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1009b. 2 holes	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
Quiver (haqatse)														
1010. Whole skin, head down	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1011. Skin obtained whole by "pealing" off	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
1012. Skin cut down stomach, resewed	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
*1013. Panskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1014. Wildcatskin	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1015. Coyote, badger, etc., skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1016. Fawnskin	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	•	+
1017. Young cottontailskin	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1017a. Piece of buckskin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1018. Quiver holds also: bow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1019. Fire outfit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1020. Arrow pulled over shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	+	+	–	–	•
*1021. Arrow pulled under arm	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
Miscellaneous Weapons														
*1021a. Atlatl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1022. Thrusting spear	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
*1023. Shield (tupa)	+	+	–	–	–	+	•	•	–	–	+	–	–	•

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Washo NT20
Achumawi N55

NWA 411

ARCHEOLOGICAL RECORD

	1084. Baskets	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•
	1085. Beades rim	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•
	1086. Feathers attached	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1087.	Armor	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1088.	Club, stone headed (tekvinum)	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	-
	1088a. Stone is basketts on end of thong	-	•	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1089. Plain rabbit club only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1081.	Kiling (takni'wa'ngp) as toy (cf. 1088a)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1081a. For war and hunt also	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NWA 285 [462]

BASKETRY

1082.	Baskets made by women only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1082a. Fish traps made by men	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Materials

°1083.	Willow for coil foundation (tätsis'tam)	°	•	•	•	°	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
°1084.	Willow for twine foundation (tätsis'tsalam)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1085.	Coil and twine weft of willow exposed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
°1085a.	Pole	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	°	•	•	-
1086.	Inner willow bark brown	•	•	•	•	•	•	°	•	•	•	•	•
1086a.	Fern roots for dark brown	-	-	°	-	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-
1040.	Pussywillow black	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°1040a.	Material buried to dye	-	-	-	°	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
1041.	Red feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1042.	Yellow feather quills	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1043.	Strands scraped through hole in awl	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1044.	Applied decoration: black paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1045. Red paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1046. Yellow paint	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Basket Weaving

°1040b.	Wicker	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°1040.	Coiling	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	°	-
	°1051. 1 rod	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
	°1052. 2 rods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	°1053. 3 rods	-	-	-	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	°1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
	°1055. 4 rods	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
°1056.	Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
	°1057. Counterclockwise	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
	1057a. Split stitch	-	•	°	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1058.	Awl worked from outside of basket	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
°1059.	Twined weave: plain 2-strand	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
	1060. Diagonal twine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1061. 3-strand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1062. Openwork	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1063. Closework	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
°1064.	Band decoration, aboriginal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	°1064a. Modern	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
°1065.	Feathers woven in	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	°	-	-

NWA 285 #15

Basket Forms

1067.	Twined work 'mortar (tsüim)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1068. Owl	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1070. Parallel warp	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1070a. Willow rim	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

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Wasko NT20
Ashmawi N5E

[illegible] KING, DENNIS, & ZIP—STEWART: WESTERN POINTS

	Fa	Cl	Gl	Ch	Ta	Ty	Ag	Ab	Ba	Ig	Ki	Ld
1171. Twined simmering basket (timeless)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1172. Bag shaped, triangular	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1173. Bundle wrap	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1174. Open twined (pin)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1175. Close twined (Tumpa or time)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1177. Bead size for perching	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1178. Angular tray (base)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1180. Twined	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1181. Coiled carrying basket (burse)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1184. Open twine	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1185. Close twine	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1186. Rabbit-covered bottle	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1187. Twined bottle	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1189. Rod-and-handle rim	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1191. Fishing tray (scales)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1191a. Twisted, opening on side	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1192. Plain twine	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1192a. Rev mode	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1193. Twined hat (Ostomach)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1194. Hemispherical	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1195. Block design applied	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1196. Twined water jug (see) cf. 888)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1196a. Coiled	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1197. Rounded bottom	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1198. Pointed bottom	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1199. Tapering spout	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1200. Pitch on outside	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1200. Pitch on inside	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1204. Pitch on bottom	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1205. Paint: red	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1208. Needle: bervadair	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1208a. Willow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1210. Bundle	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1211. Vegetable string	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1212. Stopper: juniper bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1213. Grass, etc.	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1214. Food bowl (table)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1215. Coiled	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1216. Pointed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1217. Pitch coated	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1218. Basket for boiling (eggs)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1218a. Coiled	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1218b. Twined	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1219. Ladle (Southern)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1220. Twined	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1221. Coiled	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1222. With handle	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1223. Like modern	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1223a. Like aboriginal	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1224. Breaking of basketry	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1225. Bag (sacs'c)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1225a. Of hides	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1226. Of twined sage bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1226. Of twined tule	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1234. Hat (wind)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1234a. For deer	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1235. Of twined sage bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1236. Of twined tule	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

[p.387]

1004. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,j,k).
1005. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1006, 1006. Kl: + (Loud, 42, pl. 15,k).
1006. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 15,j,k).
1009a. Arrow straightener similar to University neg. 15-4801, of a Klamath specimen.

Quiver

1012. Ki: + (Kelly, 145).
1013. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for hunting.
1017. Ki: - (Ka).
1017a. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263): for war. Ki: - (KK).
1020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).
1021. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 263). Al: Pulled under arm during war. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Miscellaneous Weapons

1021a. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 100, fig. 16).
1023. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 259). Pa: Tule padding was worn to protect arm from being chafed. Wa: Washo did not have shields but said Paiute did. Al: Elkhide shields were known, but were not common.
1026. Kl, Kl: GM knew of a stone-headed club that was found near Nixon, but he never heard of Klpa using them. IM described the tûkmivamu as if it were well known and insisted that it had been used in pre-white times by Kuyui. He called it a tomahawk. Tp, Kl: These northern informants described a stone-headed club similar to the tomahawk of IM except that the stone was covered with buckskin. The hafted stone was sewed into wet buckskin which tightened and hardened as it dried.
1026a. Kl: GM had heard of Hammock's use of stone on thong, but doubted that the Paiute ever had such an instrument.

BASKETRY

Materials

1033. Paviotso: Coiled and twined baskets made by Paviotso, but coiling less frequent and for few types (Lowie, 233). Curtis states that Paviotso made only twined baskets, yet on his published photograph of "Paviotso Basketry" opposite page 74, 5 of the 12 baskets are made by coiled technique. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 65). Ts, To: Coiled baskets rare in old days, but they were copied from Washo at times. Twining was the fundamental technique. To: MW denied coiling as old method (see note 863).
1034. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 69). Paviotso: "All Paviotso baskets are made by the twining process" (Curtis, 70).
1035a. Lovelock Cave: Twined tule mats, baskets, trays, and carrying cases were found (Loud, pls. 10, 17, 31, and p. 69). Tule baskets were

[p. 933 (A)]

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumsɛ̨wɛ̨) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from stripe of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilugɛ̨l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshuda)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihɛ̨pbeyɛ̨gul)
3. Leggings (pɛ̨kishu wigaa), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodihɛ̨p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mɛ̨liuyɛ̨k), necklace (umlɛ̨suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wɛ̨lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [364] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barnett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (dtyu ttpumaʔwʔ), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dacyutain boutsu).

372 The fire (dl?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (nin ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [387] gathering firewood (mask bʔhʔsing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

● 422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual [782] requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93 --Analyst]

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

GOVERNMENT—PROPERTY

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments"had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

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422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed [685] upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen [431] in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and woman's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

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Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

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The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

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Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463] in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

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Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

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Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them [161] the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language [439] isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423] in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in stripe [251] and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

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There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174] unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbĕ́yū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbĕ́yū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbĕ́yū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gathering trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their involvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

[313] [464] 177 222 492 177 241 871 [492]

Washo NTTo
Ashoonee NSS

[p.374]

Washo NT20
Kahomowi N55

CULTURE ELEM. SURVEY: KEY--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	El	Gd	Ha	Ho	Ka	Ma	Pi	Sa	Sp	Wa	Li	Zd
2160. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2164. For rabbit drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2165. For antelope drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2167. For eat-tan (or duck) drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2166. For pine-nut trip	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs (whoever or winner)													
2169. Head chief (tortal-winner) (leader of owned and localized group)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2180. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Community approval required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2182. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Chief's announcer (ceremonial)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2184. Chief's messenger	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2185. Special chief: for dance (square winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2186. For rabbit drive (hunt-winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2187. For antelope drive (hunt-winner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2188. For eat-tan (or duck) drive (sojourner)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2189. For fishing	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2190. For hunting generally	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2191. For pine-nut trip	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2192. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY													
2208. Band owned hunting territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2208a. Band owned valley in which lived	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2208b. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2167. Band owned fishing streams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2168. Disputes settled by fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2169. Family owned seed plots	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2170. Family owned fishing place	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2171. Chattels all privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2172. All destroyed at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173. Eagle carries privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173a. Cold springs public	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2173b. Hot springs public	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
WARFARE													
2174. Raids only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2174a. Protection only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2175. Warfare rare	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2176. War ritual	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2177. Captives	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
MEDICINE													
2178. Shinnkin, stuffed, for chance (sex, gambling)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2179. Special house for children	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Round willow house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180a. Regular house	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 20	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•
2181a. 90 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•

[p.407]

[P. 370, B]

7758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, whom Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [171] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness [755] couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, as bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans [424] who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doc- [787] tor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬqaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbĕ́yĕ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbĕ́yĕ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbĕ́yĕ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Malo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (petaimi mɬgi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 [782] Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen [431] in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use. 423 621 596

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification. 428

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands. 423 [768] [422] [425] [648]

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles. 428 423 178

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex. 462

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized. [868] [887] [463]

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjecent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

285 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in
489 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero,
177 the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

[1] Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

[2] [see footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

However, most men

who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road."

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own.

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy.

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (t.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbĕ'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship. 622 [692] [428] [178]

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt. 624

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe. 844 431

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy. 595

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional. 585

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast. 764 [178] 765 769

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men. 291

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist- [513]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration [177] should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe tl'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term tl'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7 $\frac{2}{5}$) was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (tl'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

1/5 [see cat. 116, p. 39 - - An.]

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle aeries and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atago, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (wɛ́lmɔ́lti, peuwalu, and hangaiɛ́hti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (dɔ́tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

T:Pmod E-S (1982-1987)1989 NTS0 Washo NTS0
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from uxorocoral polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1953), Nett (1953), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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(124)

Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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(611)
[764]

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the oldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1948, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of egamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *ɓéwtelel lέyadi?*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dέɓak gumlέm*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *ɓalaé·ai* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *tάgtelel lέyadi?*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sawέnaq gumlέm*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *dayalatlgi·ł lέyadi?* (also *dawlatlgi·ł lέyadi?*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1948, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŏbə́yə̄ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŏbə́yə̄ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŏbə́yə̄) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic experience. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market involves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertently presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[6] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[7] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[43] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[6] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[7] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ew'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 178 f.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbĕ'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

CARTWRIGHT: *Wasko Puberty Ceremony*

881 252 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china [415] cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Breagle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Breagle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [290] [432] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

881 535 Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Breagle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Breagle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Breagle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her clan. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Breagle believed that it [631] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 137 p. 140--Analyst]

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassiere and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is in the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

[P. 396, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat.°

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[124] [262]

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Brownsville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires: this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[956] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178]

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302] The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

1858 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 100 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 4) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Boko, horse	Chuiss, moss
Pacha, book	Tam, hand
Tani, knife	Oob, hat
Palong, gun	Cumia, water
Hmokaam, percussion cap	Hikes, trousers
Tabuch, hair	Malio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Aiaam, no
Wika, eyes	Aam, yes"
Anna, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garland Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-sews, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [425] [431]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of seperate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64).

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Ferris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

344 177 [448] was performed (Daugherty n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimashal) and eagle nests (patalmi mögi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a entity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p. 47). Also individuals who infringed [685] upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1934, 345-351).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibɬ shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutɬ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity; social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

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6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

431 Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division
433 of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all
571 Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the
592 flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

592 Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something
546 of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢$sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l$shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabey?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

769 114 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843 844 [854] [846] [844] [842] [828] Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 [431] [751] [461] [431] The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] [514] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

846 178 852 [302] (431)

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (ʔiʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body.

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance.

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawášan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nášwnan ?émluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dipek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.[5]

[751] [531] The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (ma?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843
[754] If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act. One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá·du? ɬúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (ʔe?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

177
178
821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the
535 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí·ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881
224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

881 252 covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approxi- [415] mately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [291] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were [432] dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were 881 crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet [152] and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others con- tinued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [42?] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

Acorns (ma'lɔɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called megi''gela by mixing acorns and venison.

Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

Antelope, deer (mends"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

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The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (mɨmdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (tabe) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bialt).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/ [see end plate V, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mib¢shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

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[525]
[434]

6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

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of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household.

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

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In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek.

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

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Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢ileu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢ileu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢ileu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

[see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlɨ¢sh¢¢sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovlves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

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Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc.

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Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

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"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units,

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consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

bear nuts two years in succession because pine trees have a biannual sexual maturity cycle, but different groves in different parts of the territory might combine to provide a crop each year if precipitation is sufficient. 433 222

Pinenuts were gathered in strips (dimasha) about one-third to one-half of a mile wide that ran up the hill following the natural contours. These strips were marked off by lines of stones (Lowie 1939, 303; Freed n.d., 10). Since the pinenuts ripened first at the lower elevations the gathering began at the bottom of the hill in September with the last prime nuts being gathered at higher elevations around the middle of October. Although gathering might go on for several weeks the actual collection time of prime nuts was about three weeks.

As the gathering party moved up the hill about three or four large brush and pineneedle covered caches of cones with the nuts still in them were built up the side of the hill. The caches ranged widely in size, but from descriptions it is possible to estimate an average size. A cache with its protective covering was about fifteen feet long, six feet wide, and four feet high. See Plate II, B for a view of a pinenut cache. Each household usually had rights in two or three strips but in abundant years might only collect from one strip. This would give each household about four caches each with from three to six hundred pounds of pinenuts, or about three hundred pounds per person. 433 222 251

In addition to the nuts cached in cones, a few hundred pounds of nuts in the shells would be gathered and eaten right away or cached in stone and grass lined pits (damyeo). Dry pineneedles were mixed with the nuts to keep them from getting damp and mouldy. At a rate of about a pound of nuts per person a day this gave the household enough pinenuts for roughly one half of their total food consumption for two years.[1]

Unfortunately Washo storage techniques were insufficient to protect the caches much beyond a year so large portions were lost to rot and animals. Also there may be a good pinenut crop the next year so that last year's surplus was not used. These factors resulted in an overproduction of about one-half of the crop that was non-tradeable.

Summary of Washo Economy

The aboriginal Washo Indians of California and Nevada subsisted on the products of hunting, fishing, and gathering. The staples of their diet were pinenuts, acorns, and other seeds, roots, and berries; small mammals; and fish. Deer provided some meat and most of the skins used in clothing. 262 [291]

1. Fremont wrote "at certain seasons they have fish...for the remainder of the year they live upon the pinenuts, which form their great winter subsistence... At present they were presented to us as a whole people living on this simple vegetable" (Nevins 1956, 353). [262]

1 [see cat. 116, and plate II, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

?:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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178
[433]
[464]
[535]
[795]
[726]

INFORMANTS

115

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

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Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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[197]
[101]

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936-39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance. 177 231

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time. 177 178 231 [361] [433] 177 464 433 231 178 [458]

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear 177 178 231

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

These pine nuts may be cracked and eaten, but they are usually converted into a meal from which mush is made. They are shelled and ground to a fine flour on the boulder mortar, or sometimes on the metate. These implements are shown in plates III and IV. The meal is then cooked in a basket by means of hot stones, making a food similar to the acorn mush so typical of the California area.

As above mentioned, oaks grow in the extreme western part of the Washo area and acorns (ma'lil) were regularly gathered by the Washo in former times. Others were secured by them through trade with their western neighbors, who considered the piñon nut a delicacy as the Washo did the acorn, which was ground on the boulder mortar, as above described, and eaten in the form of mush.

A considerable variety of grass and weed seeds are used in a similar manner as food. They are parched, ground and made in the same way into mush. Pigweed seed (ta'hal), and another variety, called me'tsŭm, are still used. A native tea is made from the stems of a leafless, desert plant, called me'gel.

In cooking, especially in boiling mush as above indicated, a considerable number of stones about the size of one's fist are heated in the open fire. They are lifted by means of wooden tongs, and are first dipped into clear water to cleanse them of ashes. They are then dropped directly into the mush, which is thus made to boil and which is constantly stirred with a looped stirring stick (belĕ'yû), such as that shown in plate V, fig. 3. As the stones cool they are removed by means of this same implement, again dipped into water to remove the remnants of the mush which may adhere to them, and replaced in the fire to re-heat.

IMPLEMENTS OF STONE.

The Washo use the flat metate or grinding stone (dĕ'mge), and the muller (ga'mûm), as do the Paiute and other Great Basin and Southwest desert tribes. These implements are shown in Plate IV, figs 5 and 4, respectively. The top of a conveniently situated, flat

[see cat. 116, pp. 334 35. – Ed.]

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[795] [756] [787]

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[2] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

[611] [581]

[2] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

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178

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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888
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745
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361
[162]

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

846

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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AND
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Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opele, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Taiuch, hair	Melio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more.

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mib¢shigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tegum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovives exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[*] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[**] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[*] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.

[**] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

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[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Ingalsbey of Minden).

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da'man'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 115 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, [871] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and mêmgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

N 524 NWA 436

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Ki	Kl	Ka	Yo	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Ki	AF
1887. Poggum	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (komitsa)	–	•	•	•	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	–	+
1889. Beads: shell disk	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1891. Measuring: around hand	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1893. With hand to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

NWA 276

Pipe

1895. Tubular bowl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	–	+	+
1896. Of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1900. Convex sides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901. With stem	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1905. Monitor, of stone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906. Stem of: wood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1906a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1907. Cane	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1909. Rosewood	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
1911. Primarily old men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1913. Pipe passed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

Cigarette

1914. Cane filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1923. Occasional only	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1924. At gatherings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1925. By shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1928a. Sun lights pipe	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA [756]

NWA [782]

Tobacco (pui'pume)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1930. Leaves dried and threshed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+

N WA 249 276

[p. 402]

N 436 177 439 W [434] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ku: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tōtsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tō: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{gu}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: +
W [534] (Smith, notes).

1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

N [172 756] 1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra-
N [178 759] mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'T'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart." The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (tɛ"eak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[*] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

[P.391, B]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One [231] old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers are considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
[782] of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly [795] Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (mɛ́mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

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person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household [291] use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were [433] organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They [621] lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often [463] prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that [251] once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes [628] increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established [648] in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and [871] become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but [301] they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, [439] bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally [439] received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California [114] trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291]
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All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

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About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

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Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bĭ'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kŭmbĕ'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

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The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[2] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[3] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII,[4] figs. 1 and 2).

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MATERIALS.

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The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used.

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The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	hîmû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñë'we, and poto'soñi

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 41--An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 53--An.]
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49--An.]
[4] [see cat. 116, p. 51--An.]

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo. It seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-294)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning seasons. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutaavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1954) and motai bubuka by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

S:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peles-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *mali*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'ne;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *kŭbe*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *daya'lind;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C.Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Sahin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

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History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager.

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 497

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibɛ shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutɛ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

"Secondary" Distribution

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6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

431 Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division
433 of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all
571 Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the
592 flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

592 Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something
596 of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

[291] [433] [621] [463] [251] [628] [648] [871]

438

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

[301] [439]

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

[439]

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

439

The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

[114]

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

439 [114]

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

222

The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

Payment for Services

465

A payment for services was given to midwives (demedugetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure: If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a "payment" rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

[476]

The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

433

lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovlves exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

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The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

The physical environment of Washo territory is marked by its variety of terrain, climate, flora, and fauna, primarily due to variations in altitude within a comparatively small area. The Sierra Nevada rises gradually to the east of the central valley of California from near sea level to peaks over 10,000 feet in altitude, then it drops abruptly on the eastern slope to about 5,000 feet. Generally the Washo lived at 4,500 to 5,500 feet in the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada; around 5,500 to 7,500 in the highlands; and their treks took them down to 3,000 feet on the west side of the Sierra. This gave them a wide range of habitats in mountain-valley terrain.

The highlands and western slopes had yellow pine, fir, and hemlock vegetation; a transitional and boreal life zone; humid mesothermal and microthermal climates; and zones receiving between 10 to 60 inches of annual precipitation. In the mountains the summers are warm, with rains through July. Snows start in November, followed by cold weather with freezing nights until April.

In the lowlands to the east of the Sierra Nevada the Washo had pinon and juniper vegetation, an upper sonoran life zone, and an arid-cold-steppe climate (Elsasser 1960, 3-6). These areas have 100-140 days of growing season and all farming requires irrigation (Department of Economic Development n.d.). The weather station at Minden, Nevada is 4,730 feet above sea level. It has recorded an annual precipitation of 8.73 inches, an average growing season of 144 days from May 29 to September 20, a high maximum temperature of 109° F. and a low maximum of -24° F.

Throughout Washo territory the average variability of annual precipitation is around 20-25%. In the months of December through February 60-70% of possible sunshine is received and the figure is 80-90% in the months of June through August.

The mountains and lakes (especially Lake Tahoe), the high percentage of sunny days, and legalized gambling in Nevada make tourism the major industry in Washo territory today. Cattle raising and dairying are the most important agrarian industries. Lumbering and mining are of minor importance (Department of Economic Development n.d.).

Compared with other tribes in the Great Basin the Washo occupied a very abundant environment. Hamilton described the Truckee River country in 1844 as "a hunter's paradise, with the streams full of fish and blue grouse in every direction" (Sieber 1951, 162). This abundance is reflected in the fact that the Washo had a higher population density than any other Great Basin tribe. Kroeber (1947, 137) gives a figure for the Washo that comes out as 2.4 square miles per person. The average population density for all of the Great Basin was roughly 15 square miles per person (Steward 1938, 46).

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

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(431)

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (le?wé we?) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 418) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelóyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelóyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

626
762
775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the
[593] husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister. The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
• [461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'lɛŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi'ʷgala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mɛmdu"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting[*] and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[*] *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *loq.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti"li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sage-
[314] brush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the
[415] point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.)
[411] said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"lohot) and arrow (meki'tset) were the principal weapons. The wood
[824] for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams.
[237] A poison (muca"gau nu"ei) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.
[237] The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern
[314] Maidu at Colfax, that only pifion-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both
[291] sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back,
[283] but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill
291 was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes
● [462] pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

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433
431

of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ye	Ki	Kl	Kh	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
398.	Game believed immortal	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	–	–	+	–	–	–
399.	Game increase controlled by ceremony	–	+	–	–	•	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
401.	Offering of game kill	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	+	–	•	•	+	+	•
402.	To "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
403.	To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
404.	With prayer	–	–	–	–	+	+	•	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
405.	Piece of gall	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
406.	Thrown in brush	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
409.	Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–

NWA 222 252 251

Gathering

*410.	Acorns (ta)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
411.	Leaching in sage-lined pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
411a.	In sand pit	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
413.	Grinding in mortar (paraam)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
414.	Boiled mush	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

Miscellaneous Pants

*433.	"Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*434.	Cactus fruit eaten (nawa or ntae)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
435.	"Stems" eaten	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
436.	Needles burnt off	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
437.	Needles brushed off	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
438.	Roasted in ashes	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
439.	Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
440.	Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
443.	Piñon Nuts (kwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	•	–	+	•
*443a.	Hooked pole (teama) for piñon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
445.	End fire bent	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*445.	End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
447.	Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
448.	Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
449.	Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
450.	Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+
*451.	Storage: green, in stone-lined circular pit	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
451a.	Piled on ground, covered	•	•	•	•	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
452.	Whole cones in cache	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
453.	Cooked seeds stored	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
*453a.	Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
454.	By burning	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
454a.	By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
455.	Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
456.	Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
457.	Unlined pit	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
*458.	Grass lined	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
459.	Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
460.	Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
461.	Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
*462.	Nuts ground on metate (nuta)	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–
462a.	In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
463.	Parching	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
*464.	In "pan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
*466.	Conical burden basket for gathering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
467.	Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
467a.	Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
467b.	Families wintered on piñon-nut range	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
468.	Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
469.	Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
470.	Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+

NWA [443] [H23 262]

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Achomawi N35

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kt	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	AR
885a. Cannon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
886. Ulna	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
887. Scapula	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
888. Coyote bone: ulna	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
888a. Tibia	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
889. Rabbit bone: tibia	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
889a. Radius	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
890. Cactus spine (nawa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
892. Awl case: bark bundle	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
893. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Drill														
894. Shaft with stone point	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
894a. Point attached in slot with glue	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
895. Shaft with bone point	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
895a. Unhafted bone point	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
896. Shaft with horn point	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
897. Stone knife for drill	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various														
901. Broken cobble for chopping	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
902. Natural cobble for hammer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
FLINT FLAKING														
903. Flint (tupic') flaker	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
904. Sharp point	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
905. Notched end	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
906. Of antler tip	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
907. Of mt.-sheep horn	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
909. Flint warmed	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
910. Buckskin hand pad	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
911. Pressure flaking	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
SKIN DRESSING														
912. Skin soaked first	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
913. Hair removed: inclined rubbing post	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
915. Tanning: with brain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
916. With spinal cord	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
920. Tanning agent soaked	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
921. Tanning agent kept: in piece of intestine	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
921a. In pericardial sack	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
922. Graining: soak and stretch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
923. Rubbing stone used	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
924. Smoking	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
925. 1 side only	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
926. Both sides	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
927. Hide tied funnel shape	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
928. Hide on tripod over fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
929. Juniper-bark smoke	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
930. Wood-chip smoke	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
931. Sewn by awl	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
932. Sewn by weaver	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 412

NWA 324

NWA 281

NWA [462]

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Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

NWA 411

		Ys	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Md	Kl	AK
	1024. Rawhide	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1025. Wooden rim	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
	1026. Feathers attached	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1027.	Armor	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1028.	Club, stone headed (tákuimamu)	–	–	°	°	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	°	–	–
	1028a. Stone in buckskin on end of thong	·	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1029. Plain rabbit club only	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1031.	Sling (takui'wu'mugé) as toy (cf. 1868a)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1031a. For war and hunt also	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

NWA 285 [H2]

BASKETRY

1032.	Baskets made by women only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1032a. Fish traps made by men	·	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Materials

°1033.	Willow for coil foundation (tátsic'kwa)	+	+	+	+	°	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
°1034.	Willow for twine foundation (tátwic'kwima)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1035.	Coil and twine weft of willow sagewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°1035a.	Tule	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	°	+	–	–	+
1039.	Inner willow bark brown	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1039a.	Fern roots for dark brown	–	–	°	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	–	–	–
1040.	Pussywillow black	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1040a.	Material buried to dye	·	·	°	+	+	+	–	+	+	°	+	+	–	–
1041.	Red feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1042.	Yellow feather quills	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1043.	Strands scraped through hole in can	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
1044.	Applied decoration: black paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	1045. Red paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	1046. Yellow paint	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

°Basket Weaving

°1048b.	Wicker	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1049.	Coiling	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	–
	°1051. 1 rod	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	–
	°1052. 2 rods	–	+	–	°	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
	°1053. 3 rods	–	+	+	°	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	°1054. 2 large, 1 small rod	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	°1055. 4 rods	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°1056.	Coiling (looking into basket) clockwise	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	–
	1057. Counterclockwise	–	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	·	–
	1057a. Split stitch	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1058.	Awl worked from outside of basket	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
°1059.	Twined weaves: plain 2-strand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
	1060. Diagonal twine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1061. 3-strand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1062. Openwork	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
	1063. Closework	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
°1064.	Bead decoration, aboriginal	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	°1064a. Modern	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+
°1066.	Feathers woven in	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	–	–	–

NWA 285 H15

Basket Forms

1067.	Twined, cook, basket (tsíkm)	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~	~
	1068. Oval	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070. Parallel warp	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1070a. Willow rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Te	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	Ar
	WEAVING (other than basketry)														
	Skin Blankets														
1137.	Animal furs used (twisted strips)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1138.	Rabbit (kambwi) fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1139.	Rat fur	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	
1140.	Wildcat fur	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1140a.	Muskrat fur	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1141.	Squirrel fur	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1141a.	Mole fur	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1142.	Coyote fur	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1142a.	Meadow-mouse fur	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1143.	Loom (wikato): 2 parallel bars	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1144.	2 horizontal, equidistant from ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
1144a.	2 horizontal, 1 above the other	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1145.	2 vertical	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1147.	Warp: 2-ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1148.	Single strip	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1149.	Plain stick for twisting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1151.	Twisting on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
1152.	Weft: of string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
1153.	Of buckskin	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
1154.	Twined weave	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155.	Sex of maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1155a.	Female	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Feather Blankets														
1156.	Bird skins used	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1157.	Mud-hen skins	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1159.	Skins sewn together	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1160.	Skins woven, like with fur blankets (nos. 1137-1156)	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1162.	No. of ply warp: 1	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1162a.	2	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
1163.	Vegetable-Fiber Blankets	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
	(See also 1134-1136)														
1164.	Material: juniper bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
1165.	Sage bark	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1165a.	Tule matting	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1169.	Weaving: twined	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1171. Mats	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1173a.	Mats of dogbane or Apocynum (wihewi) fiber	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1174.	Shuttle: string lengthwise on stick	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	1174a. Stick carved (like Hupa mat needle)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
1176.	String ball on stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1178.	Knots: bowline at edge	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1179.	Weaver's	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1180.	Overhand	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1180a.	Square	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1180b.	Mesh gauge: wood	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1180c.	Fingers	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
1180d.	Stone	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1180e.	Rod of shuttle	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Kl	Al
DIVISION OF LABOR														
2111. General seed gathering, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2112. Pine-nut gathering, both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2113. Knocking down, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2114. Picking up, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
2115. Transporting, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
2115a.Male	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2116. Preparing, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
2116a.Male	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2117. Cooking, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2117a.Male	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2118. Carrying water, female	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2118a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2119. Near camp, female	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2119a.Male	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2120. Long distance, female	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2120a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2121. Fire tending (gathering wood), female	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2121a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2122. Hunting, male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2123. Fishing, female	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2123a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2124. Gathering: larvae, female	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2124a.Male	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2125. Grubs, female	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
2125a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2126. Grasshoppers, female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
2126a.Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2127. Rats and mice catching, female	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2127a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2129. Pine nuts from nt. cache, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
2129a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
Manufactures														
2130. House, female	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2130a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
2131. Baskets, female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2132. Skin preparations, female	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2132a.Male	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2133. Clothing, female	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2133a.Male	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
2134. Moccasins, female	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2134a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+
2136. Matate, female	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2136a.Male	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-
2137. Skin blanket, female	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2137a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2138. Cord, female	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
2138a.Male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139. Weaving, female	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2139a.Male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2140. Rabbit net, male only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION														
Political Group														
2141. Sovereign body is: localized band (named group of defined region)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2142. Village	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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[p.406]

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use. 423 621 596

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification. 428

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands. 423 [768] [422] [425] [648]

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles. 428 423 178

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex. 462

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized. [86.8] [887] [463]

463

There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

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Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather. 342

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The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life. 22

462
Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree [463] in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

43
Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

433
Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. [161]
The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less [439]
trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon [423]
in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and [251]
inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

114
There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is [174]
unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

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[273]
[77]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[463]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

[623]

9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

[P.380, B]

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the 'chieftainship.' There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

[782] Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: 'Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday!' They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week.'

●[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
624 fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
224 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
178 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as 'just for fun' and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (198, 2553-2001).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants jocularly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the oldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."

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[787] "This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] "This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh;can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), B¢l¢bttok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢a ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

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[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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INFORMANTS

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The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy Jamea, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

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Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1937) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1928, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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[P 354, B]

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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Washo Peyote Songs

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Northwestern University

I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates. The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 84-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

Northern Paiute NR13

The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.

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Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

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3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 871 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or [492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

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484 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [517] interesting to note that in the summer of 1950 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
579 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or
154 attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous page is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

It is perhaps significant to recall that the earliest Washo experience with livestock revealed a knowledge of the various techniques of using large animals, i.e., riding, driving and packing. The fact that these experimental techniques were used on an ox or cow rather than a horse is significant in understanding the processes involved in the diffusion of animal-use techniques (Downs, 1961c). With the exception that these techniques were finally transferred to the horse we can say that the Washo developed very little beyond skills displayed in the first instance.

Although I cannot presume to offer a complete explanation of this situation, it would perhaps be valuable to attempt to answer the question of why the Washo did not respond to the potential of animal husbandry.

As a basis we may refer to the hypothesis set forth elsewhere in this volume, that for ecological and historical reasons the Washo tended to be oriented to the west rather than east. The great barrier of the Sierra offers little encouragement to the use of horses or the keeping of herds.

There also appears to be reason to hypothesize that Washo culture itself holds some of the answers to this question. From the very earliest contact Washo response to the new alternatives presented by white culture and technology has been to make a minimal adjustment of aboriginal behavior. Thus the Washo in part continued their gathering, hunting and fishing cycle without permanent homesites until the 1920's, when the last nomadic band became sedentary. White settlements were obviously viewed as sources of food either through temporary wage labor, which utilized aboriginal skills such as brush clearing and weed picking, or through attenuated gathering behavior such as begging, scavenging or theft. The livestock introduced by white men was looked upon primarily as a source of meat. Even today the Washo tend to live in terms of aboriginal orientation toward subsistence, involving a highly mobile opportunism that exploits the short term income possibilities of the economic system of western America. In the 19th century this minimal adjustment produced real rewards for the Washo. As commercial hunters and fishermen, harvest hands, brush clearers, woodchoppers, ranch hands, casual prostitutes and kitchen workers, etc., the Washo accepted jobs that whites, who had come west to make fortunes in ranching or even greater fortunes in mining or lumbering, did not care to perform. However, with the gradual restriction of hunting and fishing and the shift from field agriculture to stock raising in western Nevada, the Washo found their skills no longer in demand, and they entered a period of economic depression which continues at the present time.

Although the present social, economic and cultural condition of the Washo is vastly different from the condition of a century ago, it seems clear

439 (114)

claimed that the Washo supplied the Miwok with buffalo skins. The Washo informants of the present writer have no recollection of buffalo ever being in their territory and deny the possession of buffalo skins received by trade from others.

222

The Washo went south to Mono Lake to gather fly larvae (mets'bab'shi). They also received them by trade from the Northern Paiute. Washo were in rather close contact with the surrounding Northern Paiute groups and traded with them for the whole range of goods produced. The Washo considered the Northern Paiute to be poor hunters and report providing them with deer skins in return for other goods.

Payment for Services

465●

A payment for services was given to midwives (dameduqetiyi?) and curing practitioners generally. The shaman (damomli) and curing practitioners were often paid according to their fame and the nature of the cure: If the shaman failed in his efforts to help the sick person he was not paid. If he was paid for a cure and the patient had a relapse the doctor was sometimes forced to return the fee. It is this flexible bargaining that makes goods handed to a shaman a 'payment' rather than a "gift". If a number of patients died the shaman was considered to be a witch and was killed.

[476]

The additional meat received by an antelope shaman after a successful drive may be considered a payment for his services. There were of course many services among the aboriginal Washo that are not discussed here, such as combing another person's hair or aiding a neighbor in building his house. The economic distribution aspects of these services, however, fall into the categories of familial and task group sharing, rather than the more impersonal payment for services.

[P 354, B]

old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

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125 questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates
157 comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed
554 (1960, 369-78) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organ-
602 ization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, espe-
128 cially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men co-
[54] operate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the
[476] society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social
128 structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by
104 a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance. Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

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The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

W 175 177 648

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W [183] 496 [574] [735]

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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W [161]

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a [246] small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [313] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [477] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [179] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 gulu'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the gulu'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ha'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ha'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[434] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like. 881 [931]

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

881 535 574

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps. [481]

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating. [431]

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage. [582]

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ewe'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast. [533] [481] [777] [785]

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground. [533]

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 178 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cumu"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'a'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women" and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

" On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the boederline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have seperate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu). Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bialî).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgumaȼwȼ) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbashuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (mellîu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwa)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsiluȼîl)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imbashuda)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ihȼbeyȼgul)
3. Leggings (pȼkishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Helmet of fiber cord (megodihȼp).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelîi) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (mȼliuyȼk), necklace (umlȼauk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipak) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (wȼlyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyao) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or peddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Cocoaon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (be du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugiahua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game. 481
7. Net and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 24

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely minimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow.

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet."

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark."

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (tí¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe.

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

[See end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi N55

NWA 291 / 281 / 294

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	El	Hd	Es	Yo	To	Ne	Ua	At	Ze	Yg	Ut	Kl	AS
1540. Sole welded to foot	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1540. Heel seam	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1544. Ankle flaps added	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1545. Ankle height	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1546. Thongs added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
*1546a. Olivella-shell beading	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
*1539. Skin moccasin, 1-piece	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1540. Seam on outer side of foot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1542. Seam up heel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1543. Seam up toe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1544. Uppers added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1545. Ankle height	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1547. Calf height	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1548. Hind cole added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1550. Thongs added	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	-	-
1551. Moccasin of: deerskin	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1552. Badgerskin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1553. Ground-hog skin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1554. Fur left on skin moccasin for winter use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
*1554a. Regularly for babies' use	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
*1555. Woven-bark moccasin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1556. Moccasin lining	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1557. Shredded bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1558. Deer hair	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1559. Rabbit hide	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1560. Badger hair	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1561. Woven-bark overshoe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
*1562. Sandal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1563. Leather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1564. Bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
*1564a. Tule and rushes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·
1565. Snowshoe	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1566. Circular shape	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1567. Oval shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1568. Tennis-racket shape	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1569. Thongs of: leather	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1570. Sinew	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1571. Vegetable cord	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1572. Withes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1573. Sticks	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1574. Lacing: across	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1575. Lengthwise	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

GAMES

*1577. Ball Race (catch) • • • • • • • - • • • • • • •

1578. Race: race along course	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1579. And return	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1580. Goal: line on ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1580a. Paired posts	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1581. Ball	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1582. Stuffed skin	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1582a. Wrapped sagebrush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1583. Approximate diameter (in.): 3	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1583a. 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1583b. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1583c. 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1586. Propulsion with foot	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1587. Bare foot	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1587a. Moccasins optional	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•

NWA 524

[p. 395]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'leq) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mugi'"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'ahi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mends"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[a] *Op. cit.*, 12.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

No opportunity presented itself to go into the details of hunting and fishing. There are, however, without doubt certain traps and other implements used for these purposes, which a more detailed study of the Washo culture would bring out.

Both game and fish were formerly cooked by broiling on the coals of the open fire.

THE PIÑON NUT.

Chief among the aboriginal vegetal foods is the nut of the piñon, *Pinus monophylla*, called ta'gôm, the small species of pine above mentioned. This is an exceptionally large nut and is so rich and palatable that many tons are now gathered for the market yearly by the Indians of this region. The location of the piñon forests, well up on the higher arid foothills and at considerable distances from the Washo villages, makes it necessary for the Indians to move thither during the piñon season, a period of a month or six weeks in the early autumn. Thus there are established each year at certain points in the mountains regular camps which take on a character of permanency. Here are built regular summer houses, which are repaired and used year after year, and here are stored from season to season implements, such as special baskets, wooden hooks, and other objects used in gathering the pine nuts. The ripe cones are pulled from the rather low trees by means of a hook, made by tying securely to a long pole a short stick forming an angle of about thirty degrees with the pole. These cones are gathered in a very rough, plain-twined, burden basket, darû tso'hoi, such as that shown in plate XIII, fig. 1, and brought to the camp where they are roasted until they open sufficiently to allow the nuts to be picked or shaken out. The nuts are then ready to be eaten or placed in storage. When fresh they are very oily and have a rather strong turpentine flavor. After some months they lose these qualities, and become quite sweet and mealy. This change is somewhat hastened by re-roasting the nuts after they have been extracted from the cones. They then have a flavor resembling that of roasted almonds.

[See cat. 116, P. 53 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

285 The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many [171] respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that [482] of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2), the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[2] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[3] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).[4]

MATERIALS.

285 The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are 824 derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the [439] west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and [137] is therefore sparingly used.

285 The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials: 192

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	hîmû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[2] [see cat. 46, p. 53 -- An.] [4] [see cat. 116, p. 51 --
[3] [see cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 The other border finish on coiled baskets has been found only on those of three-rod foundation and is in effect the above mentioned finish running in both directions so as to cross, and produce much the same appearance as the "herring bone" border found in the basketry of some tribes. Such a border is shown in plate IX, fig. 7.

FORMS.

285 192 Washo basketry shows a relatively wide range of forms, each with its specific native name. The following tabulation records these forms and the native terms for each and shows the differentiations made by the Washo in the various classes, as for instance in the burden basket, where a difference in technic or in fineness of weave and the resultant difference in use in each case calls for a special name.

Basket — tsiña'm

[482] Burden baskets

Coarsely woven, plain-twined technic — mama'i
Plate XIII, fig. 6.

Coarsely woven, diagonal-twined technic — tatûba'bûli
Plate XIII, figs. 4 and 5.

Small basket, same as above — mamaiña'mi

Closely woven, diagonal-twined technic — mugi'wut
Plate XIII, fig. 3.

Coarsely woven, unpeeled material, plain-twined technic
Plate XIII, fig. 1. — ltma'gû, darû tso'hoi

[412] Seed beater, Plate XIII, fig. 2. — tapûli tugê'bûl

Handle of seed beater — ta'pûl

Body of seed beater — tugê'bûl acû

Winnowing basket

Coarsely woven — tugê'bûl
Plate XII, figs. 1 and 2.

Finely woven — mûda'l
Plate XI.

[352] Cradle, Plate XII, fig. 3. — pi'kûs

Fish basket — metsayê'ûl

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical kûya'nda 192
Plate VII, fig. 2.

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm [252]
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degîkûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

285
Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate. 482

285
The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type, with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4. 352 171

DESIGNS.

285
The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out 531 [171]

*degîkûp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XIII.

HARVESTING BASKETS.

285
•482

Figure 1. Coarsely woven burden basket used especially for gathering pine cones. Catalog number 18323. Length 16.5 inches (42 cm.).

[412]

Figure 2. Seed beater. Catalog number 18316. Length 20.8 inches (53 cm.).

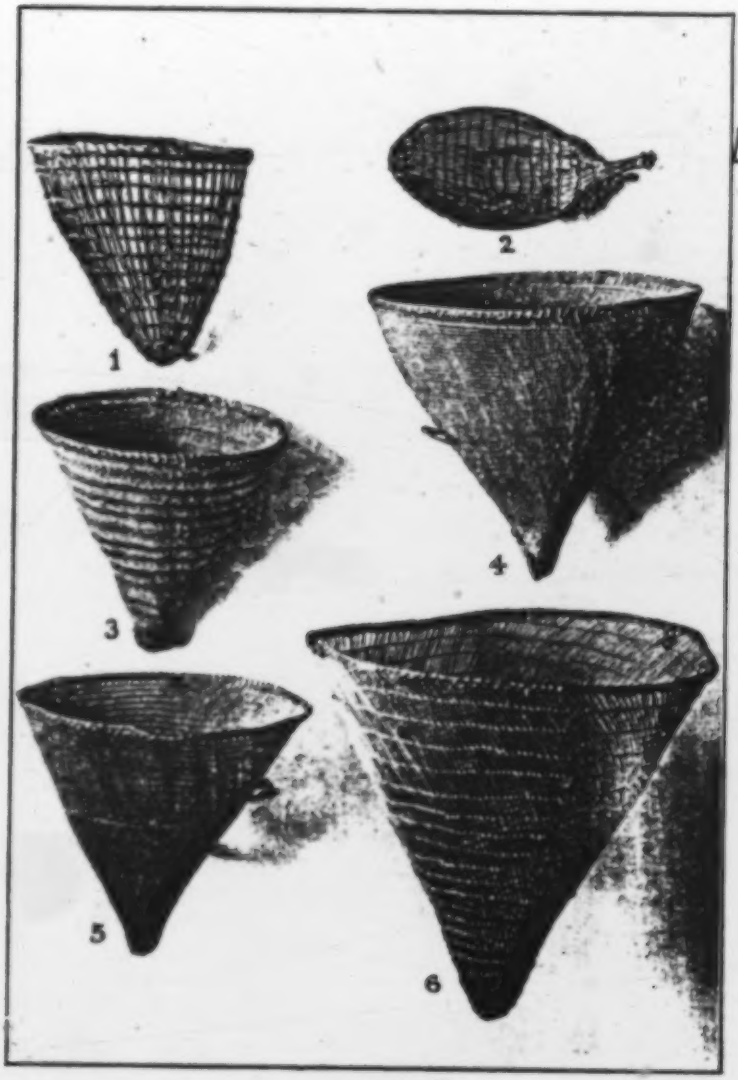
Figure 3. Finely woven diagonal-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18321. Length 19.1 inches (48.5 cm.).

Figures 4 and 5. Coarsely woven diagonal-twined burden baskets. Catalog numbers 18319 and 18320. Lengths 21.4 inches (54.5 cm.) and 18.7 inches (47.5 cm.), respectively.

Figure 6. Coarsely woven plain-twined burden basket. Catalog number 18318. Length 26.2 inches (66.5 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285
482
[412]



[P. 53]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 211

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

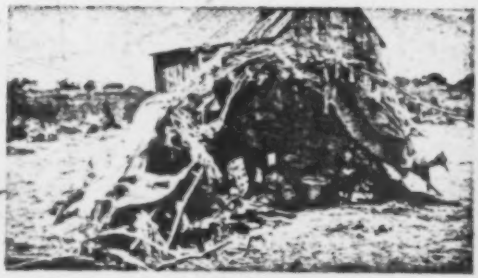
PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342

291
482
854



b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

291
516
524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

[illegible] photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden, between 1917 and 1960.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
1071. Twined winnowing basket (tiwahan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1072. Fan shaped, triangular	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1074. Parallel warps	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1075. Open twined (yata)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1076. Close twined (tsamo or tama)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1077. Used also for parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1079a. Angular tray (wano)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1080. Twined	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1082. Conical carrying basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1084. Open twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1085. Close twine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1088. Buckskin-covered bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1089. Pointed bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1090. Rod-and-bundle rim	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091. Fishing trap (aŋakui)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1091a. Bipointed, opening on side	·	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1092. Plain twine	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1092a. Mesh made	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1093. Twined hat (kotomaŋ)	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1094. Hemispherical	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1095. Black design applied	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1096. Twined water jug (osa; cf. 868)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1096a. Coiled	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1099. Rounded bottom	+	+	+	–	·	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–
1100. Pointed bottom	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1101. Tapering spout	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1102. Pitch on outside	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1103. Pitch on inside	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1104. Pitch on bottom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1105. Paint: red	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
1108. Handle: horsehair	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1108a. Willow	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1110. Buckskin	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
1111. Vegetable string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1112. Stopper: juniper bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1113. Grass, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1114. Food bowl (tsida)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1115. Coiled	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1116. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1117. Pitch coated	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
1118. Basket for boiling (opo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1118a. Coiled	·	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
1118b. Twined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1119. Ladle (tunoham)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1120. Twined	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1121. Coiled	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
1122. With handle	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
1129. Lids modern	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1129a. Lids aboriginal	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1130a. Mending of basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131. Bags (mano's)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1131a. Of hides	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1132. Of twined sage bark	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1133. Of twined tule	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1134. Mat (sdwŏ)	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1134a. For door	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1135. Of twined sage bark	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1136. Of twined tule	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.387]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	KP	Ku	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AE
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1182. Net (wana)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1185a. Tule	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1188. Clockwise twist	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1190. No. of ply rope: 2	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1190a. 3	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1196. POTTERY	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1231. Braided, 3-strand	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kötonenu)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1234. On top of bark head pad	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying nets (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit net	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240. Bag (maro nokwa): deerskin	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurus)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tsa kihopo)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1255. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+

NWA 283

NWA [323]

NWA 482

NWA 854 285

[P. 389]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 954

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	Kl	Kl	Kl	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Ma	Kl	Af
1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [482]

MUTILATIONS

NWA 304

1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1275. With bone awl	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1278. When youth	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1279. All males	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1282. All females	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1285. Man's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1285a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1295. Woman's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1303. Females	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1304. Man's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
1305. Woman's bone nose pin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1306. Tattoo (navawigi)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
1307. Cactus needle	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
1307a. Porcupine quill	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1311. Done when: child	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1313. Any time	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1314. Done on: face	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1316. Legs	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1317. Body	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1319. Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [846]

[p. 390]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 323 N [114] 1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 354 482 1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 483] 1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 756] N 304

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Ki: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304] 1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'laŋ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"'gəla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gəm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

" *Op. cit.*, 12.

[P.372, A]

824
795
773

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

(2562-2564)

754
756
778
[172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

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Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few
224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and
789 sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing:
[533] 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with
[114] the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
[237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were
[136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.
[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
224 There was, however, a special leader who directed
624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

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person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

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Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

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Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

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It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

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The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (atabi), rabbits (p¢lleu), and deer (m¢mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

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1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

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Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

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It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

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Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

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"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

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One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[3] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

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In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

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The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[3] [footnote appears on p. 93 — Analyst]

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 24]) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

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464 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned
● 484 trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

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177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque
[517] sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

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231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

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231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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APPENDIX III. STATISTICAL DATA

Table 1 below contains information about the communities where peyote meetings were held. The numbers at the left side correspond with those on map 1, and indicate the order in which Indians of different villages accepted peyotism. The spread was irregular and some distant villages received the cult before those near its starting point. The columns concerning tribal affiliation of

TABLE 1

ORDER OF CONVERSION BY COMMUNITIES

Communities	Tribal affiliation of sponsor of meeting	Tribal affiliation of majority of community	Distance in miles to meetings held previously	Total population of community	Tota' peyote-cult membership in community
1. Schurz	Paiute	Paiute	0	440	20
2. Gardnerville	Washo	Washo	81	281[a]	81
3. Wellington	Paiute	Paiute	33	57	33
4. Yerington	Paiute	Paiute	23	142	28
5. Coleville	Paiute	Paiute-Washo	23	74	34
6. Fallon Reservation	Paiute	Paiute	44	146	25
7. Mono Lake	Paiute	Paiute	85	133[b]	27
8. Bridgeport	Miwok	Paiute	20	55	10
9. Woodfords	Washo	Washo	15	80	11
10. Carson City	Washo	Washo	17	128	5
11. Nixon	Paiute	Paiute	61	350	13
12. Fallon	Shoshone	Paiute	15	112	9
13. Lake Tahoe	Washo	Washo	25	—[c]	
14. Bishop	Paiute	Paiute	63	250	4
Total				2257	300

[a] Including Douglas County.
[b] Including Benton and Leevining.
[c] Only summer home; population listed under winter-home towns.

sponsors of meetings and of majority of members of the communities reveal that in two instances "foreign" Indians, Miwok and Shoshone, living among Paiute were responsible for first meetings held in their adopted villages. The column headed "Distance in miles to meetings held previously" indicates the extent of travel required of members who attended nearly all of the early meetings and shows the distances that Indian news passes along their grapevine news system. The two

[Cott continues on middle of p. 123]

TABLE 2

PARTICIPATION IN PEYOTE CULT BY TRIBES

(From Newberne, pp. 33-35, unless otherwise indicated; cf. table 8.)

N W 171

Tribes	Peyotists (percentage)
Arapaho, Cheyenne (Cantonment Agency)	90
Cheyenne, Arapaho (Cheyenne and Arapaho Agency)	75
Lower Yanktonai Sioux (Crow Agency)	2
Sioux (Fort Peck Agency)	0
Sioux (Fort Totten Agency)	1
Goshute (Goshute Agency)	45[a]
Potawatomi, Winnebago (Grand Rapids Agency)	35
Menominee (Keshena Agency)	3
Iowa, Kickapoo, Fox and Fox (Kickapoo Agency)	40
Apache, Comanche, Kiowa, etc. (Kiowa Agency)	75

[a] Corrected by letter from A. L. Robertson, Subagent, dated at Ibapah, Utah, September 21, 1938.

(*Concluded on next page*)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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TABLE 2—*(Continued)*

Tribes—*(Continued)*	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	25
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 26, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATURES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			88 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

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489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

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177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

3 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably also aboriginally.

3[See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

231 Generally, News accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, [492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

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who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes.

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is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

NW
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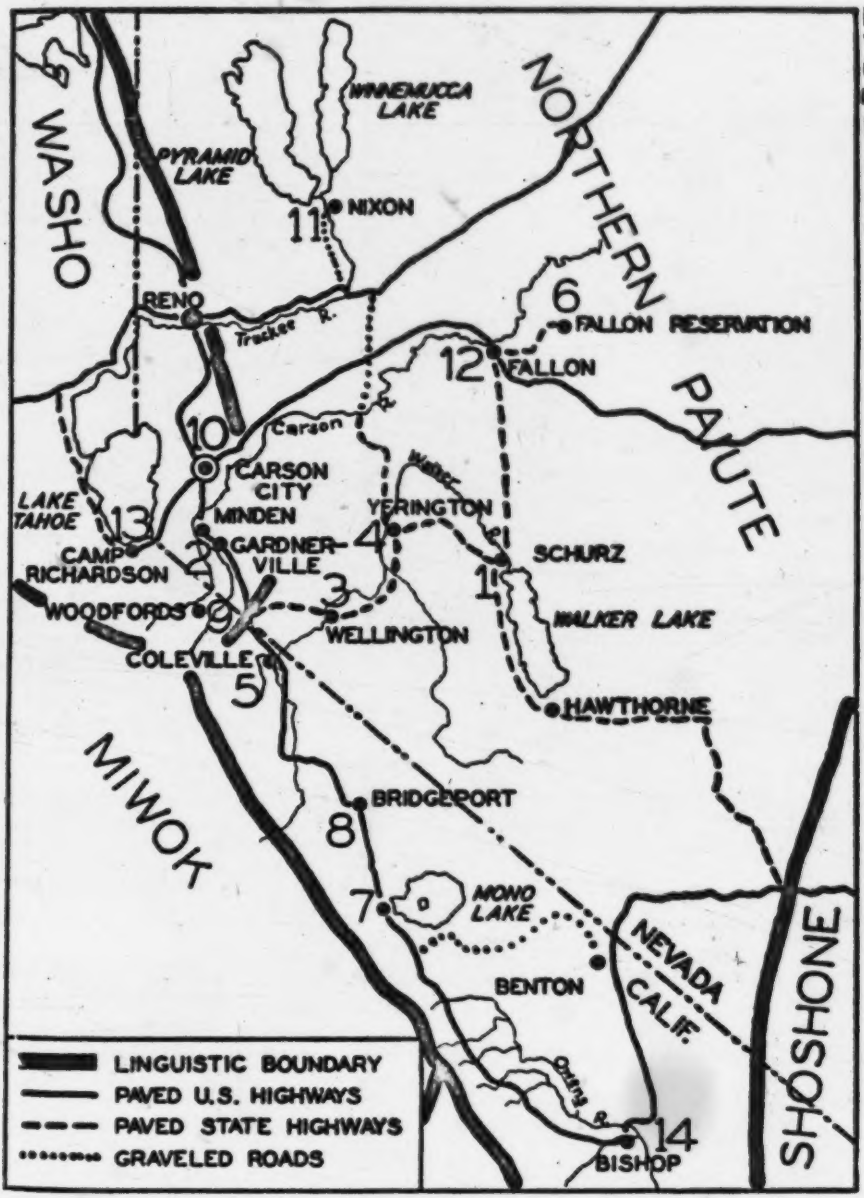

Map. 1. Aboriginal linguistic areas and peyotist villages. Numbers indicate sequence of communities receiving peyote.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band.

[492]
[177]
[262]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ts'ə'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[11] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[11] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

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History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager.

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

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[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

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2 [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook [1960, 243] on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

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One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'la$_{\eta}$) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɛgi"gɛla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gam) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendɛ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

" *Op. cit.*, 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cum<'"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'ə'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[a] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[a] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 241

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

172
226
[412]
[484]
[422]

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

172
226
501
[223]

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

172
[127]

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

[311]
[823]
[131]

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 26 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93--Analyst]

code and numbered sequence of their recordings, i.e., Do-1 was the first site recorded for Douglas County, Nevada. Sites from which private collections were made are indicated by initials of each site's locale, i.e., the Prosser Creek site is indicated by P.C. 102 172

3. Lowie (1939, 327-9) reports the use of a cedar bark raft, 12-15 ft. long by 10 ft. wide, that was propelled along the shore by a long pole used for fishing on Lake Tahoe. If this was pre-white, it was rare because this writer's informants knew nothing about it. 172 226 501

N A 343 515

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
730. Rocks around patient	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
733. Water poured on rocks	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
734. Water in baskets	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
735. Uses: for sickness	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
736. For colds	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
737. For rheumatism	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
738. For general debility	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
739. Shaman treats inside	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
740. For bathing (i.e., cleansing)	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
742. Bather removes clothing	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
743. Attendant for bather	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
744. Prayers while bathing	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
745. Bad dream told	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
746. Personal power addressed	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
747. Hunting luck sought	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
748. Cold bath afterward (required)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
748a. Optional	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
749. Smoking while bathing	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
750. Men used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
750a. Men and women together used	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
751. Women used	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
752. No. persons accommodated: up to 4	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
752a. Up to 7	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
752b. 10 or more	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
N [423] *753. Use as clubhouse	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
757. Ownership by individual	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
759. Community uses	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N A 343 [341]

Miscellaneous Houses

760. Dog house	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
761. Small, domed willow	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
762. Special grinding house	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
763. Menstrual house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
N [764] 763b. Cave dwelling: temporary	–	–	–	●	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
763c. Burial in caves	–	–	+	●	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	–	–
*764. Ceremonial Enclosure	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	●	–
N 346 765. For general gatherings only	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
766. Circular	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
767. Brush fence	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768. Direction of opening: N and S (2)	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768a. E	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
768b. Any direction	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
770. Fires around fence	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

N W A 501

NAVIGATION

*772. Pole or log raft	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
● *773. Balsa raft of tules	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
*774. No. of bundles: 3	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
774a. 4 or more	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+
*775. Bundles side by side	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*776. Bundles lashed together	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
777. Bundles pinned together	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
778. Length (ft.): 8 or less	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
778a. 8-12	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
778b. 12 or over	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
779. Prow curved up	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
780. No. of persons held: 2	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Kn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AS
780a. 3 or 4	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
781. Propulsion: with pole (willow)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
782. With hands and feet	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–
782a. Swimmer towed it across stream	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–
783. Rope to pull it across stream	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	°	+	+	–	–
FIRE MAKING														
°784. Simple drill	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	+	+
°785. Compound drill	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	–
786. Cane shaft	–	–	–	–	+	°	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
786a. Willow shaft	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
787. Hardwood shaft	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
790. Foreshaft spliced	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
791. Bow drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
°792. Artemisia hearth	–	–	–	°	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+
792a. Juniper hearth	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	°	–
°793. Charcoal in pit	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–
°794. Ground stone in pit	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	°	+
795. Bark in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
796. Indefinite number of pits in hearth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
°797. Artemisia-bark tinder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
797a. Juniper-bark tinder	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
799. 2 pieces of rock struck for fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	°	–	+
800. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
804. Bark-bundle slow match	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
805. Bark-bundle torch	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
806. Fire preserved	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
807. By covering with earth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
808. By burning sage into roots	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS														
Mortar (paha) and Pestle (poduno)														
°809. Stone mortar, large: portable, spheroid	–	+	+	°	+	°	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
809a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
810. In bedrock	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
810a. Made by known Indians	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
811. Made by Coyote or other animals	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
812. Made by prehistoric, mythical Indians	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
813. Portable, irregular	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
814. Portable, slab	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
816. Stone mortar, small	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
817. For paint, medicine, etc.	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
819. Wood mortar	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
820. Cavity in log end	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
821. Sunk in ground	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
822. Basket hopper used with mortar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
824. Stone pestle	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
825. Cylindrical: length (in.), 12-18	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
825a. 18-24	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
826. Mortar and pestle used for: acorns	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
828. Piñon nuts	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+
828a. Any seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Metate (mata) and Muller (tuwa)														
829. Thin, oval metate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
829a. Made by known Indians	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

[p. 381]

N 346 closure roofed with green boughs" (Curtis, 169). Ki: + (Kelly, 106): Used for shamanistic performances.

NAVIGATION

N 501 772. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

773. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 258). To: + (Lowie, 250, fig. 32).

W [501] 774. Owens Valley: One bundle of tules with gunwales served as balsa (Steward, 258). Ki: Two bundles of tules used to make balsa (Kelly, 150).

A [501] 775. AE: Gunwales were made on balsas by binding small bundles around top.

776. Paviotso: Tule rope used to lash balsa (Lowie, 233).

N 502 783. Sa: A rabbit net was used as rope and stretched across stream during floods or high water.

FIRE MAKING

N 372 784. Kū: + (Loud, 96, pl. 49,a,b). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [372] 785. Ki: Foreshaft of sagebrush. + (Kelly, 142).

786. Tō: Charcoal put inside cane to aid start of fire.

790. Tō: Horn sometimes used on drill.

N [177] 791. Sa: Bow drill now used by Sawa, and although time of introduction is not known, it was probably after time of white people.

N [172] 792. Kū: Willow hearths were most abundant in Lovelock Cave (Loud, 96).

792a. Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

793. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). To: - (LP).

794. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276). Ki: + (Kelly, 142).

797. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 276).

799. Wd: SC had heard that the Tagö, to E of the Wada on a Snake River tributary, could start a fire by striking two stones.

MISCELLANEOUS IMPLEMENTS

Mortar and Pestle

N 412 809. Owens Valley: Not used in Owens Valley, but occurs in Death Valley (Steward, 241). To, Kū: + (LP). The Saidöka, people who lived around Humboldt and Carson sinks before the Paiute, made all mortars; Paiute used them when found, however (GN). AL said that Paiute at Lovelock made mortars. "My mother made a mortar about 40 years ago, and she saw others made." Tō: "All mortars were made on Jolis Peak when animals were people. Deer made them. The Indians just find them some place. Pestles made by Indians."

N [773]

[p. 431(N)]

881
178

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body. [262]

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance. [431] [511]

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 16 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[96] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[97] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[96] From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[97] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pɛ'l'ɛ.u tɛ.upe"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart.[20] The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛc) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (sɛ"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (pakɔ'tomu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"cak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lmu also served as food.

[20] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

Z: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teŭbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ent article of apparel was the rabbitskin blanket, which served also as bedding. It was common to both the Great Basin and California areas. The general term for clothing is i'twa.

Both sexes formerly wore the hair long, and usually unconfined. Both wore buckskin moccasins, the uppers of which were sometimes colored with red mineral paint.

Two mineral paints were employed; a white, called ti'pek, and a red, called sawa'sañ. These were used chiefly for face painting.

Practically all vestiges of these aboriginal customs are now gone, and the Washo are attired in every way as are their white neighbors.

MATERIAL CULTURE.

HOUSES.

The habitations, da'ñal, of the Washo are of two kinds: the permanent winter house of slabs, called ka'lis tañal, literally winter house; and the summer brush shelter. The former is illustrated in plate II,[1] the latter in plate III, fig. 1.[2] The slab house resembles that of the Miwok to the west, and informants maintained that in ancient times it was built in exactly the same manner, being a simple cone. At the present time it is invariably built with an elliptical ground plan about eight by twelve feet in dimensions and with a ridge about four or five feet long. Its height is usually about eight feet. It is made by leaning slabs of cedar and other conifer barks so that they overlap so as to effectually keep out the rain and snow. No center pole or ridge pole is required, the slabs being so placed as to support themselves. In the middle of one side of the house is built a short covered way with an outer door. This vestibule, shown in plate II, fig. 1, in a dilapidated condition, is never more than six feet long and perhaps five feet high. This house differs very materially from the usual Paviotso house of the Pyramid Lake and Walker River regions, which is a hemispherical structure, thatched with tule. A conical house with tule thatch was formerly sometimes built by the Washo.

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 31 -- An.]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 33 -- An.]

[P. 368, A]

539 munks, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of these fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild men had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

[513] [237]

2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down (maybe that wild man did something to the fire). Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild men still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES

773 Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely mimimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. 291 [778]

Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet." 175 291 [481]

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C, illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe. 513 237

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

½ [see end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

faster. After two or three years it may be given to an older person or traded off. If it is cleaned and repaired carefully and hung up in the summer over the lower limb of a tree with the warp vertical, it will last ten years or more

Lowie (1939, 327) wrote that in preparing a blanket "The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into strings. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty five made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2 1/2 inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering. A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket."

A few comments on the above passage are warranted. My informants indicated that the skins were purposely not dried so they would remain flexible and easy to work with.[1] Also the exchange rate was about 20 rabbit skins for one untanned deer skin and not one for one. A completed rabbit skin blanket of 20 skins was worth about three untanned deer skins.

Rabbits to be used for blankets were gathered in the late fall or winter when their fur was thick. The skin was taken off and cut into a single strip a little over an inch wide and around 15 feet long. An obsidian knife (tagil) was held in the mouth while the skin was held by the hands. The skin was cut around on the outside, with the hind legs first, in a spiral by cutting and turning the skin.

From three to six skins of one strip apiece were sewn end to end with deer sinew (dideu) to form a long string. Roy James said that each rabbit skin string was tied in a loop from one end to the eye holes. Two of the long strings (or several attached looped strings) were then twisted together with the palm of the hand on the thigh of one man while another man held the two strings tight several feet away. When twisted the strings were about an inch in diameter. The man who twisted the strings also wound up the strings on a stick (g¢liwisha tsuhua). The stick was pointed at one end to facilitate the removal of the twisted strings when the twisting and winding operation was complete.

The long two ply string when it was rolled up and tied with sinew for storage was called a t¢l¢lupa. A single t¢l¢lupa was stored in a damp place until other t¢l¢lupa were prepared and the blanket was ready to be made.

1. Cf., Dangberg n.d.

The blanket was made on a frame of parallel bars (itmolit) that may either lay on the ground or stand up from the ground. The itmolit were made slightly longer than the length of the blanket and were tapered. For ease of sewing the blanket was usually made in the upright position and then laid on the ground to finish up the sewing after the poles were taken out. 237 513 286

The upright loom was made by knocking two sticks longer than the width of the blanket into the ground at a distance from each other that was just greater than the length of the blanket. The upright sticks held one itmolit up while the other itmolit hung by its own weight suspended by the warp. The warp of two ply rabbit skin strings was wound around the two itmolit for the length of the blanket.

The weft was made of buckskin (tish¢shi) usually, but deer sinew (dideu) or plant fiber string (dumbays¢gi) may be used. In recent times twisted cloth was used for the weft. The weft was sewn back and forth being careful to space the line of weft elements two or three fingers apart uniformly throughout the blanket. It was a twined weave and two strands were used at the same time in sewing. One string passed over the warp element while the other passed under it. The strands were given a twist after each warp element was passed. [178]

Each time the end of the blanket was reached the weft was knotted to the last warp element and a new row of weft elements was started two or three fingers higher. When the full center of the blanket was complete the itmolit were pulled out and both edges sewn.

The ground loom differed only in having wooden pegs(badakush shew¢) to hold the itmolit apart and keep the warp taunt. When the blanket was completely sewn it was hung up on a limb and hit with a stick to make the loose fur fall off and to develop uniform tension within the weaving.

Another type of rabbit skin blanket (umbidu) was made for children. This was made by plaiting rabbit skin strips and sewing at the edges and across the center. 513 237 283

Deer skin (m¢mdewi ish) provided the majority of tailored clothing worn by the Washo. The hides were prepared by the men who would soak them in water for two or three days, the hotter the better. A hide would be rolled into a bundle before it was placed in the water. The hot springs that are abundant in Washo territory, such as Grover, Walley's, Hobo, Dangberg, and Carson were used for skin processing. In all cases the skin would be scraped on the inside, usually with a deer rib (d¢m¢meu). The hair was left on moccasins and shin pants or leggings. 281 291

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (ltpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (lombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

PLATE IV 1/1

224

a. Rabbit drive.

237
513

c. Susie Dick wearing a rabbitskin blanket.

291

b. Captain Pete at the rabbit drive.

These photographs were taken by Omer Stewart at Stewart Ranch [illegible] and 1938.

[End Plate IV]

1/1 [legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawáka·ši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

969 114 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843 844 [854] Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 [431] [751] [461] [431] The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] [514] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-?1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[30] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[31]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his m[illegible]. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in [illegible] peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[32] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[33]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[30] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[31] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[32] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[33] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

PLATE 2

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[894]

a. Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

b. "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

c. Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

d. School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

[P. 141]

PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

NW 795* 142 516

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[3] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[3] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɑhɑ''tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal [782] prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the [431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu[178] ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few [302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the [574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

764 [P.378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
● 515 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
783 ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
for most Washo (3606-3609a). Ideally, the spirit is
775 supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[55] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal. Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (bialt).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsetsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks.

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal.

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting.

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water.

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance"

½ [see cat. #6, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 [787] [782] [535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 [791] [262] [211] [624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabi?ai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 [515] [525] [616] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[529] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

527
535
(412) The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
(515) and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

[782]
[515]
[222]
[782]

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegelέyu and the bone his Hindu wegelέyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegelέyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 303). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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178
821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own. 881 224

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer. [777]

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck. [515] [782]

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways. 584

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it [527]

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787]
[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

NWA 302

	Hair Dressing	Ts	K1	K2	K3	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	K4	AR
1366.	Hairbrush: porcupine tail	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1367.	Grass bundle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1368.	Rye-grass-root bundle (mai'avu)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1369.	Rabbit-brush bundle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
1370.	Man's hair: length to neck	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1371.	Length past shoulders	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1372.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1373.	Coiled on head	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1374.	Tied up on head	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
1375.	Bangs	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1376.	Front lock sticks up	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1377.	Middle hair part	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1378.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1379.	Braid in fur wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1379a. Sea-otter (pasaga) fur used	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1381.	Woman's hair: length past shoulder	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1382.	Hangs loose	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1383.	Tucked under basket hat	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1384.	Tied back of neck	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1385.	Middle hair part	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
1386.	Braid over each shoulder	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1387.	1 braid (behind)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1388.	Bangs	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1389.	Tied on top of head	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1390.	Hair adornment and ointment: white clay	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+
	1390a. Bone tubes	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1391.	Red paint	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
1392.	Red paint in part	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
1393.	Marrow	–	+	+	–	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1394.	Mud against lice	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
1395.	Braids fur wrapped	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1396.	Washing: with plain water	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1397. With white clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
1398.	Cutting head hair: with stone	+	+	·	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1400.	Depilation: of beard	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1401.	Of eyebrows	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1402.	Of pubic hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1403.	With stone flake	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
1404.	With fingernails	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1405a.	Bone cup or tube for hair oil	·	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1405b.	Pericardium for grease	·	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

NA [235] NWA 281 291

	Headgear														
1406.	Woman's basketry hat	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1408a.	Men's bark hat	–	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1409.	Men's fur cap	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1410.	Tanned buckskin	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1411.	Fawnskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1412.	Antelopeskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1413.	Mt. sheep lambskin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1415.	Muskratskin	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1416.	Beaverskin	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1416a.	Badgerskin	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1417.	Wildcatskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1418.	Coyoteskin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
1420.	With quail tufts	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1421.	With other feathers	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1422.	With horns	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
1423.	Hair net	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 6 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

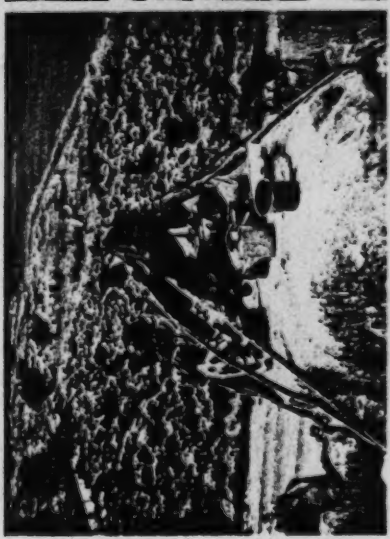
When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

PLATE III



a, b, c. Winnie Pete and her daughter Flonie Bennett processing acorns using a bedrock mortar and stone pestle.

d. Bertha Holbrook illustrates the use of the bedrock mortar and pestle.

½ [legend appears on p. 74, cat. 116 -- Ed.]

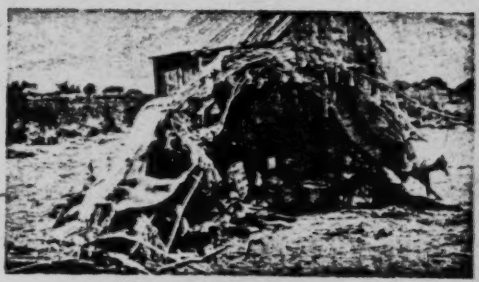
[End Plate III]

PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342
291
482
854



b. Summer shelter.

291
516
524

c. Susie Dick holding two sets of hand game pieces.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

Three photographs were taken by Grace Dangberg of Minden between 1917 and 1919.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PLATE 2

a. Entrance to peyote corral. Note on ground to left, cans in which to vomit, and spit, used during meeting; to right, supply of firewood. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

b. "Peyote boys." Left to right: Paiute fire chief, Washo, and two Miwok. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

c. Two Paiute members. Note in background Paiute baby in carrying basket. The decoration on hood indicates child is a boy. Mono Lake, July 1938.

d. School boys after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

[P. 141]

PEYOTE CORRAL; "PEYOTE BOYS"

NW 745* 142 516

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (pʔlleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (pʔlleu ushʔʔsh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (pʔlleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

177
464
487 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

233
177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is [57] interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

177
231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

177
231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

[P 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Psychiatric often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a sensitive, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 [776] The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's house or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

775 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwu. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, concentrating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leader may pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief rouses the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the basket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, element the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat."

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body," and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the utensils are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some each four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member is held as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

Then the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning rooms: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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* At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned mixed mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

* In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 789 When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777] [343] Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

[824] [777] To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said [522] to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or [787] dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

224 [136] Antelope (37a-73).--There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson).[a] According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (pɛts'i'lsi) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women [525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

● 524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetyɛ.'ɛmi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If [525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gɛbchu'cul.[b]

[817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tso'tsoyi, pa'la.a"ɛi being pitted against the ta'ɣidd and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 2½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden.[c] The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "it-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[a] *Ibid.*, 664.

[b] *Ibid.*, 322 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.

[c] *Ibid.*, 265, 335.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

524

in hiding, and 2 "male" sticks, plain and 7½ inches long. The four sticks are juggled under a winnowing basket while the holder is singing, calling on Wolf, and vibrating the basket against the ground. A correct guess leads to a transfer of the sticks, an incorrect guess forfeits a counter. Altogether, 8 counters are used. The three possible positions of the hidden sticks are: 2 "females" outside, 2 "males" in center; the reverse of the foregoing; and "female," "male," "female," "male." The last of these arrangements is called "Deer."

Women played dice (pokowa) with 12 sticks, 4 inches long by ⅜-inch in diameter, of split willow, painted red on the flat side. They were cast up and caught in a winnowing basket. All red up scored 6; 2 red up, 1; 1 red up, 2; all plain up, 6.[24]

[24] *Ibid.*, 199.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord.
10. Tule boat and long wood pole.
11. Snares.
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents.
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage.
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache.
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu).
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?).
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket.
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p).
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega).
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p).
2. Bone and willow whistles.
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C.
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo).

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlʔshʔʔsh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

PLATE V 1/1

342
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415

a. Winter house and baskets.

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b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

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c. Paiute Dixie holding trousers of tanned goose pieces.

2/2 [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]

[End Plate V]

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

842
[833]
[524]

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

881

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisáasum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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[753]

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʻya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Po	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wi	Ki	Af
1589. To win, ball must reach goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1590. Runner must reach goal	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1591. No. players on side: any no. agreed upon	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
1591a.2	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1591b.4	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
1592. No. of sides: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1593. Referee	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
1593a.2 referees	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
1594. Men players only	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594a.Batting	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1594b.Roughness allowed	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1595. Football (watalawa)	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595a. Field	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595b. Goal	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595c. At each end of field	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595d. Willow arch	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595e. Paired posts	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1595f. Ball: wrapped bark	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1595g. Stuffed skin	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595h. Diameter (in.): 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
1595i. 3	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
1595j. Position to start game: in middle	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595k. In small hole	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
1595kk.Propulsion with feet	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595m. Roughness allowed	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595n. Ball may be carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1595o. Referee in charge of bets	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
1595p. Batting	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595q. No. of goals to win: 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595r. No. of players: 4	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1595s. 5	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1595t. 8	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1595u. Male players only	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1596. Shinny (watsi'tasha)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1597. Field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1598. Goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1599. At each end of field	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1600. Paired posts	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1603. Single post and ring	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
1606. Line on ground (circle)	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
1607. Puck or ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1609. Stuffed skin, dumbbell shape	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1610. Braided-skin cord	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
1611. Braided-bark cord	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
1612. Hide strip	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
1613. Position to start game: in middle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1614. On ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
1615. Thrown in air	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
1615a.On sticks	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1616. Propulsion with straight stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1617. Length (ft.): 5 or 6	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618. No. of goals to win: 1	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618a.Any no. determined at start	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1621. Referee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1622. Batting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1623. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.396]

Washo NT20
Achumawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

N W A 524

	Ya	K1	K2	Kn	Po	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Ks	K1	Al
1624. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625. No. players on each side: any agreed upon	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1625a. 4	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1625b. 5	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1626. Hoop and Pole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	-	+	+	+	+	*
1627. Hoop (ring)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1628. Of twigs or willows	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1629. Wrapped bark	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1630. Buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1630a. Dogbane or Apocynum (sihavi)	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632. Diameter (in.): 3 or less	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632a. 3-5	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1632b. 12	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1633. Pole, plain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1634. Length (ft.): 6-8	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1634a. 8-12	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1635. Course specially prepared	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1636. Pile of horizontal willows as back stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1636. At both ends	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1640. Play: sides cast simultaneously	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1641. Sides cast successively	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-
1642. Pole through hoop wins game	*	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*	*	-
1642a. Counts 2	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1643. Pole under hoop counts 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1643a. Counts 2	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1644. Pole over hoop counts 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1644a. Counts 2	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1645. Play for counters	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1645a. For poles	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1646. Points to win agreed upon	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1646a. 5 points win	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1647. Winner by elimination	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	*	-
1648. No. players: any agreed upon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1648a. 1 on each side	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1648b. 2 or 3 on each side	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1649. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
1651. Referee held bets	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1652. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1653. Ring and Pin (substructure)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1654. 1 pin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1655. 1 string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1657. "Ring" of: pine cone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1658. Brush ball	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1658a. Tule ball	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1661. Players: men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1662. Women	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1663. Children	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1664. Old men	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
1664a. Betting	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1665. Playing in summer taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1665a. Loser received hit on hand or head	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
*1666. Hand Game (sainkwi)	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1666a. Challenged had "bones" at start	+	-	-	+	+	*	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1667. "bones": hollow bone	+	+	+	+	+	*	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1668. Bitapered, solid bone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
1668a. Horn	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+

N A 525

N A 526

[p. 397]

Washo NT20
Ashomawi N55

N
A
524

ARTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	K1	K2	K3	Y1	Y2	Pa	Wa	S1	Ze	Ty	W1	L1	Ja
1680. Wand	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1670. With finger loops	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1671. String of beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1672. 4 bones (2 pairs)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1673. 1 of each pair wrapped	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1674. Unwrapped guessed for	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1677. Hiding: in bare hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1676. Guesses indicated by hand signal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1679. By motion	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1682. Guess final only when vocalized	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1681. Side holding bones sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1682. Counters: plain, straight twigs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1683. 10	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1683a. 22	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1685. Divided at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1686. Called "cooked" (kwasap) and "raw" (saps)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
N 1687. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1688. Women players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
[525] 1689. Betting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1690. Singing while playing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1691. 4-Stick Guessing Game (wate'tai)	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1692. Sticks of wood	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1693. 4 sticks	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1694. 2 long or thin	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1695. 2 short or thick	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1696. Same as hand-game sticks	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1697. Sticks covered with: winnowing basket	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1698. Basketry bowl	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1699. Guessing for: long	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1700. Short, thin	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1700a. Either, as decided at start	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1701. Thick	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1702. Unwrapped	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1703. Position guessed indicated as in hand game	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1704. Counters	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1705. Plain twigs	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1706. 8	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1706a. 10	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+
1707. In neutral pile to start	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1708. Divided at start	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1709. Called "cooked" (kwasap) and "raw" (saps)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1710. Men players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1711. Women players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1712. Any no. of players each side	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1713. Singing while playing	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
1714. 6-Stick Dice (wave'kai)	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1715. Dice length (in.): 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1715a. 8	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1715b. 12	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1716. Dice all red on 1 side	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1718. 2 marked in middle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1719. 2 plain	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1720. 1 with cross in middle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1721. 1 with parallel lines	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1722. Dice called: "mother," "father"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1724. Play: throwing on winnowing basket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
1724a. Each side 2 dice to start	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+

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4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941

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COLUMBIA ELEM. SCHOOLS: KIT—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		Yo	KI	KH	Ha	Yo	Ye	Pa	Ma	Ai	Ha	Ty	Wa	K.	Ai
1724b.	First to turn up a marked stick gets disc	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1725.	Striking on: rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1725a.	Hard earth	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1729.	Counting: marks on ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
1729a.	10 marks to win	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1730.	Any no. agreed upon	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
1730a.	Scoring: white up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
1731.	Red up	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1731a.	"2 marked" up together wins	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-
1732.	Men players	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1733.	Women players	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
	1734. Bone Dice	•	-	-	°-	•	-	-	•	•	•	-	-	-	-
1735.	Disc of wood	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1735a.	Stick	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1738.	1 side red	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1739.	Length (in.): 4	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1739a.	Number: 8	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1740. 10	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1740a. 18	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1741.	Throwing on simmering basket	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1742.	Scoring: all white up counts as number of sticks	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1743. All white up wins game	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1744. 1 red up counts 1	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1745. 2 reds up count 2	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1746. 3 reds up count 3	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1747. 7 reds up count 7	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1748. All reds up count 8	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1748a. All reds up count 0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•						
	1749. 1 white up counts 1	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1750. 2 whites up count 2	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1751.	Counting: pebbles as counters	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1752. Marks on ground	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1753. Pebble pile = 5 marks	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1754. Earth pile = 5 marks	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1755. No. to win: 24	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1755a. 30	-	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
1756.	Women players	•	-	-	•	•	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	°1758. 8-Stick Dice (slightly curving)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	°-	•	•
1760.	Disc of split cane	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1767. Split hardwood	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1768. 1 side red	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1771. No. of dice, 8	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1771a. Length of dice, 18 inches	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1772. Rod bounced on ground	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1777.	Scoring: all white up, 8 points	•	•	•	°-	°-	°-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1778. 8 doubled if 2 or 4 players	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1779. Each white up, 1 point	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1780. Each red up, 1 point	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1781. 8 reds up, 8 points	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1788.	Counting: counters moved between sticks in ground	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1787. Sticks arranged in arc	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1788. No. of spaces between sticks: 24	•	•	•	°-	°-	°-	•	-	°-	•	•	•	•	•
	1788a. 30	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1789. No. of moving counters: 4, 6, or 8	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1790. On back when meet opponent	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1791.	Men players	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1792.	Women players	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1798.	Betting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•

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ETHNOLOGICAL SURVEY

	Archery (additional)														
1794.	Target	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1795.	Arrow previously shot	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1795a.	Arrow especially marked	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1796.	Arrow previously thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1797.	Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1798.	Brush bundle	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1799.	Willow shavings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1800.	Approximate distance 300-900 feet	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1801.	Shooting of arrow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1802. Over tree at target	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1803. Long arrow thrown	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1804a. 4 shot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1804b. Any number shot	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1805.	Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1805. Touching target, 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1805a. Touching target wins	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1807.	No. of points to win: 1	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1807a. 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1807b. 5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1808.	Men players	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1809.	Boy players	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1810.	Arrows thrown for distance	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1810a.	Betting: of arrows	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1811. Ring and Dart	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1812. Quoits (metal)	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1813.	Target: stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1814. Rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1815.	Quoit: rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1815a. Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1817.	No. of throws each player: 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1817a. 2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1817b. 3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1819.	Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1820. Juggling (antigo)	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1820.	Stones juggled	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1841. Maximum no.: 3	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1841a. 4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1842.	Women players	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1843.	Girl players	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1844.	Juggle while walking	•	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1845. Foot Race (antigo 'ma 'ma)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1846.	Across country	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1846a.	Betting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1847. Wrestling (nabe)	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1847b.	Betting	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	1848. Shot Putting (tegito'kwipai)	•	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1849.	Putting with rock	•	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1850.	Men players	•	•	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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COLUMBIA SLIDE, SECTION 1: 219—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	K1	K2	Kn	Tr	Th	Ma	Mo	Ar	Sa	Tg	Wi	K1	Ad
1861. Bag players	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1861a. Betting	-	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-
1880. Pills (beaded)	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1880. Pills used by boys	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	°-	-	-
1881. Jacks (anklebone)	•	•	•	•	•	°-	•	-	•	-	-	°-	°-	-
1882. Jacks (no.): about 10	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1882a. Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1887. Stones for jacks	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1888. Jacks used by girls	-	-	•	•	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1888a. Boys	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1888b. Adults	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1890. Tops (kwat)	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	°-	-
1891. Tops: stick with pitch	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	-	•	•	•	-
1891. Rounded rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-
1892. Spinning: twirling with fingers	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	-	•	•	•	-
1892. Twirling with string	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-
1892. Lashing with whip	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-
1892. Spinning on ice	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-
1894. Players: boys	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
1897. Girls	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	-	•	•	•	-
1897a. Player tried to break opponent's top with own	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	•	-	-	-
1898. Ring (hôni'nawa)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1898a. Ring as toy only (cf. 1881)	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	°-
°1899. Running for Ring Roll in Dust	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
1899. Roll-rescuer (nüwa'to)	•	•	•	•	•	°-	•	-	°-	•	•	•	•	•
1971. Whirrer: of wood	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1972. Of sheep bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	•
1973. Roll-rescuer used: as toy	•	•	•	°-	•	•	•	-	•	-	-	-	-	•
1974. To make wind blow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1975. Cat's Cradle (ahâ'ritüwa'sitsa)	•	•	-	-	•	°-	•	•	•	•	•	•	°-	•
1975a. String figures to determine sex of offspring	•	•	•	°-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-
1976. Tree used	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1977. Rock used	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1978. Static figures	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1979. Moving figures	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1980. Players: men	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1981. Women	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1982. Children	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1985. Bells (wood'na)	•	•	•	•	°-	°-	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1986. Rabbited clay effigies	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1986. Toy ovaline	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
Water Pistol: Progress														
1986. Section of elderberry with plunger	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1986a. Deer bladder	•	•	•	•	°-	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Achomawi NS5

N 281 284 1564a. Lovelock Cave: About 80 tule-and-rush sandals were found (Loud, pls. 22, 23, and p. 55). Paviotso: Sandals worn (Lowie, 218; 207, fig. 5).

1565. Wd: - (SC).

GAMES

N 524 525

Ball Race

1577. Paviotso: Called wu'to'goin (Lowie, 262). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

A [524] 1580a. AE: Willow arch.

1587a. Pa: Footgear determined by racers, but all wore the same.

1591. Pa: Runners raced in relays; in most bands all runners together.

1593. Sa: - (JM).

Football

1595. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: "Men played a football game (watci'muin)" (Lowie, 262).

Shinny

1596. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: + (Lowie, 262): nazi'"tsaka.

A [524] 1621. AE: Referee has to see that sticks are carried properly. While running, sticks must be held vertical.

1623. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287).

Hoop and Pole

1626. Culin describes the Pyramid Lake and Bannock hoop-and-pole games. At Pyramid the pole was 19 inches long, but the Bannock pole was much longer. At Pyramid the hoop was 2 3/4 inches in diameter (Culin, 495, 499). Hoop and pole called paci (DG) or baici (DM) in southern part of area, and nowikonoi (PS) in the northern. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 287). Paviotso: Called ipai'ciin. "If the hoop, which was only several inches in diameter, rested on the dart, the player scored" (Lowie, 262). Wa, AE: Old-time Washo and Achomawi thought to have played hoop-and-pole game, although none of the Indians of these bands interviewed could tell any details of game.

A W [524]

1635. Owens Valley: Course 50 feet long (Steward, 287).

1642. Ts: Pole through hoop wins bets and sometimes gets double pay. Sa, Tg, At, Wd, Ki: After one person has his pole through hoop, others get a throw. Those who do not get poles through hoop forfeit their poles and so cannot play until they get new ones. No bets.

1647. When a player threw his pole through hoop, the others were eliminated if they did not also throw their poles through. Ki: Kelly, 171, reports the hoop-and-pole game as it was described

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Ring and Dart

N 524 W [524]

1811. Wa: CR said he had heard of ring-and-dart game among his tribe, although he knew no particulars. Ty: HE had heard of game among other tribes. The Tagé did not have it. Ki: * (Kelly, 171, describes this as a ring-and-arrow game, in which one person holds the ring through which another tries to throw arrows). I conceived of ring and dart as the game where ring is held in the hand and darts are thrown at it.

Quoits, Juggling

1822. Owens Valley: * (Steward, 288).

1838. TS: Juggling only introduced since time of white contact. Sa: JN thought juggling strictly post-contact. SL said it was aboriginal.

Foot Race, Stilts

1845. Wi: Women used to race.

1852. Ty: Girls also used stilts.

Jacks, Tops, Sling, Bull-roarer

1855. TS, Wi, Ki: Playing jacks introduced by white people. Ki: * (Kelly, 171).

1859. Ki: Top spinning learned from white people.

A [224 411]

1868a. AE: Sling also used for hunting and fighting.

1869. Lovelock Cave: Baked clay balls were found which Gilbert Natches (KSpe) thought were used in a guessing game (Loud, 109). Natches denied such a game when I asked him.

N [534 789]

1870. TS: Bull-roarer known only since 1880. An especially feathered arrow made a similar noise. Mt: Bull-roarer used only to melt snow. Whirrer of juniper had to be painted red.

1873. KS: * (AL).

Cat's Cradle, Dolls, Water Pistol

1875. TS: Cat's cradle denied as an aboriginal trait. CH insisted that no Paiute ever made string figures and when told that MD made them he said, "Old Nick learned that from the Saidöka; his mother belonged with them on the Pit River. She taught him." Ki: - (Kelly, 177, understood cat's cradles as a recent innovation from white people).

N [177]

N [787]

1875a. KS: Al knew of string figure to "determine sex of child," but that was all. CH denied any such games.

N [177 857]

1883. To: - (LP). TS: "All Paiutes learned to play with dolls from white children" (MW).

1884a. To: - (LP).

MONEY

N 436 177

1888. Ki, K2: Although DG said bead money is a recent Washo acquisition, his brother, IM,

[p.438(b)]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to amuse themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabais'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tau'tauyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[a] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ku'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pahu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[b] ("taohotumpoah," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[c] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapa, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[a] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [b] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [c] *Ibid.*, 313.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson)." According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (peta'l'lai) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women
● [525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetye'emi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If
[525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gobelu'cul."

[817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tsi'tsayi. pa'la.a"ei being pitted against the ta'gelel and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 3½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden." The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "li-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[8] *Ibid.*, 664.

[9] *Ibid.*, 222 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.

[10] *Ibid.*, 245, 226.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[881] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
[582] used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 333) was a
789 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand
• [525] game, often carried one. But power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of
[178] the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES bottom of P. 384, B]

"Secondary" Distribution

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[525]
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6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

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Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

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Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

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The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumlí·shʔí·sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

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The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayeugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played seperately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

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p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1924, p. 96). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 [787] [782] [535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 [791] [262] [211] [624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabá?ai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 [515] [525] [616] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926,
[782] 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop
[782] be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to
[535] fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

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In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saswisaw) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (šiwyas ?émluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabort personal communication
4. literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyáʔu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (selíi, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwíʔya, melehéhe? and [elwéʔwe?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Washo NT30

Achomawi N55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kk	Ms	Yo	Yo	Ns	Wa	At	Ha	Kg	Wi	Ki	Ai
1580. To win, ball must reach goal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1580. Runner must reach goal	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1581. No. players on side: any no. agreed upon	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
1581a.2	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1581b.4	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1582. No. of sides: 2	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1583. Referee	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1583a.2 referees	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1584. Men players only	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1584a.Betting	–	+	+	+	3	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1584b.Roughness allowed	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1585. Football (sutajawa)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586a. Field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586b. Goal	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586c. At each end of field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586d. Willow arch	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586e. Paired posts	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586f. Ball: wrapped bark	·	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1586g. Stuffed skin	·	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586h. Diameter (in.): 8	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586i. 9	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1586j. Position to start game: in middle	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586k. In small hole	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1586kk.Propulsion with feet	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586m. Roughness allowed	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586n. Ball may be carried	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1586o. Referee in charge of bets	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586p. Betting	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586q. No. of goals to win: 1	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586r. No. of players: 4	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586s. 5	·	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1586t. 6	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1586u. Male players only	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1587. Shinny (sutsi'tsuka)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1587. Field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1588. Goal	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1589. At each end of field	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1602. Paired posts	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1603. Single post and ring	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1604. Line on ground (circle)	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1607. Puck or ball	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1608. Stuffed skin, dumbbell shape	·	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1610. Braided-skin cord	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1611. Braided-bark cord	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1612. Hide strip	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1613. Position to start game: in middle	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1614. On ground	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1615. Thrown in air	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1615a.On sticks	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1616. Propulsion with straight stick	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1617. Length (ft.): 5 or 6	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618. No. of goals to win: 1	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1618a.Any no. determined at start	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1621. Referee	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1622. Betting	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1623. Men players	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kz	Ha	Yo	Ts	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	Az
Archery (na'Kkwnte)														
1794. Target	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1795. Arrow previously shot	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1795a. Arrow especially marked	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
1796. Arrow previously thrown	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
1797. Stick	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1798. Brush bundle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
1799. Willow shavings	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1800. Approximate distance 100-300 feet	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1801. Shooting of arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1802. Over tree at target	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1803. Long arrow thrown	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1804. 1 or 2 shot by each player	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-
1804a. 4 shot	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+
1804b. Any number shot	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1805. Scoring: nearest to target, 1 point	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806. Touching target, 1	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1806a. Touching target wins	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1807. No. of points to win: 1	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1807a. 4	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
1807b. 5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+
1807c. Any no. agreed upon at start	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
1808. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1809. Boy players	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810. Arrows thrown for distance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1810a. Betting: of arrows	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1811. Ring and Dart	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1812. Quoits (natatsi)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1813. Target: stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
1814. Rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1815. Quoit: rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1815a. Stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1817. No. of throws each player: 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1817a. 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	
1817b. 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1819. Scoring: to hit goal counts 1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
1820. Juggling (natapi)	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1839. Stones juggled	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1841. Maximum no.: 3	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-
1841a. 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
1842. Women players	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1843. Girl players	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1844. Juggle while walking	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1845. Foot Race (na'tde'pan'pan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846. Across country	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1846a. Betting	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847. Wrestling (nabo)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1847a. Betting	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1848. Shot Putting (tapito'patsa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1849. Putting with rock	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1850. Men players	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ei and the t'aɬɬele'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ei. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ei, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ei.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬel, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,* when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

* How Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to assume themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalz'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiyu'uhia), another hiding game (tau'tauyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[1] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In peho"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[2] ("taohotumpeah," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[3] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapa, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[1] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 296. [3] *Ibid.*, 322.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson).[1] According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (pete'ilai) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women [525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetye.'emi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If [525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gobobu'eul."

[817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tsa'tsoyi, pa'la.a"ei being pitted against the ta'gidal and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 3½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden." The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "it-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[1] Ibid., 894.
[2] Ibid., 322 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.
[3] Ibid., 322, 325.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle aeries and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (wɬmɬlti, pauwalu, and hangalɬlti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (dɬtumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golasg) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526 524
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 211

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. 280

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that 291

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (walitstsini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬi tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (peolelɬi tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (gumi'shi'sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umiaiste), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayeugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

881
(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 308) says she lay on warm ashes
contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her
(224) clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them
bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menace, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or an-
other female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the spon-
sor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a
mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With
the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the
fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made
the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the
mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed
by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say
the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs
of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for
her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not,
everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would
be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An
attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who
was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted.
The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced be-
tween them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced;
the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs
composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other wom-
en joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance
clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing
continued until dawn.

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsaldi) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 335-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[815] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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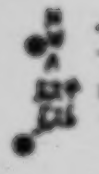
178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.



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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to assume themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalz'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (taigal'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinal'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsoyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[a] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[b] ("tsohotumpesh," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[c] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapu, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[a] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [b] *Ibid.*, p. 396. [c] *Ibid.*, 323.

4:Downs F-6 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

841 [P 382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2324-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women was that they must not eat meat during their periods.

[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intes-
224 tinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (2360-2660). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-

[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
● 529 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps because there was much less chance of failure than in
[789] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
[535] dances were held to make seeds grow (2610-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the rit-
[262] ual of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 3562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young men learned them Miwok dances." (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.38½, 8]

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"This prayer" Billy [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more".[1]

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"That the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and that point. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"That everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

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Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mogal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

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Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1890 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of seminunity and prosperity.

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Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Well, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

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Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[1] Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used consistently.

[124] "The matter of how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they become eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a [illegible] although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present".

[P.383, A]

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine cutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and co... ...monial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems to his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It

[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[P 383, B]

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ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

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After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1960's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

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These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white man's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.

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They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had tapped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

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There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (3421). This practice must have been occasional and relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

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/For festive activities associated with the pinenut dance, see category 535./

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 393-4) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced
[415] and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[252] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others.
[535] The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman 755 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through 756 a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the [177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his position through personality traits and force of character which commanded re- 527 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re- 791 vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their [242] livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists. 881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis- [177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of 177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet- 178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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527 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
431 mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
603 ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed
852 to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dïbek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
757 grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maʔyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
531 Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
754 One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.
A

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family, he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

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White sewing element	ta'bak
Bracken root	mecawĕ'gacl, mecewĕ'gasi
Redbud bark	dôbl'mûs takpasa (literally "Miwok Indians sent"), or ĭtpasa'

TECHNICS.

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Five technics are employed by the Washo. Two of these are plain and diagonal twining, and two are coiled technics; the three-rod foundation, and the single-rod foundation. The three-rod foundation coiling is called helme de mĭ'mû or tsiñam ce'mû by the Washo, while the single-rod foundation coiling is called baiyûta'ti. No names for the two twined technics were obtainable from the several informants consulted. Examples of these technics are shown as follows: plate XII, figs. 1 and 2 show plain-twined baskets, and plate VII, fig. 2 shows a diagonal-twined basket. The three-rod foundation is found in figure 1 of plate VII, and in plates VIII[3] and IX,[2] while single-rod coiling is represented in plate X. An interesting[1] feature of the last named technic is that many of these baskets are made with the pliable elements carefully spaced so as to form exact and symmetrically placed, radiating lines extending from the starting point of the basket. This leaves exposed a large part of the foundation material but produces a rather pleasing effect in which the lines of sewing elements become ornamental. Such baskets are shown in figs. 3 and 6 of this plate. The fifth technic is three-strand twining, which is used only to reinforce the points of burden baskets, and in starting knots for the twined cooking baskets. As the outer surface of a basket is viewed, all twining progresses in a clockwise direction, while the reverse is the case with coiling.

[531]

Border Finishes.

About the opening of the burden basket is bound a hoop and about half way down its inner surface is attached a second hoop

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 43 - - An.]. [3] [see cat. 116, p. 47. An.]
[2] [see cat. 116, p. 45 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Mush cooking basket in diagonal-twined technic, cylindrical kûya'nda
Plate VII, fig. 2.

Small coiled basket of any form used for serving food tsiña'm
Plate VIII, figs. 2-5; plate IX.

Coiled basket of truncated cone form gi'ûleû
Plate VII, fig. 1; plate VIII.

Very small basket of truncated cone form, used as a cup and for serving food i't mahadas
Plate VIII, fig. 1.

Canoe-form or elliptical basket taiyûta'ti
(said to be a new form)
Plate X, figs. 1 and 4.

Small coiled basket with strongly curved sides and small opening tsiñam degikûp*, dêûleli'we
Plate IX, fig. 3.

Burden baskets are, as a rule, very sharply conical. It is unusual to see one with even slightly rounded sides such as that shown in figure 4 of plate XIII. All are strengthened at the point of the cone by a few extra courses of three-strand twining. These baskets are used very roughly and the point soon wears through. It is then reinforced by a rawhide or buckskin patch as is shown in figures 3, 4, and 6 of the same plate.

The cradle is of the usual Great Basin type with detachable woven sun shade bearing a design indicative of the sex of its occupant. The one shown in plate XII, fig. 3, is a girl's cradle. The design usually employed on a boy's cradle is a series of diagonal parallel lines as shown in text figure 4.

DESIGNS.

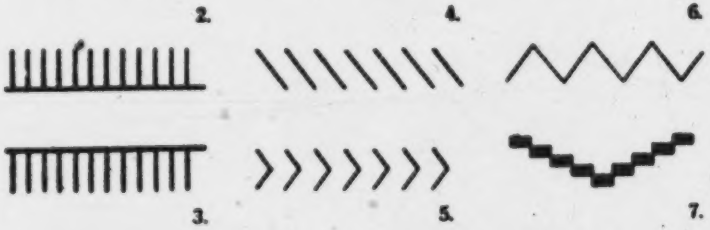
The limited time available did not permit a careful study of Washo basketry designs which, in general, are fairly elaborate, as will be seen by referring to plates VII-XI. Much more elementary designs appear in the older baskets, indicating, as is borne out

*degikûp signifies "curved in at the top."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

285 ●531 [177] by the information obtained from the Washo, that many of these elaborate designs are copied from the basketry of other tribes or from trade objects and are used in these baskets to make them more saleable. The following limited number of design names were obtained.

531 192 Any horizontal straight line such as the plain band of design running about a basket, any streak of color, or any line or band running around an object, such as a hat band, a rope around a tree, or the like, is called dogo'yaû gi"gal, literally "straight line horizontal." See plate X, figs. 6 and 7.



Any short vertical line extending upward from a design or from another line, as in fig. 2, is called dogo'yaû eliwe, literally "straight line up."

Any short, vertical line extending downward from another design, as in fig. 3, is called dogo'yaû eti, literally "straight line down."

A series of short slanting straight lines, as in fig. 4, is called tegûbile'cûwe, which signifies "twisted on", and is derived from tegû'bila, "crooked, bent over, or twisted", and e'cûwe, "on".

A design such as is shown in fig. 5 is called tatsi'tac, signifying "corners." From tatsi'lgac, "a corner".

Any zigzag design, whether a simple zigzag, as in fig. 6, or a more complex one, as in fig. 7, is called tegûkû'ikûi, translated "zigzag" and said to be derived from tegû'bila, signifying "crooked, bent over, or twisted".

Practically any triangular design is referred to as "arrow-head", (matca'tl). The arrow-head design may be combined into a number of different, more complex figures. The simplest form of arrow-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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head design is a series of triangles such as is shown in figs. 8 and 9, and called respectively matca'tĭ eti, "arrow-head down", and matca'tĭ epûs, "arrow-head up". One of the most frequently occurring designs in Washo baskets is a combination of these two, in which the triangles run in two parallel rows opposite each other, and

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which is called matcatĭ le'lûp, literally "arrow-head opposed". This same name was given to the design shown in fig. 11, though a parallelogram is combined with the two arrow-heads. The design shown in fig. 10 is called simply "arrow-head" (matca'tĭ), the term referring both to the large triangle and to the small serrations along its upper edges. No qualifying terms were used by informants for either design separately. The designs shown in figs. 12 and 13 were also called simply "arrow-head".

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The designs shown in figs. 14 and 15 are called tegi'lai, a term which was translated by one informant as "circle" but which really signifies an enclosure of any kind.

The design shown in fig. 16 is called gegi'cipa, translated by informants as "connected enclosures."

The design shown in fig. 17 is called tegĭlai eli'we, translated as "enclosure up." The term refers to the ascending series of parallelograms but does not take into account the small arrow-heads connected with these figures.

The design shown in fig. 18 is called ta'gûm hahat, translated as "crossed."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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The design of small squares or dots shown in fig. 19 is called daguboloye'cûe, translated as "little spots in lines."

The design shown in fig. 21 is called tegûkû'ĭkûĭ tagûm hahat, translated "zigzag crossed."

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The two designs shown in figs. 20 and 22 are called mû'tkûsa, translated "forked."

Not all the baskets shown in the accompanying plates were available when the information concerning basketry designs was

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obtained but informants were questioned on a considerable number of other designs than those given above. No other terms were [177] obtainable. Very frequently they stated that the design under consideration "had no name", or that it was a "new style" design, indicating that it was copied after some whiteman's pattern.

CONCLUSION.

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It thus appears that the Washo have certain strong cultural affinities with their neighbors of the California area on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada. These relationships appear particularly in the use of the conical slab dwelling and the semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; in the adoption of the acorn as a food; and in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled bas-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VII.

BASKETS.

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Figure 1. Large basket of three-rod foundation. Catalog number 18303. Diameter 22 inches (56 cm.).

Figure 2. Large cooking basket of diagonal-twined technic. Catalog number 18325. Diameter 20.5 inches (52 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE VIII.

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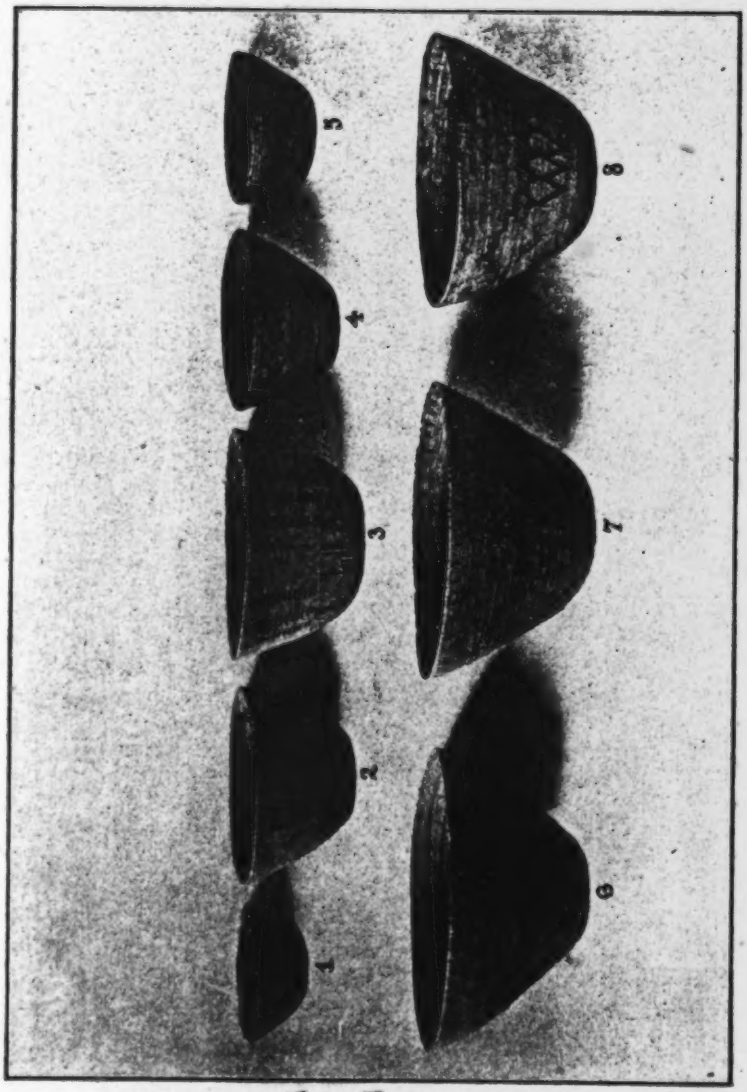
OLD COILED BASKETS USED FOR COOKING AND SERVING FOOD.

Figure 1. Catalog number 18337. Diameter 10.2 inches (25.5 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18331. Diameter 14.6 inches (37 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18329. Diameter 17.2 inches (43.5 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18330. Diameter 13.4 inches (34 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18334. Diameter 11 inches (28 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18327. Diameter 20.8 inches (53 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18324. Diameter 21.5 inches (54.5 cm.).
Figure 8. Catalog number 18326. Diameter 19.5 inches (49.5 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE IX.

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NEW BASKETS OF THREE-ROD FOUNDATION SHOWING VARIOUS DESIGNS, SOME OF WHICH ARE MODERN.

Figure 1. Catalog number 18350. Diameter 7.2 inches (18.3 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18348. Diameter 7.8 inches (20 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18353. Diameter 7.8 inches (20 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18349. Diameter 8.3 inches (21.2 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18340. Diameter 12.4 inches (31.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18342. Diameter 9.3 inches (23.5 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18344. Diameter 9.1 inches (23 cm.).
Figure 8. Catalog number 18341. Diameter 11.2 inches (29.5 cm.).
Figure 9. Catalog number 18347. Diameter 9.2 inches (23.3 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

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[P. 45]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE X.

NEW BASKETS OF SINGLE-ROD FOUNDATION.

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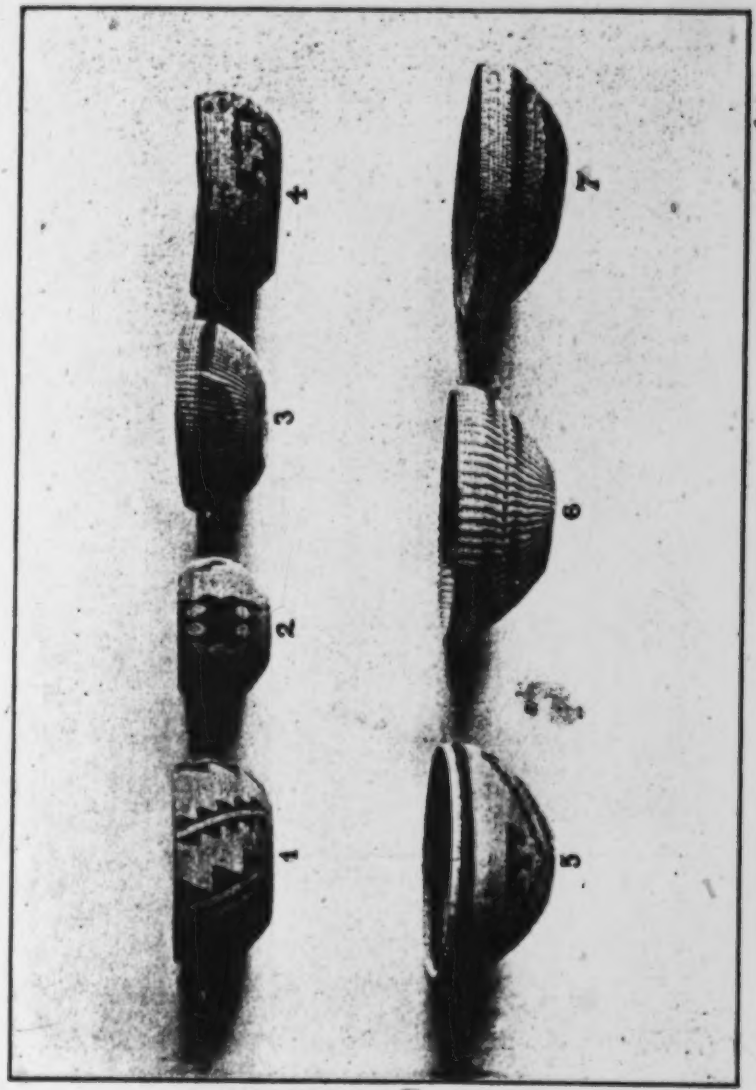
Figure 1. Catalog number 18345. Diameter 8.9 inches (22.5 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18352. Diameter 6.3 inches (16 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18357. Diameter 7.5 inches (19 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18346. Diameter 8.1 inches (20.7 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18355. Diameter 9.3 inches (23.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18356. Diameter 10.2 inches (26 cm.).
Figure 7. Catalog number 18343. Diameter 10.1 inches (25.7 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

EXPLANATION OF PLATE XI.

FINELY WOVEN WINNOWING BASKETS.

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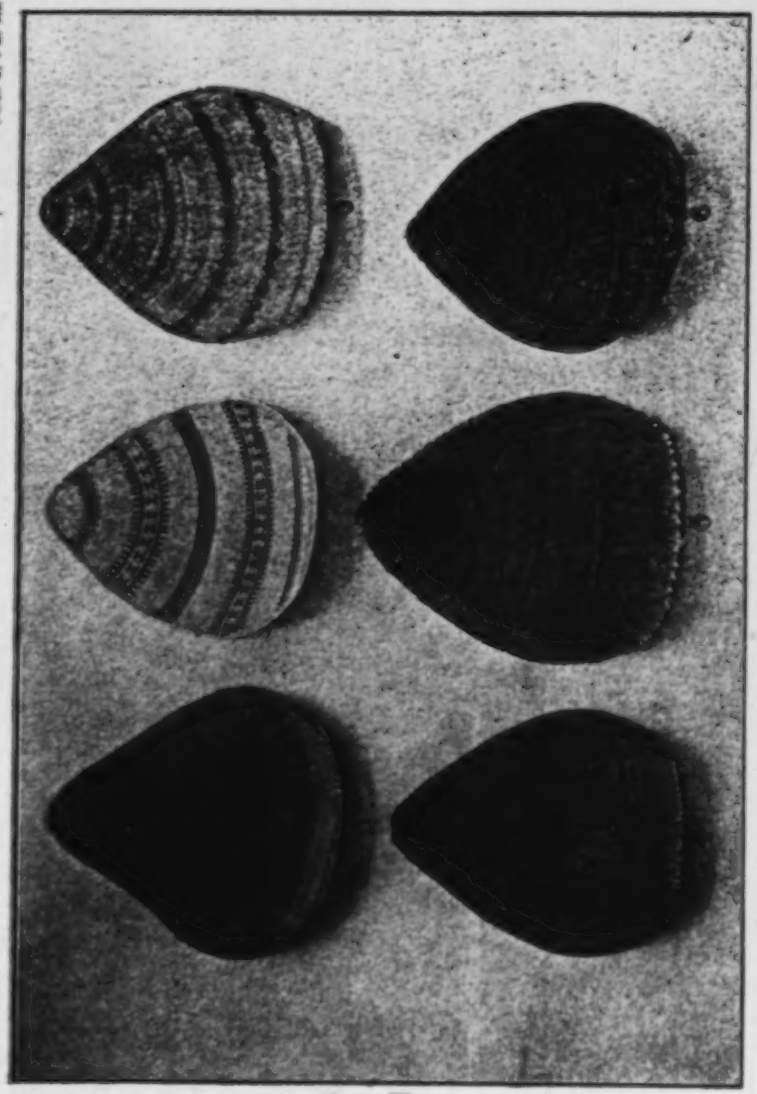
Figure 1. Catalog number 18305. Length 19.3 inches (49 cm.).
Figure 2. Catalog number 18304. Length 22.3 inches (56.5 cm.).
Figure 3. Catalog number 18306. Length 19.8 inches (50.5 cm.).
Figure 4. Catalog number 18313. Length 19.3 inches (49 cm.).
Figure 5. Catalog number 18312. Length 18.7 inches (47.5 cm.).
Figure 6. Catalog number 18309. Length 20.1 inches (51 cm.).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20



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[P. 49]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

Snowshoes (shumelil) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diegonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

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The hair was cut (gumǧaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

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Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

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The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

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Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

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The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

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Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

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The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Nevada at altitudes of 5000 ft. and above. There is an indication, therefore, that although the Sierran subtype of DSN is occasionally found archeologically in Washo territory, it was not made by recent Washo flint knappers. 172 411

The author's survey of historic and prehistoric bedrock mortar sites indicates that recent Washo prefer a more shallow basin mortar than was used previously. This was also suggested by a Washo woman, Bertha Holbrook, who said that the California Indians used much deeper bedrock mortars. Most of the recent mortar holes range from 1 to 2 1/2 in. in depth; prehistoric mortars in Washo territory range up to 7 in. in depth. Today a boulder of 3 to 5 lbs., with a rounded end, is used as a pestle. A 4 to 5 ft. high stick-and-cloth frame is constructed over the working area to protect the flour from wind and to provide shade. 172 415 (412)

Schellbach (1927, 400) reported a 6 5/8 in. ornamented bone awl-like implement found on the east side of Washoe Lake, where "there is an extensive old Washo camp-and-village site. The prevailing winds . . . cause the sand-dunes to shift, exposing broken fire-stones, flint chips, arrowpoints, bird and animal bones, and an occasional human skeleton." The ornamentation is along the flat surface of the tool as a series of small drilled dots in a pattern similar to a zigzag Washo basketry design. 172 531

Two handgame bones in the Dr. Lee collection at the Nevada State Museum in Carson City came from the Fulston Ranch in Jack's Valley. 172

Petroglyphs

Steward (1929) categorized the petroglyphs and pictographs of California, Nevada, Utah and Arizona into 50 motifs. On the basis of the distribution of these elements he found four design areas. 172 531 532

Steward's Area A included California east of the Sierras, Nevada and lower California. Petroglyphs are predominant in this area; especially prominent are geometric elements with curvilinear designs and certain naturalistic elements. Area B includes Utah and Arizona and is characterized by specific bird, frog, lizard, and kachina-like human petroglyphs. Area C is the eastern part of southern California and is characterized by zigzag pictographs. Area D is the Santa Barbara-Tulare region and is characterized by pictographs in the form of elaborate lizards, "spoked wheels," "ladders," and "rakes." Concentric circles, wavy or zigzag lines, human figures, and a "sun disk" are found in all four areas.

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A study by the author of the elements in 12 of the 23 petroglyph groups in or adjacent to Washo territory was made from Steward's data. This indicated that, although seven sites were included from California and only five from Nevada, the Nevada sites have a greater variety and larger number of design elements.

L. Arthur Payen (1959) reported that the petroglyphs in the area around Donner Summit were in the typical Great Basin style with a great variety of elements in zigzags, diamond series, human forms, animal forms, and "rain symbols." Payen postulated that the combination of pecking and rubbing is more frequent in the "Valley Sierran" style than in the Great Basin.

At the Lagomarsino Petroglyph Group near Virginia City, Nevada (26-St-1 or Steward's number 208), Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958, 3) found that "The techniques employed in producing the petroglyphs were pecking, scratching, and rubbing, in that order of importance."

It was possible to demonstrate with statistical significance that two distinct art styles were present at the Lagomarsino site and a chronology was assigned to the two styles. Certain elements occur more often on the cliff face; others occur more often on the talus boulders. The "cliff face style" includes the elements of plant form, bird track, gridiron, rake, dots and crosshatching with a general tendency toward angularity. The "talus boulder style" includes the sun figure, polliwog, asterisk (or star), concentric circles, circle, and curvilinear line with a general tendency toward the curvilinear. Both styles are considered part of the Great Basin geometric style of Steward's Area A.

172

With a petroglyph style from the Grimes site (26-Ch-3 or Steward's number 207) at Fallon, Nevada, included as earlier, the following chronology of petroglyph styles was presented by Baumhoff, Heizer and Elsasser (1958).

1. Beginning some time before 7000 years ago. A groove-and-pit style now found heavily patinated at the Grimes site.

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It is doubtful whether any of the petroglyphs mentioned here were made by the Washo Indians or their ancestors within the last 150 or more years.

846
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431 603 852 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîbek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.[5]

757 The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (ma?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." 531 Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act. One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry 754 with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galɔ'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galɔ'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[a] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[b] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[a] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[b] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits*
present
absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	North-West California H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		South Sierra Nevada H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Mono		Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some	
Public Recognition		+	–	+		–
In dwelling		+	–			
Outdoors		+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration						
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing						
Singers paid or given gifts						
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–	
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing		+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+				
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–	+	–	
Girl dances	+	+	–			
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–	+	–	
Head rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+					
Cocoon rattle		+	–			
Gourd rattle				+	–	
				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
2 days in roasting pit						
Trench at girl's rite						
Sexual license						

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological R

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the boederline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pïñon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category 11b, pp. 138-139 — Analyst]

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538]

● [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789

[763] [186] [114] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that [237] most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when 791 it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

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[For information on Washo-Peyote music and song structure, see category 116, pp. 617-640.]

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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[202] [574] On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔó·wî·yá·ki ʔi, ʔímlǎ·hô·ʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

[178] [562] As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (te?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[29] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[30]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[31] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[32]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[29] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[30] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[31] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[32] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scarce; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes . . . and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[a] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[46] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[46] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[47] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[46] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[47] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[46] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Klo	Ab 8	Del	Del	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Uin	Gro	W-P	Tem				
151. 4 times	+		+	−		+				−											
152. Whistle placed near altar	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	•	+	•	+		−					
153. Leader starts singing, 4 songs	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+				
154. Sings fixed opening song	+	+	+		•	+	+		+	−	+	+	•	+	•	−					
155. Holds staff in front of him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
156. Another beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
157. Chief drummer beats drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
158. Drum, rattle, etc., passed round clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
159. Each man sings 4 songs	+	+	+	+		•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
160. Each man drums for 4 songs of man to his left	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•	•	+	•	+	+				
161. Rule against women singing	+	• −	+	+		(+)	+	−	+	+	+	•	•	+	•	−	+				
162. Drumming, singing all night (except for midnight water call)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
163. Midnight water call and recess	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	• −	+	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
164. Leader recalls drum, staff, etc	+	+	+	+	+	• +	+			+	•	+	•	+	•	+	+				
165. Fire chief forms ashes into crescent	+	+	+	+	+		• +	• −	• +	+	+	+	•	+	•	+	+				
166. Fire replenished	+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
167. 4 sticks added							−				(+)	(+)		+	+	+	+				
168. Altar and floor carefully cleaned by fire chief	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
169. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	• +	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+				
170. Whistle blown by leader	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•	+	•	−	+				
171. 4 times	+		+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	•	+	•	−	+				
172. Leader sings fixed water song	+	+	+			+	−	−			+	+		+		−	+				
173. Bucket of water brought in by fire chief	+	+	+	• +	+	+	+	−	+	• +	+	+	−	+	+	−	+				
174. By women		−	−	• +	• −	−	−	−	−	• +	−	−	−	−	−	−	+				
175. Water bearer kneels east of bucket	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
176. Cedarman prays, sprinkles cedar on fire	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
177. Water bearer draws incense to water	+		+	+	+	• +	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	•	+	+				
178. Water bearer prays, blesses water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
179. While smoking cigarette	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+				
180. Leader given butt of same cigarette, smokes, prays	+		+	+	+	+		−	−	+	•	+	−	+	+	+	+				

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64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instances (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 535 574 [177] appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] [439] [534] [114] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

583 584 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

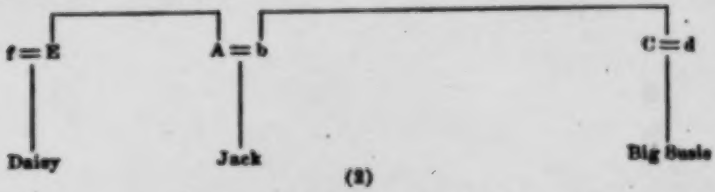
591 [768] Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le"yee; she calls Bill and his wife le'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.e'le, and is called le.e'lil in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'e'ma and is called le'e"ama in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tiku'u, and she calls "back to him" leku'l.



(2)

Jack calls C tita"a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi"tsuk, and E ti.e'.uci. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pume'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita"a tamlal'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlal'ya tawi"tsuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe"yu tasa'mu, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the galo'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of
• [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a me'luwe'ue dance (old men lively? dance) called "love
[177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had
[171] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The
[537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

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171

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

[533]

[535]

[534]

	North-East California H. E. Driver 4: 3, 1941	North-West California H. E. Driver 1: 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		South Sierra Nevada H. E. Driver 1: 3, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Mono		Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–			
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration						
1 day or few number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing	+					
Singers paid or given gifts	+					
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–	
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing		+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers alternate in line	+	+	–			
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–	
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–			
Head rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–			
Cocoon rattle				+	–	
Gourd rattle				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
Pits in roasting pit						
Trench at girl's rite						
Sexual license	+					

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropology

4:Downs E-6 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[p. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2488-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da"man"li" has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

For more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 115 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, [871] and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord. 227
10. Tule boat and long wood pole. 501
11. Snares. 224
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents. [411]
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (digush) of fiber cordage. [283]
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral. [229]
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper. 412

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache. 251 252
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu). 412
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?). [413]
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket. 415
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p). 412
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega). 482
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p). 276
2. Bone and willow whistles. 534
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit. 756
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game. 481
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C. 526
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch. 524
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo). 211

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21. ~~220~~

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breech- 291
clout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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time with; that's all," to "it is just as important as the drum and the singing. Yes it means something; everything we use has a meaning. Right now I don't know the meaning, but it is a symbol."

The drum used by the Washo in Peyote ritual is usually made from a three-legged iron pot of a type formerly used by miners; these pots are approximately eight to ten inches in diameter and about six inches in depth, including legs an inch and a half long. The drum is considered a sacred object of great importance to song; thus the ritual of tying the instrument before a meeting or singing practice is carefully observed. The kettle must have been tested for timbre before it is chosen for use; the deerhide must be "Indian cured and tanned," and it is preferable that it not come from a deer which has been shot. At the beginning of the evening, the kettle is filled one half to three quarters full of water; seven pieces of glowing charcoal are added and the hide is then wetted in the water and stretched over the top of the pot. At this point it is the special task of the drumchief to fasten the drumhead by an intricate "star" design of thong or rope fastened from each of the seven pebbles (which should be naturally polished and not "made by machines") placed under the edges of the hide. The tie is referred to as the "star" because its completed design resembles a star shape viewed from the bottom of the pot. The hide is stretched taut in this way and seldom has to be retightened during the evening; it is kept wet by occasional shaking.

The drumstick is usually a carved, highly polished piece of hardwood, and individual Peyotists like to make and keep their own drumsticks which become potent with the power of drumming and singing after long use. During a meeting, drumsticks sometimes get out of hand and cannot be controlled; drummers say that the stick "drummed by itself," and that they no longer had a sense of holding it.

In performance the drum is ordinarily held between the knees and tipped slightly away from the player; the drumstick is held lightly between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the wrist is kept flexible. On occasion, arm and wrist are made rigid so that the drum can be struck with full force; this seems to be reserved for high points in the song when special emphasis is required. The drum is held by the four fingers and "worked" with the thumb of the left hand. The thumb is used for stopping the drumhead; it is pressed firmly over the surface of the hide until just the right pitch and timbre are achieved. Every drummer, during each song and with every drum, has to experiment anew for the right "place." To achieve a particularly "tight" sounding tone, the drummer sometimes lifts the drum to his lips, drinks a bit of water from it, and then blows air through the hide until the pressure from within distends it; bloated drums give an especially hard and desirable sound. Two or more drums are never used at one time.

Questioning about the problem of "good" drumming brings forth a varied response; two typical answers are:

> The drummer is supposed to follow, but he carries the singer. He has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch. He might have to shake the drum now and then to

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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keep the skin wet; this changes the tone of his beat. When you wet the skin from inside and blow air into the drum, it makes a fuller and deeper sound.

Good drumming is given as a gift. When the medicine gives you the gift to use the drum right, it goes through the body and then you can help. You can't learn in five years; you just keep trying until you learn and it comes to you. If you pray good, the Supreme Master may hear you and will help you to drum good.

The significance of drumming, however, can bring forth a more detailed answer. The following account is a lucid picture of the significance of drumming for a devout Peyotist:

> The drum is the most important. The way the drummer handles himself can help or spoil the singing. The singer depends on the drum, it has to fit his way of singing. If the drummer is good-thinking, or knows his business, he can help the singer; he can make the song real good. The drum and the singing have to be like one sound—all together. A drummer can make the voice move along on waves, he can send the voice where he wants it to go—just like a telegraph—he can put it in that corner or that corner, or send it out a long distance away. A new (inexperienced) drummer drums "too open." (Lets the drum vibrate out of control.) The drummer must keep his thumb down on just the right place to get a full, round sound out of the drum, a deep sound without too much vibration. If you leave it "too open" it gets a dull sound like hitting wood, or it goes wild and sounds tinny. The drummer has to catch the voice of each singer and tune the drum to it. The drummer has to carry the voice, lead it in the way it goes best, and pull the singer through. You have to always remember that the drum is full of electricity, that charcoal and water are inside there churning like a generator each time that stick hits the drum. It builds up big air pressure, and it connects with the air in your throat when you sing. The wrong kind of drumming can make you choke, can push the air back into the singer's lungs and stop his song. I have seen that happen and it has happened to me. Sometimes the wrong drummer will do that to you if he is not feeling right about you. One time one guy was drumming for me and it felt just like his thumb was on my throat trying to choke me. I saw that his thumb on the drum was just like it was choking the drum.
>
> It is hard to say just what is the right way to drum. Everybody drums different. It depends on how the person thinks and feels, and how much experience he has had in the meetings. Drumming changes with every song, and it is never the same twice. It depends on the song and how the drummer and singer are feeling about each other or about themselves. But most of it depends on the drummer. He has to think of himself and the singer, too. He is the main one; he is the helper. That drum is the hardest thing. It takes the longest to know. I am a poor drummer even yet after all these years (about 30). Maybe when I am an old man I will know better. Some of those Indians say the drum is everything, that the drum is the way to the medicine. When you know that, you know The Way.

The problems of what good singing is, and what makes a good singer, are as indirectly considered by the Washo as are those of instrumental performance. Response is of the following nature:

> It depends on how a man sings with the drumming, how he carries his tune even. He carries it up and holds his voice on the high notes. He has to go up all the way and then carry it down without breaking his time.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kk	Kn	Yo	Ys	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
1983. Leaf of kinikini (amanamita?)	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
1986. Root of tsamp for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1987. Other herb	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1940. Tobacco ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1943. Fur pouch	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
Rattles														
1944. Coocoon rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1945. Attached to stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1947. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1953. Sheep-horn rattle	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1955. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1956a. Used by dancers	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1958. Used by shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1960. Bear's-ear rattle (witsuvigs)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1962. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1965. Hoof rattle	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1968. Deer hoofs	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1971. Hoofs in line	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1972. Used by shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1973. Notched stick (wihunagi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1974. Plain, notched	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1976. Rubbed with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1978. Used by antelope shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1979. Used in "bear dance"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
1981. Bussers (tsoi'sthiqva)	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
1982. Deer patella	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1982a. Wood disk	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983. Buckskin disk	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1983a. Rock	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Bull-roarer														
(See Games)														
1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1986. 2-headed drum	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1989. Body of wood	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1990a. 24	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1992. 6-12	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	Kl	Kl2	Kl3	Yo	Mo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Kl	Ak
1988a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1988. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	+
1996. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	•	–	–	+	–	+	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2004. Flute (reins)	+	+	+	+	–	•	–	–	+	+	+	•	+	+
2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

NWA 583

MARRIAGE

2018. Bride price	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2019. As present	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
NWA 2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2024. Friends assist in fight	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
NWA 585 2025. Polygyny permitted	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2026. Sororal obligatory	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2026a. Sororal usual	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA 587 2027. Polyandry permitted	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2030a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA 2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2032. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2032a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
582 2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
583 2037. Child betrothal	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

[p. 404]

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Ki: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{gu}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + W [534] (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound N [281] about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on N [178 759] skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

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N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [77] 2004. To: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [77] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kd: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

586 2047. To: No divorce (LP).

548 2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p. 439b]

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles.[a] The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life.[b] So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[c] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction countercloekwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

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APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the fire to be warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

Element	Occurrence																		
	UT	K-A	Ko	Com	Ko	Ab	Da	Da	Ha	Ka	Cr	Cr	WRB	Da	Ca	Ar	Ta		
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
2. "Cane" 3–5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+		
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+		
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+		
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+		
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+		
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+		
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	•+	+	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+		
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	•+	+		+	+		
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+		
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	–	+		
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+		
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	•–	+	+	–	+		

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

(Continued on next page)

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Comanche N06

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N 106 University of California Publications in Am. Arch. and Ethn.
W
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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Occurrence																				
	12 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab 8	Dd 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 8	WR8	Ute	Cmo	N-P	Tse				
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+					
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
36. Pottery jar	+		−	−		−	+	+		−	−	−		+	+	−					
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
41. 7 stones represent days			+	−		−	−	−		−	+	+	+	+	+	−					
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
43. Star significant	+	+	+			(+)					+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+				
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(−)	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	+				
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		−	+	−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+	+					
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
55. Usually by cedarman	+	−	+	+	+	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	−	−	−	−				
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−				
59. In oak leaves	+	−	+	+	−	(+)	−	−	−	−	−	+	+	−	−	−	+				
60. In paper	−	−	−	−	−		−	−	−	+	+		+	+	+	+	−				

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PLATE 1

a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

a

b

N
W
795*
534 ●

W
[791]
[514]
→

c

N
W
795*
796
[142
516]

d

PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

796

535

/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (te.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.

● 535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[a] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[b] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[43] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[a] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[b] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ew'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 178 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

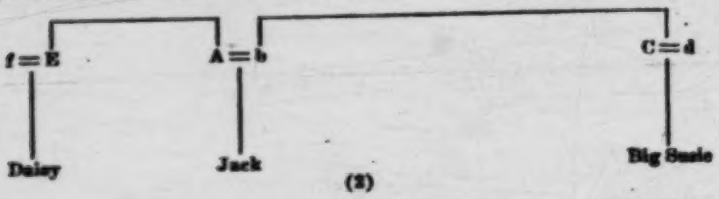
Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le"yue; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.'ld, and is called le.'leli in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'a"ma and is called la'a"ama in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tiku'u, and she calls "back to him" leku'l.



(2)

Jack calls C tita"a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi"tauk, and E ti.'.nei. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' puma'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita"a tamlai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlai'ya tawi"tauk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe"yu taga'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the galo'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a me'luwe'ue dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had [171] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a foxskin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to amuse themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalo'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (tsigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsoyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[34] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest[35] ("tsohotumpesh," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[36] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapu, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[34] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [35] *Ibid.*, p. 396. [36] *Ibid.*, 523.

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.'

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category 11b, pp. 138–139 – Analyst]

881 252 [415] covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

881 At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was [291] [432] wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

881 Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles 535 so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and [533] another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

[152] The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

881 The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and [302] stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it [431] was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

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XXX International Congress of Americanists

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits* present absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	*North-West California* H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		*South Sierra Nevada* H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)		
				Yokuts, Mono		Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some	
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–			
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–	
Night		+	–	+	–	
For all girls		+	–	+	–	
Certain girls only						
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–	
Rite conducted by chief				+	–	–
Duration						
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–	
Singing	+					
Singers paid or given gifts	+				–	
Singing, no dancing		+	–			
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancing		+	–	+	–	
Group dancing	+	+	–			
Men dance	+					
Women dance	+					
Each sex separately	+					
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–	
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–			
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–	
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–			
Hoof rattle	+					
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–			
Cocoon rattle				+	–	
Gourd rattle				+	–	
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–	
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–	
3 days in roasting pit						
Trench at girl's rite						
Sexual license	+					

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological R

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[1] Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P. 306, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, [535] these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo [871] girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS

(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
[136] herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One in-
[177] formant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
[538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
[533] law who remembered the antelope songs.

Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
[624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
[791] leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

224 "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few
789 piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but
[533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not
[186] expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by
[114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides
[237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
[484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that
[136] in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a
[171] method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
[535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
624 There was, however, a special leader who directed
787 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
791 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

791 224 624 767 [782] 224 178 [464] 624 224 178 [182] [177] 224 535 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 [262] Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 539 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this.[10]

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[787] "This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] "This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

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Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2384-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
was that they must not eat meat during their periods.
[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed
the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-
368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the
old. In actuality it would seem that only the children
and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying
[886] for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes
to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat pur-
chased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison
or other game taken by someone they know, for fear
of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today
in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who
lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter.
In times past, certain women are reported to have
made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
● 535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
[796] particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo
subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621).
Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all,
by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its produc-
tion was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the
pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among
all the Washo during the last part of the summer.
Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and sur-
vey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and
according to one informant: "If we have a couple of
bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to
be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship
to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant main-
tains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo ex-
cept his relatives and admitted by them only when
they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The ac-
count is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony
of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent
as other information is presented that it is a highly
idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it
includes a number of sacred elements of obvious im-
portance.

[P 383, B]

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ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

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After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. [177] However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of [782] sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

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There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

T:Proud E-8 (1962-1967)1960 MT20 Washo MT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, cooperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group cooperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Enos, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1923) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

224 624 [114] [411] [779] [513] [237]

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

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The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

262 [222] 252 [121]

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

262 535 574 [525] [537] [252]

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

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Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord the ?ú·gal. The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

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After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

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Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

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When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 339-340). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

Tribal B-6 (1983-1987)1980 NTSS Wabo NTSS
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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of cooperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group cooperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

● (535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of alder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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(526) After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

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535 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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[525] Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412] The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts:
[415] the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles
[252] for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat chil-
[782] dren and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the peo-
[515] ple bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a
[222] family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw
[782] some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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178 Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, al-
[535] most blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

[222] People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although
[262] pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was in- [574] vited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. 535 The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women [778] in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up 535 the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔéwéʔyáʔkiʔi, ʔímlíʔhóʔʔiya, nélonéne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?weʔ, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The [562] men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le?wé?we?) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

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eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

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The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long." To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

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After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

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Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

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All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

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574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwéʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

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224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
[178] tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crises rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

	Yo	K1	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	At
40. Wand	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
41. Shaman smokes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
42. Pipe passed	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
43. Shaman sings	+	+	+	+	+	•	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
44. Audience sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
46. Antelope dance	•	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
47. Antelope mask	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
48. Round dance	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
49. Stumbling taboo	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
49a. Menstruating women taboo	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
49b. Sexual intercourse just before hunt taboo	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
50. Loss of objects taboo	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
51. Antelope's souls caught	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
52. Antelope charmed in 1 night	+	•	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
52a. More than 1 night to charm	–	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
53. Messengers to antelope	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	•	–
54. Scouts to antelope	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•	+
55. Antelope driven into corral	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	–	+
56. Antelope charmed into corral	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	•	+
57. Fires to drive	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
58. Shaman in corral	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
59. Shaman "closes gate"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
60. Special archer	•	+	–	+	+	–	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	+
60a. Special runner to tire antelope before kill	•	+	•	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
61. Individual stalking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
62. Run down on foot	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
63. Run down on horseback	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
64. Drive	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
65. Past ambushed hunters	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
66. With dogs	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
67. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
70. Ambush beside spring	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
71. Hunters disguised	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
72. Hunters in hole	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
73. Disguise	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
74. Antelopeskin	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
75. Brush	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mt.-Sheep Hunting														
76. Surround	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
77. Drive	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
78. Past hidden hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
79. With fire	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
80. With dogs	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
81. Into enclosure	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
82. Through V-fence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84. Stalking by an individual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
85. Attracting by pounding	–	+	•	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	+	+
86. Disguise	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
88. Entire skin used	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89. Fire to signal hunters	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
91. Magic	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Communal Rabbit Hunting														
92. Net	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+
93. Club	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
94. Club thrown	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
95. Bow and arrow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. Men only hunt	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
97. All people hunt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–

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Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	Kl	AT	
2579. To spirit (sunppó)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2585. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	757
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or nagwa)															NW
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NWA
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	787
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
"Nuipé" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															NWA
2614. Circle Dance (nagwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	NW
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	

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	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2622. To make piñon nuts grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2623. To produce rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2624. To bring deer	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2626. Center post to dance around	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2627. Dry cottonwood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2628. Piñon	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2629. Juniper	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2629a. Any wood	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
2630. Music: all dancers sing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2635. Dancing: women choose partners	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2636. Men choose partners	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2637. Dancing in one circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2639. Men and women alternate in same circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2640. Shuffle step	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2641. Hopping step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2642. Clockwise direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2643. Counterclockwise direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2644. Dance leader: special chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2645. Band chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2646. Messengers carry invitations	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2647. Occasion for courting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2649. Clowns	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2650. Duration (days):4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2650a. 5	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2650b. 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2651. Camp circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2652. Bear or "Back-and-forth" Dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2653. Dance affirmed to be pre-white	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2653a. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2654. Corral of brush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2655. Musical rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2656. Resonator: washtub	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2657. Board	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2659. Musicians: 5 or 6	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2660. Dancing: women choose partners by touching with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2661. Men pay partners	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2662. Dancing in lines	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2663. Dancing in couples	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2665. Chief urges dancers with stick	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2667. Dance stopped at a fall	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2668. Fallen person rubbed with rasp	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2669. Fallen person covered with blanket	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2670. Dance held same time as circle dance	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2672. Same chief as circle dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2673. Duration indefinite, usually 2 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2674. "South" or Exhibition Dance	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2675. Pre-Caucasian	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2676. Introduction: about 1900	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2677. Dancers' paraphernalia: eagle-down headring	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2678. Feather crown	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2679. Separate feathers on head	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2680. Yellowhammer band on head	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2681. Yellowhammer band on chest	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2682. Feather necklace	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2683. Eagle-down-rope skirt	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2684. Breechclout	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2685. Wildcat fur hung on belt	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NTRO
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2687. Barefoot	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2688. Feathers carried in hand	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2689. Bow and arrow carried	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2690. Mock bow and arrow carried	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2691. Dancers paint: face	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2692. Body	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2693. Musicians: 2	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2693a.3 or 4	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2693b.5 or 6	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2694. Split-stick rattle	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2698. Weaselskin necklace	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2701. Dancers: 2	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2701a.4 or 6	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2702. Dancers: men	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2703. Women	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2704. Visitors	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2706. Coins held in split stick	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2707. Property spread on blanket	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2709. At midnight, 1 night	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2709a.Several nights	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2710a.Several days	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*2711. Crazy Dance (tonomugava)	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2711b.Special singers	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2712. Musical instruments	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2712a.2 sticks	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2713a.Men dressed as women	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2715. Ghost Dance (mugava)	+	+	*+	–	–	+	+	–	*+	–	–	–	*–	+
2716. Circle dance	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2717. Shaman at center post	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2718. Dead return to post	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2719a.5 nights	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
2719b.Any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	.
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	*+	+	*+	+	+
2721. 12 month names	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2721a.4 season names	+	*+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	–
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2723. Dust road (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2724. Smoke from fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2725. Sky path	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	–
2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*+	+	–
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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N 224 43. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ts: Chief led singing.

44. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

N [535 796] 46. Ts: As shaman (pohar'ŏm) dances he falls down in a trance. Each person throws a piece of sagebrush on him, and because of the great number he is completely covered. Wa: When hunt was not successful the first day, there was a dance.

W [535]

49. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56).

49a. N. Paiute: Children did not join hunt (Hopkins, 55).

50. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 56). Ki: + (Kelly, 85).

52a. K: Hunt lasted 3 days (Lowie, 304). N. Paiute: 5 nights required to charm antelope (Hopkins, 56).

53. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 55).

54. N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). Ki: + (Kelly, 83).

55. Paviotso: "A communal antelope hunt with a pound into which the game was driven" (Lowie, 197). Sa: Sawa informants were not certain of antelope hunting methods, but their idea was that the antelope were charmed to allow a corral to be built around them.

56. Wd: - (SC). Ki: Charmed and driven in (Kelly, 86-87). N. Paiute: + (Hopkins, 57). At: Charm of shaman took effect when antelope arrived in the corral, but they had to be driven in.

57. K: + (Lowie, 304): wings of piles of sagebrush were set on fire.

N [756] 60. At: The leader of the antelope would be killed by the shaman pointing his pipe, after which remaining antelopes became helpless. Last such antelope hunt took place 40 years ago. Such powerful shamans no longer exist.

60a. N. Paiute: The antelope "ran round and round inside the circle just as if there were a fence all around it" (Hopkins, 57). Ts: After runner had tired the antelope, he killed smallest one to present to shaman as his special prize. This would be signal for hunters, who were stationed around corral, to start general slaughter. K: + (Lowie, 305).

62. Paviotso: "A strong man might run down an antelope" (Lowie, 197).

73. Paviotso: "They approached the game wearing deer or antelope head with antlers" (Lowie, 197).

74. Ki: + (Kelly, 82).

Mt. Sheep Hunting

N [825] Paiute names for mt. sheep: male, koipᵉ, female, mutsa´. Koipᵉ also means mt. sheep in general.

78. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 253).

81. Owens Valley: Enclosures sometimes built in narrow canyons to catch sheep (Steward, 253). Pa: Stone enclosure built on top of Mount Grant, W of Walker Lake. Steward, 253, cites Muir's description of a stone corral and converging lines of rock he saw at the same place.

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14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*)." It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals."

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum," three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit."

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[a] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[b] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[c] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[d] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin. 361

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tc.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below). 622 [648] [871] [614]

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1] 622 183 535 574 [692] [726] [537] [539]

Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2] [537] [539]

Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people. 624 224

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch. 423 [578] 423 685 [609] [571] [428]

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

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The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewi'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewi'we and

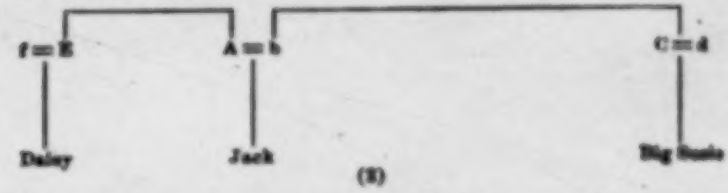
[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601 Bill calls McCarty's wife la'yus; she calls Bill and his wife la'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father ti.e'ld, and is called la'ldi in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'a'ma and is called la'a'ma in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" leka'l.



(E)

Jack calls C tita'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tauk, and E ti.e'.aui. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiya' pumu'li, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tamlal'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as timlal'ya tawi'tauk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipe'ya tasu'mu, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the gale'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

[177] [178] Dave referred to a me'luwe'uc dance (old men lively? dance) called "love dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Diggua Indians southward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a *foxskin* in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

versions were recorded in Washo, all urging the people to amuse themselves and refrain from fighting and troublesome conduct.

A dance borrowed from the Paviotso was described as follows. Early in the spring a Paviotso chief calls his Indians to dance. "Dance for everything to come up pretty well in growth. Frost and storm, stop and do not kill the blossoms. Whenever pine nuts grow, let them be big burrs with plenty of nuts. May no worms get in." He took off one burr, put a little medicine on it, painted the burr, and made a hole for storing the nuts, so they would not be dry and so there would be plenty. The Washo heard about this from the Paviotso and did likewise.

Some Washo, of his own accord, would arrange a festive gathering at any season of the year, two or three men conferring about getting the food together. One man would sing, and others circled about, taking up his song. Sometimes women stepped between two men. Hand holding was called gabalo'epa. Sometimes they danced for five or six consecutive nights. The gathering was also an occasion for foot races, football, and hand games.

Games

The athletic games included football (palo'yapi teli"liwa palo'yap), the hoop-and-pole game, archery, and the women's shinny (tsigai'yaga). In pure gambling there were the hand game (hinai'yaya, hinaiya'ukia), another hiding game (tso'tsoyi), and a women's dice game.

Football players, youths of 17 or 18 able to run fast, stripped to their gee strings. Dave agrees with Hudson[m] that each side was composed of 3 men and that goals consisted of 2 sticks. Hudson describes these as 10 feet high and about 4 feet apart, the field being about 300 feet long; Dave spoke of uprights about 15 feet high and not connected by a crossbar. One player—according to Hudson, the captain in the center of the field—threw the ball up, and then it was kicked toward the base. The ball (ko'mol) was 6 inches in diameter and filled with the inner bark of sagebrush (Hudson). Men of complementary patrilineal groups played against each other (p. 304).

In pehu"a, two pairs of men tested their skill in archery, the players shooting at a willow stick with bark removed. They measured which arrow came closest to the stick; striking it in the middle scored 4, and 15 points won the game. There was no cheating. All the Indians would look on. (Dave.)

In another archery contest ("tsuhotumpeah," Hudson), an arrow was planted in a position slanting toward the marksman, who from a distance of sixty feet threw a blunt three-foot arrow at it. Opponents took turns in trying either to strike the leaning arrow or to knock away the opponents' missile. Either of these feats counted 1, and dislodging the target scored 5. Several could play, each with a stipulated number of darts.

Hudson[n] describes two forms of hoop-and-pole game (pululpai'yayapu, pululpaiyapa) not mentioned by my informants. In the first, one player rapidly rolled a willow hoop twelve inches in diameter past his opponent, who

[m] Culin, *op. cit.*, 704. [n] *Ibid.*, p. 286. [o] *Ibid.*, 322.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (mo'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kalo'kaew ai'yus, kehamo'moyam, kepi"cuk, kapa"cuk ma'yala. kalo'kaco'sa, ma'yal keho'le, latamale"wa . . . kula'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'die kaya'tuka'ya, kaya'tuk temesul i'ke li'cul. wi'kin le"doc kime"kayaktok i'ke ke'su, t'aiyaqa ga'mayoca. mi"le ke'wa temi'ku. gaya'cu a"ai. hak tikumso"cie i'ke mikla a'"caiya. kiki"kst a'yam k'vicke tiya'mle. i'ke laye.leye's nake' akna.ite's heliki ke'le wadive'se"lqa. i'ke mi"'ya, i'ke le'sic kutina'ya hat'a"oya untamale's-heliki le'sic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

" This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

7:Freed B-S (1852-1917)1960 NTSU Washo NT26
[P 351, B]

p. 388), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 13). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 88). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

[P.352, B]

dance gave a reason for the omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

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RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeldyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeldyu.

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A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced, the modern Washo bury their dead.

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Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertiently bewitch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use is

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

224 (136) (177) (538) (533) southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.

Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

(787) (624) (791) The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

224 789 (533) "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

(763) (186) (114) This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 (237) (484) (136) Rabbits (32-94).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 (191) (535) 224 624 787 791 Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

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Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tc.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow-proof* Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

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THE SOUL—SPOOKS

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead,
who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a
dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some
noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the
house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by
some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as fol-
lows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't
go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in
Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."
[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was
rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and
539 asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired
for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a
match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there.
Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree
struck by lightning. The apparition was this to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes
[763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home.
That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other
Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called metauy'e'. The Washo were afraid
to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw
the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the
shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of
babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the
water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there.
They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them.
A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and
fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet
are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a metauy'e' pulling the line down.
He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft
of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious
in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and
made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the
water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the
fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a
spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to
the knee.

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a piñon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think those are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at noon, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (?). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

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The corral (ma'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kalo'kaow ai'yus, kahamo'moyam, kepi''cuk, kapa''cuk ma'yala. kalo'kaow'as, ma'yal keka'la, latamala''wa . . . kula'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'diy kaya'tuka'ya, kaya'tuk temoomi i'ka li'yal. wi'kin k''doe kime''kayaktok i'ka ka'an, t'aiyaya ga'mayuna. mi''le ka''wa tem|'ku. gaya'ya a''al. hak tikumso''cis i'ka mikla a''uniya. kiki''kat a'yam k'vicka tiya'mle. i'ka layo.leyu'a naka' akaa.ita'a helliki ka'le vadiy'a''iya. i'ka mi''ya, i'ka la'aic kutina'ya hat'a''eya untamala'a-helliki la'ale.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

* This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

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VI. MYTHS AND TALES

1. WOLF AND COYOTE—ORIGIN OF DEATH—CREATION

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[Dave.] Wolf and Coyote were talking to each other. They were brothers. Wolf spoke first. He said, "Now, my brother, what shall we do when these Washo get old? I think I am the head of all kinds of wolf and other animals. I should like to save the Washo when they get old. Now, what do you think of that, my brother?" Coyote answered, "Well, you are the head of everything; you can do anything you have a mind to; I listen to you." Wolf said, "I think we'll save the old people; we'll dig a well for the Indians on top of De.oku'lum (Job's Peak). We'll dig so deep as we can. Whenever a Washo gets old and ready to die, he'll go up to the top of the mountain and take a bath in that water and he'll begin to be young again." Coyote said, "Oh, no! I like to see dead people. I can't do anything to kill animals, I'll go hungry if Indian bodies grow young again. Don't say that, my brother, for I eat anything dead that smells rotten. It's the only thing I live on, you know." Wolf said, "That is so; you are right. When Indian people get old, let them die. That's all. You and I, we travel well, so we can get jack rabbits, squirrels, and all animals of that kind. We can catch them faster than anyone else." Coyote answered, "Oh, yes, we don't do it regularly, only sometimes: dead people are the best thing [to feed on]."

One day Coyote wanted to make people. It was this way for miles, near Hot Springs. There he tried to make a dance. He made it up himself. He got to work and cut off brush, making room enough for five hundred Indians to dance. But there were no Indians yet. Coyote said to his wife, "Make a big round basketry water bottle." She made it. Coyote looked at it, holding it up, and said, "This is pretty well made, so that no water can go through it. I'll go to work and make plenty of Indians." He took the basket and filled it half full of seeds. Then he stopped up the opening. He took a pipe, filled it with Indian tobacco, took one whiff of smoke, and blew it into the basket. Then he sat down and talked for a while. "Anything I expect to make I never fail in. Whatever I think always goes right with me." He again took a whiff of smoke. The basket was full of something. Coyote picked it up and four times danced round in a circle with it. The last time he shook it. Once in a while he listened to the basket, and so did his wife. Soon it sounded like the buzzing of a bee. Coyote listened. "Pretty soon there will be people," he said to his wife. He shook it hard and danced. Now lots of people were heard talking and making a noise. He put the basket down. Already there were plenty of people inside, that is why the basket began to move by itself. He poured the people out, saying, "There shall be a fire there and there and there. . . . Well, I have made plenty of Indians, I don't know what they will eat. They'll have a dance here in six days. We ought to get something for them to eat, we have no food."

From a creek he called up Bullhead (a small fish). "Come up, I want to talk with you." Bullhead came up. "There are plenty of people here, going to stop for a few days. I wish you to go over to Walker Lake and get plenty of suckers and trout." Bullhead started as early as possible.[a] He walked all day and got to a "Paiute" fish weir.

Bullhead was a man, but he made himself into a little child. Many Paiute were camped around the river near the fish weir, living on trout. One Paiute walked out some distance from camp to get sagebrush wood, and saw what seemed to be a lost child. "I wonder whose child that is." He said to the people, "Look; whose child is that sitting down under the sagebrush? He looks terribly hungry." One woman walked up that way. She tried to pick up Bullhead. "Oh, somebody has lost a baby. Whose is it?" He was heavy, she could not lift him. After a while she said, "This is no child, this is a person who has come a great way." She asked him, "Where do you come from?" "Oh, I came a long way, I am pretty hungry, I haven't eaten for a day and a half." The old woman said, "I'll take

[a] This statement seems misplaced in the argument. [b] "At four o'clock" (*sic*).

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539 you to my camp, we have lots of fish. We have all we want and may give you some." She took him with her, he walking behind. He said, "Take me to your chief, to the best camp."

The old chief had a big fish.[a] He took out the guts, and said, "We have lots of fish, we'll cook this for you." "I like what you say." The old man roasted it in the ashes, took it out as soon as it was cooked, opened it, and put it before Bullhead. He also offered him pine-nut mush. Bullhead ate one or two pieces of fish and took one or two drinks of soup. "Who sent you here?" asked the chief. "Coyote, my friend, sent me here. Yesterday morning I started early. Tell me where the biggest fish is caught every day, I want to take it home with me." "Oh, every one of the baskets catches four, five, ten a day; in the morning I'll give you all you can carry." In the morning Bullhead said, "I go with the fish. There are lots of Washo there having a dance. Coyote, my friend, sent me here to get fish." He gave him four or five big ones, cut them up, and dried them. He packed them up in a big bundle and set out early in the morning. Coyote had said to him, "Don't sleep there long, come back the day after tomorrow." Bullhead walked all day; he got to the top of a mountain, and made a big fire there.

Coyote had been watching for it; he was hungry. He saw the smoke. "Oh, there my brother is coming." He trotted thither. "He may have a big load, I've got to meet him."[b] He met Bullhead. Coyote was very hungry himself. Bullhead had put down his load and was sitting in the shade of a tree. "I told you I thought you might get plenty of fish, that is why I sent you. Open up your bundle, I am hungry, I want to eat them here." Bullhead opened the pack and gave him one. Coyote went a little way[c] from Bullhead. "Throw that fish at me, I'll catch it with my hand," said Coyote. But he didn't use his hand at all. He opened his mouth and swallowed it. He wanted another one forthwith. "They are fine fish; I am pretty badly starved." "Oh, you don't want to eat them all; you wanted to give the Indians some for the dance, you said." "Those Indians aren't hungry, they're having big fun, playing all kinds of games—basket game, football, the stick game. Give me one more." Coyote wanted them all. Bullhead didn't want to give him any more. "You don't want them all, I'll take them to the Washo dancing over there." Coyote said, "If you don't give me any more, I'll eat them all and you, too."[d]

2. WOLF AND COYOTE, HIS BUNGLING IMITATOR

[Jack.] Wolf was living in a house with his younger brother Coyote. They would go fishing together, catch plenty of suckers, and cook them. The next time they went to the river, Wolf caught plenty of cottontails.[e] Coyote said, "How do you catch so many cottontails? I never catch any." "Can't you catch them? You make a big fire with buckbrush, stand in it, and all the cottontails come together there and you catch them." He was fooling his brother. Coyote went and made a little fire; he went in there and caught a few. He came back and said, "Soon I'll make a big fire and maybe I'll catch plenty of them to take home." He made a big fire of buckbrush and sagebrush. He stood up in the middle. Nothing came in. He went round, but could catch nothing. He himself got burnt up. When Coyote had not come home by next morning, Wolf looked for him. He stepped over him, then Coyote stood up alive again.

Again they went fishing. Coyote asked, "How do you get plenty of fish? I never catch any." "You don't know how to catch fish. I cut two willows, tie them together and put them in deep water, the fish get stuck, then I cook and eat." "Tomorrow I'll do that." He went early in the morning. "Here the water is pretty deep, I'll try it." He went there, jumped in, and caught ten or fifteen fish. He ate. "I'll do that again and take them home."

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[a] "It weighed about twenty-five pounds."

[b] Here the informant laughed.

[c] "About ten feet."

[d] Final comment: "He got no sense at all, that damned Coyote."

[e] This sentence was not quite clear as expressed by my informant.

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He went in again, but caught nothing. He was drowned. The next morning, Wolf went looking for him and took him out. He stepped over him, then he got up alive again.

The next time they went to the river, "How do you catch ducks? You always bring plenty home," said Coyote. "Don't you know? When plenty of ducks are flying upstream, I hit and break my leg above the knee, they all fall down dead, and I pick them up and eat them." "I'll try it." He went. A small flock came. He struck and broke his leg. The ducks fell down, he picked them up. "By and by I'll get plenty and eat." The next time a big flock came. He broke his leg again. The ducks did not fall down at all, but flew away. He couldn't get up. The next morning Wolf was looking for him. He stepped over him, and then Coyote got up again.

3. ORIGIN OF THE INDIANS

[Jack.] There was a big camp of old women, and they were playing the hand game indoors. One woman was sitting outside, making a basket. She warned the women that Wə'nuhu was coming; he would make people blind.[a] The players would not listen to her. She hid, putting a basket over her head. Wə'nuhu came along, saying, "Wə'nuhu, Wə'nuhu." He stuck his head in at the door and whispered, "Wi'gi tupu' [eyes white]." The women all looked outside, then their eyes all turned white and blind, and all died. Wə'nuhu then went away.

A little girl had been sleeping in the rear of the house. When all the women were dead, she began to cry. The basketmaker talked to her. "You come out here. I told them Wə'nuhu was coming, they didn't believe it and kept on gambling, now they are all dead." The old woman went into the house backward, for she did not want to look at the dead women. She took the little girl by the hand and led her out. She carried a little basket with her.

They went to the other side of Double Spring. There she dug up roots, then sat down and made a fire. There was a big rock there that looked like a house. A tall man was living there alone. He went to Double Spring. The girl said, "There's some Indian coming this way." "No, there are no Indians here, it is some bad person. You watch him! I'll dig up wild roots." Hanawi'wi came; he was tall and red-haired. "Where do you come from?" The woman answered, "Oh, over there lots of Indians are playing games of all kinds." "I have never heard of that." "Lots of them are playing there. This little girl was always bothering her mother, crying." He said, "I'll go over to watch them play, then I'll eat them." He got up to the top of the hill. "I think she is deceiving me." He looked back and saw her. He went back on the Indian trail, saying, "She has deceived me."[b]

The old woman said to the girl, "Watch him; when he comes, we'll go inside the earth." She pulled up sage and went down with the girl, holding the sage root. Hanawi'wi returned, saying, "They must have gone away." He looked everywhere, but could not see any tracks. "She must have gone into the ground." He pulled up bushes, but two were too strong for him because the woman was holding them down from below. "I think they are holding them from below." The woman said to the sun, "Sun, go down quickly, some man wants to catch and eat me." The sun went down. Hanawi'wi said, "They are holding on, I'll come back tomorrow morning and eat them." In the night he went to the big rock house.[c]

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[a] It is not clear whether he is pictured as blind himself. Another statement makes him so.

[b] This part is somewhat obscure in detail.

[c] This episode was told by another informant as a separate tale, as follows: Two women were coming from south of Double Spring and told about a man who was eating Washo people. They lied to him: "Oh, we were not going away; those Indians have a big time, playing all games—*football*, wrestling, hand game, basket game, arrow game." The cannibal began to run, saying, "I'll look at the games." He sang, "Hanawi'wi," while going. The two women pulled up some sagebrush and went into the ground. Then this Hanawi'wi ran round the site but could not see any big time; he had been fooled. He thought he heard someone shooting and ran in that direction. Then the women sang in another place.

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At night the woman and the girl came out. They got some willows such as are used for basketry and sat down on them. The willows traveled with them up a mountain the other side of Double Spring. No tracks could be seen. The woman dug roots again. She said to the girl, "Sit down there and watch, to see if someone is coming." The girl sat down and looked. "Some Indian is coming there." "It's not an Indian, it's some bad person; maybe he's coming here." She took some dried willow, they sat down and traveled on it 'way up to a high mountain. She came to a big rock and they went under it, hiding it from below. When Hanawi'wi came, she said, "Sun, go down quickly." The sun set, and Hanawi'wi said, "Tomorrow I'll come and catch them." They came out in the night and on a willow traveled to a mountain near Wellington. Willow camped there and was eating willows. He said to the woman, "I think you don't like that kind of food." She did not eat of it, but they slept there, then walked down to Mason Valley, near Walker Lake.

Two men were living there, Wolf and Coyote; they went fishing every day. The woman and the girl went up to the top of the house. Wolf said to Coyote, "Take dry willows from near the river, make a big fire, we'll cook and I'll pack them." Wolf packed the fish, going ahead. Coyote looked toward the house. "I think he is fooling me, there are Indians up on the house." Wolf got home and told the woman, "Get down, go inside; I have a bad boy, who is coming soon." He hid the woman under a blanket. Coyote, coming up, said, "I think that looked like an Indian there on top of the house." "No, there is nobody here, that was a big black bird." Coyote made fire and cooked food. Wolf secretly fed the woman. Coyote asked, "Why are you eating all the time? You are fooling me, there are Indians here." Wolf said to the woman, "Come down to the fire, get warm and eat fish." She sat down. Then Wolf and she went to bed. Coyote said, "Well, my older brother, can't you give me that girl to sleep with?" "No, she's too small." "You'd better give her to me, I'll sleep with her." "No, she's too small." Coyote kept on talking to him. At last Wolf said, "Well, sleep with her; I suppose you'll eat her up." The girl went to Coyote, who ate her up, all except her head, which he left on the bed. In the morning they got up. "That's what I told you, you'd eat the girl." Wolf picked up the head and hit Coyote with it. Coyote was angry.

The old woman cried for two nights. She went up to the top of the house when Wolf and Coyote went fishing again, then she went away to this side of Walker Lake by the mountain there. She found a good Indian there in a big house, with plenty of pine nuts, acorns, roots, and dried deermeat. The man was constantly picking out ashes and putting them by the door. She put one foot within the circle of ashes, then stepped back and lay down outside at the back of the house. The man came and entered the house at night, made a fire and boiled deermeat in a basket. He put it down by the bed. Without seeing the woman, he talked to her. "There is no Indian here, there's some Indian track here: if you come down here, you'll see me." The woman came inside. He sat down and gave her deermeat. There were no Indians here, this is the one who made Indians. They ate and slept together. In two or three days a child was born. Every night they begot children, so that in a month there were many boys and girls. The boys played with bows and arrows and fought each other. Their parents were angry. "Don't fight with arrows." They fought one another nevertheless. He got up in the midst of them and said, "If you want to fight, go and fight." With his foot he shoved one group aside, saying, "You are Washo, you live in the middle of this country." With his other foot he pushed aside another group, saying, "You are Paiute, you are too numerous." To a third group he said, "You are Digger Indians, live over there." Then he said, "I am going away." He and the woman went

He ran there. "Well, they have duped me, I have a notion to kill and eat them. I am surely going to catch and eat them." He got back to the summit and tried to track them, but could not find any tracks. "They must have gone into the ground." He pulled up the brush all around except where they had gone in, for there they were holding on at the other side. "Somebody is holding it." At sunset he stopped. "I'll wait till tomorrow." Early in the morning he went there again, but at night the women had come out and gone east. In the morning he pulled hard there and fell backward. He tracked them eastward. He could not find them.

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south." They walked a little way, then a little cloud appeared and they went up. They never came any more. The woman is the cloud, the man is thunder. He is the father of the Indians."

4. COYOTE AS DOCTOR

[†] Coyote set up as a doctor. He said to Porcupine, "I cure anybody. Tell every person you meet that I have just begun doctoring. I study about it every night. Let anyone who needs a doctor send for me, no matter how far away I may be. I'll go 'way uphill to make my house there till someone calls me." He packed up his belongings and went. Porcupine told Deer, who was living with her aunt Crow, neither of them being married. Deer said, "I get sick sometimes. If you find me sick, fetch the doctor; he's camped way out in the pine-nut hill place."

Every day, Coyote went out hunting cottontail and jack rabbits. One evening he ate jack rabbits that he had killed, then took off his clothes and lay down by the fire under the shade. He pretended to be so old as hardly to be able to do anything. He made dust fly all over his face. Crow came to him in the evening. He heard her coming. She asked, "What's the matter? Why are you in bed already? It is pretty early." He looked as if he were nearly gone. She continued, "You sometimes smoke for somebody?" "Who are you?" he asked. "I'm a stranger. I just heard there was a doctor up here, that is why I come. One girl is pretty sick, I couldn't get anyone to doctor her." "Oh, there is no doctor around here." "I think you are the one she means, you are the only old man up here." "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke, that's why they say I am a doctor." "I wish you'd get up and put on moccasins so you and I could go to the sick person." "Oh yes, I am coughing, I have a bad cold, and am weak. However, I'll get up. Maybe she'll give me something to eat, I haven't anything. No matter how sick I am, I have to go. You go ahead, I think I can get ahead of you." Crow went ahead. After she had left, Coyote dressed up well, putting magpie tail feathers at the back of his head. "Well, maybe I'll get my belly full, I'll be back here tomorrow," he said to himself. "I have no moccasins, I'll go barefoot." He galloped along.

Crow arrived first. "The doctor is coming, he'll be here soon." He arrived with a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe. The girl was very sick. He said, "I got here, I want to smoke. I think I can cure her; if not, kill me here." He pulled out his hide. "I'll smoke twice. I'll soon tell you what's the matter." He had a globular rattle of deer hide with pebbles inside. He sang twice and smoked twice. "There's nothing the matter, she'll be well tomorrow. My mouth is not dry. That's the way I feel whenever a patient is getting well." The old woman offered him a buckskin. He refused it. "Give me a bundle of pine nuts. I won't take anything else, I have nothing at home." She agreed and cooked some, shaking them in a basket tray with embers. When they were cooked, Coyote said, "I don't need to doctor any more. She'll be up tomorrow and improve constantly. In two days from now she'll be happy and walk as well as ever."

He started home with the nuts. He took a handful and chewed them up with the shells. He kept on eating. "That's what I want. I don't know whether she'll get well or not, but I told them so I could get the pine nuts."

Soon after he had left, the girl died. Crow thought he had poisoned her. She called Skunk and Porcupine, both short-legged people. "Coyote has killed my niece. I'm a woman. Try to kill him. I gave him pine nuts, she died that night." Porcupine said, "He's always a fool, he killed the girl because that's his way. We'll sneak up and kill that Coyote."

Coyote heard the three of them talking. He sneaked home. Skunk and Porcupine set out, the latter with bows and arrows, wearing moccasins and putting bird feathers on their heads. Skunk said, "I don't need anything. I'll kill him with my filth. I'll stand by the door; you chase him toward me, and he'll be killed." Skunk took a rock in one

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† According to Jack, the dead go south to the Father of the Indians.

‡ For some of the preceding incidents, compare the Paviotso versions in R. H. Lowie, Shoshonean Tales, *JAFL* 37:300, 302, 304, 1924.

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• 537 hand. Porcupine came to the back door. Coyote was pretending to be like an old man again, barely able to get up. He was watching them. He had his blanket pulled up over his face, but so that he peeped out with one eye. Skunk stood there. Porcupine got his bow ready. When the string twanged, Coyote jumped. Porcupine missed him. He tried again and missed once more. "Who are you?" asked Coyote, "You can't kill me, you can't kill anything, Short-legs." Skunk was there, but Coyote jumped over him and ran away. "You short fellows can't kill anything," he said. Both cried; they had to go back without killing Coyote.

[Dave.] An old woman and her daughter were picking pine nuts and came to camp near here. Coyote said, "I am going to marry the young woman." He was very hungry and knew those women had lots of pine nuts. He met Bullhead [fish] and said to him, "Let us fool that old woman and her daughter. You go where the young woman urinates and jump into her, then we'll get plenty of pine nuts." Bullhead got under the rock and watched the young woman; when she urinated, he jumped into her. After a few days she felt something inside. "It is not food," she told her mother. "Have you met some man lately? Perhaps you are big with child." "It feels like that." She got sick. The old woman was scared and called someone to go for a doctor.

The messenger went to Coyote, who was living some distance away. "The old woman is sending me to you, you sometimes smoke and doctor." "Well, I am very sick, I can't move very well, but when someone calls I always go. I like to doctor, that's what I am for. How far is that camp?" He rose, put on moccasins, and got tobacco. "I have to go," he said, "I am nearly starved to death. I hear she's got plenty to eat. I'll go there quickly." They went off in a hurry. "Maybe she'll be dead before you get there." They ran fast.

When they arrived, the mother said, "I don't know why my daughter is sick. You doctor well, that's why I sent for you." "Yes, I'm not much of a doctor, I doctor people a little. But I'll see right away what's the matter with her." He knew there was something in her womb. "You needn't be afraid she'll die; perhaps a young man has possessed her and she is big with child." The old woman and her daughter had a big pile of pine nuts; she gave Coyote a little mush. He said, "This food is fine," and drank a big basketful. He wanted to go home. "When your daughter has a baby, let me know immediately, send someone for me and I'll come." She sent for him. "Let Coyote come and see whether the baby will live. I don't know who is his father." When Coyote got there, the baby had died. The old woman cried. Coyote said to himself, "I like to see the baby die; I want to get some of the nuts. I'll take both of them away from where the baby died." He did so. He said, "Don't look back at all toward your old house, I'll move the pine nuts for you." He looked; they were not watching, only crying. He stole half of the pine nuts and hid them in a big pit. "Well, I have moved all your things here, I'm going home." He walked homeward. Every night, he ate some of the pine nuts till he had eaten them up. He no longer cared about the old woman.

5. COYOTE AND CATFISH

[Hill.] Coyote talked my language. He had a camp. He went off somewhere on the river and got a fish trap. He caught lots of fish and dried them. He had plenty of fat. He said, "My fish are getting too fat." He picked up ashes and rubbed them all over. He went to his trap and looked at the long basket. It looked as if it were full of fish at the bottom, but when he pulled it out there was nothing but rotten wood there. He dropped it; he was very angry. He walked off to where he was drying fish, and found wood bugs on the fish. He had stored two bunches of pine nuts, one shelled, the other unshelled. He ran back to camp and was going to cook them. He made a fire. Picking up a mended basket, he said, "I am going to make three different kinds of soup." He tried to take out pine nuts from one cache, but found only rocks. He went to the second cache and asked, "Are you going to be the same thing?" Again he pulled out rocks. He got very angry, left camp,

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and ran off. He was not going to talk Washo any more, he was going to be a coyote. He lay about on the meadow as coyotes do and did not go back to camp any more. 539

In the east some Indians were cooking pine nuts. Coyote smelled the heat and said, "Somebody has stolen my pine nuts and put rocks in their place." He said he was going to war against the thieves. He called up every kind of wild game, birds, mice. He was going to train them for war. Then he called up the fish—minnows and others. That time this world was full of water. He went into the Paiute camp. He asked Catfish, who spoke Paiute, to catch a lot of Indians. Catfish looked for the chief. "Where's my friend the chief? Tell me." He made one step. He went to the next man and asked him the same thing, and the next man again, and a fourth. The last one said, "This man, your friend, is sitting right here."

Coyote went to his own camp. His wife was grinding nuts for soup. He said to her, "Grind fine, grind well. This man who is coming now is a smart fellow, don't make it coarse." She made soup and gave it to Coyote. He sat down outdoors with a handful of nuts, dropped them, and ate them. Everybody went to sleep. Coyote did not sleep at all, but stole some soup placed in the house and made them think a dog had taken it, saying "Ica, ica!" as if chasing a dog.

Catfish said to the Paiute chief, "Call up a man with good hair, tell him to put his hand on me." He did so, and the hand stuck to Catfish. He asked the next man to do the same. Catfish said, "I'll kill your wife, your friends, your relatives with different kinds of sickness, I'll kill any of you." A lot of people, all with good long hair, thus got stuck to Catfish. Then he went right toward the river. He said, "I am walking toward the river, I am going to urinate in it." He dived right in with all the people on him. Some of the other people thought they might save their relatives, catching them downstream. They were crying, "I'm losing my son!" They went to the bottom of the water. Catfish then pulled off their scalps, put them into a long basket, and brought them to where he wanted to have a big time. Coyote danced there. He sang as follows: "ke'we uhale'lek layhai' iya' iha'!" Wolf was with him and sang: "ha'li, ha'hi, hahi'!"[a]

6. COYOTE'S DAUGHTER AND CHICKENHAWK'S SON

[Jack.] Skunk had a camp. Coyote was living this side of Gardnerville with his wife and daughter. He said, "I'll go 'way down uphill from Genoa." Chickenhawk was living there with a son and a daughter. Coyote wanted his daughter to marry Chickenhawk's son, so he had her take pine-nut flour there in a basket. On the way, she had to pass Skunk's house. Skunk said, "Well, Coyote told you to come here." So she went to Skunk's house and stayed there for one night. Skunk begot a great many children, some of which he cooked in the ground. One he made alive and boiled him in a basket. Coyote asked, "Have you come back?" "Yes." Her mother took out the boiled baby. "Oh, it's no good. I didn't tell you to bring that. I don't eat it, throw it away." She threw it away.

The next day Coyote said, "Go 'way up there" (near the site of Genoa). She made pine-nut flour and set out again. Her father told her not to stop at Skunk's, but to go farther. She went near the site of Genoa, looked up, and saw Chickenhawk's son, who told his father, "Oh, that woman is coming, I see her." "Perhaps she likes you, go down and bring her up here." He went down and brought her up to their home. She stayed two nights, then gave birth to a big boy. Chickenhawk hunted deer every day and gave dried meat to the girl. She carried it home in a basket. Coyote said, "That's what I want—deermeat." She stayed a few days, then returned to her husband. Coyote said, "When you cross the river, don't drink water while crossing, but dip it up in a cup and drink it on the other bank." She, however, drank water while crossing the river. Then a great many "fish-ducks" came. They took her and her baby 'way downstream toward Washo Lake. They fought one another over the possession of the girl.

Chickenhawk's son was out hunting in the mountains. He saw his wife being captured

[a] The words of these songs are said to be meaningless.

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●539 by the ducks. "It seems the woman is not coming here, she is being taken away. I want to go and see my wife, and bring her back. How shall I catch her?" he asked his father. "Oh, not today; go early tomorrow morning." The next morning there were plenty of ducks. Chickenhawk hit them with his wing and killed them all. He caught his wife and brought her up to Carson River. Then he let her go. He came back to his home. He did not want her any more.

She walked down toward the site of Carson City, crying. She walked along the trail to Sheridan. The Washo were always playing ball there. They left the ball lying in the middle. Coyote's daughter took the ball away and left her baby's head in its place. Then she walked off. In the morning the Indians wanted to play. They kicked the ball. It did not stop, but kept on going around. "That's no ball, that's the head of Chickenhawk's baby." They kicked it for a little, then a great wind began to blow. The Indians said, "Why is that ball going around? I hear the wind up in the mountains. Maybe that ball is no good." The wind came down and blew all the Indians away. Far off they fell down in a place the Washo call "*Weyó'*."

7. COYOTE AND THE GRIZZLIES

[Jack.] Two Grizzly sisters were living together. Coyote was camping by the Carson River. He looked uphill. The Grizzly women would go out every day to dig wild potatoes. One day Coyote came out of the house and yelled at them, "That plot does not belong to you, it belongs to me; don't eat up all the potatoes, leave them there." One of the sisters heard him. She growled and sat down. The other woman asked, "What's the matter with you? There are plenty of potatoes to be dug up." "Coyote has abused me. See him down there." Then both were angry, growled, and sat down. "Let us eat that Coyote." They ran toward his house.

Coyote went inside his house. He defecated and asked his excrements, "The Bears are coming after me, what shall I do?" "Lie down and pretend you are sick. When they get here, pretend you have been sick for a month."

When the Grizzlies got there, one of them sat down on the roof by the smoke hole. The other went in. Coyote was moaning, "I have been sick for a month." "You are not sick, you were sitting outside a little while ago, calling me names." "Oh, I have been sick for a month, I nearly died. It was not I: some Indian boys were passing outside, and they shouted at you." "There was no one here; it was you, and I am angry." She had a sharp rock and went for Coyote. He jumped to the other side of the house. Again she went for him and he jumped to the other side. She said to her sister, "Watch up there, maybe he'll go through there." "Oh, I'll watch." Again the Grizzly went for Coyote, who jumped out through the smoke hole. The other Grizzly only caught his tail, which was torn off. He ran off a way, then looked back. The Grizzly on the roof cried to her sister, "Come out, he looks pretty sick." However, Coyote ran on, looking back at the Bears. They went after him. He went across the Carson River toward Woodfords. He had made a little house there and had a bow and arrow there. He sat down inside. The Grizzlies pursued him to the little house. He made a hole in the wall and shot both of them, killing them. He skinned them and cut them all up. He made a fire. He failed to cut up the spleen [?]. It made a noise: "*toro' . . . ro'*." He looked up and said, "It's a goose flying." The spleen turned into a live bear and ran away. Coyote took his bow and arrows and shot at it, but missed it. He pursued it for a while, then let it go. "You'd better go to the mountains," he said, "and bite some new [?] Indians when they hunt you." That is why Indians are afraid of grizzlies.

Coyote dried the bearskins, also the meat, and packed it. He went toward this side of Gardnerville. An old man approached, named K*ó*mbi. He was carrying a big rock. He would put Indians down in a pit[a] and say, "I'll hit you with this rock, then you'll feel better." He asked Coyote, "Are you sick? I'll hit you with the rock, then you'll feel bet-

[a] His exact procedure remains obscure.

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ter and we'll eat that bear meat." K'ubi put Coyote into the pit and took up his big rock. He wanted to kill him, but Coyote jumped out. He did not touch him. K'ubi said, "Pretty soon you'll feel better." Coyote said, "I was not very sick, I am better. Let me try it with you for once." "No, I am not sick; if you are sick, I cure you that way." "I'll try once, maybe you'll get better." K'ubi went into the hole. Coyote's foot was like a dog's. He said, "I can't pick up the rock with my foot." The old man lost his suspicion then. Coyote quickly picked up the rock and broke him into pieces. He then packed the bearmeat, went to Carson Valley, and stopped at the site of Carson City.

[Bill.] Seven or eight miles toward Coleville from the mouth of the canyon in the Carson Valley, Coyote had a camp by himself. Grizzly also had a camp. Coyote owned a place for getting wild potatoes, and Grizzly dug up some of them. Coyote abused her. Grizzly heard it and began to growl. She had a sister and said to her, "Let us go and see that fellow." They started. Coyote went inside his house. (He is smart, you know.) He lay down like a sick man, moaning. The Grizzlies went in. "You are the man who called us names." "No, it must have been the man who went past making fun of me; I didn't say anything to you."

The older sister went in, the other went to the top of the house. The younger said, "Don't talk to him. He called us bad names, catch and kill him!" Coyote got scared. The older sister thought she'd seize him, and jumped across the fire. He ran off under her arms and jumped up to the smoke hole. She ran out, thinking her sister would catch him. The younger said, "I nearly caught him, I nearly killed him. There he is, running away."

Coyote ran westward. Both sisters ran after him. He made a hiding place for himself, then when they came near he shot and killed them both. He began to skin them, took the hides and cut them up fine, but he did not cut up the spleen [?]. He cut up the brush all around and cut up the flesh fine. The spleen dropped under the brush, and the grizzlies came back to life again. Coyote said, "What is it shouting there?" He listened carefully. It sounded louder and louder. He stepped on the spleen. Nevertheless it moved around a little; he could not kill it. He said, "I am killing you, I do thus"; and again he stepped on it. Then it became alive again and ran out as a bear. He tried to catch her but could not do it. "Oh, go ahead," he said; "go away, go south, go to the side of the hill; then catch those people and bite them."

He returned to where he had sliced the meat, and wrapped up both hides and the flesh, then went straight uphill and tried to stretch the hide on the ground. He removed the brush all around. Far around in a circle there was no brush, no tree, where he was stretching the hide. (I have seen it myself.) He came down from there. The hides were dried. He cooked the meat and went down toward the site of Sheridan. He met a long-billed, long-legged bird, who was furious, hit a rock, smashed it, and scattered all the pieces. There he passed. He met another fellow singing. Coyote said, "I have some meat to eat, let us take a bite." The other, K'al'ee, said, "I don't want to eat now, let us eat after we have punched each other." He wanted to kill Coyote and told him to lie down first to be punched. Coyote wanted *him* to lie down first. At last Coyote lay down crosswise on top of some rocks. K'al'ee and he were watching each other. K'al'ee had a rock to kill people with. As he moved it, Coyote, who was watching, picked up a rock and jumped up. "Come, lie down again." Coyote would not do it. "No, you go ahead, lie there, I'll try you, then you can try me again." So his enemy lay down on the rock with his wings." Coyote asked, "How do you hold this? I can't hold this rock." He could not pick it up with his claws. K'al'ee was watching, but as soon as he shifted his eyes from Coyote, Coyote smashed and killed him. Then he walked away toward the site of Genoa and Hot Springs.

Coyote met another fellow, La"lak, who came along singing and carrying fish in his basket. La"lak gave Coyote a little one. Coyote swallowed it and said, "Do you think

" This suggests that the angry bird mentioned above is probably identical with Coyote's antagonist.

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● 539 this will fill me up?" "Well, try it." He threw it into Coyote's mouth, and it filled him. Coyote began puffing. He was mad and tried to smash the basket. It had hooks in it, which caught Coyote. "Stop the hooks—quick!" "How shall I stop them?" He went away. He saw people hunting rabbits below the site of Gardnerville. He came in at the site of Minden. He got to the hunters' camp. They were women and had roasted plenty of rabbits. They all took out the roasted rabbits and ate them between their legs, bone and all." Coyote caught one woman to sleep with at night. He got a rock, pushed it in, and broke off all her teeth. He slept with her that night and made her conceive. The next morning she gave birth to a baby. He ran away northward. He had put red paint all over himself. Somebody far off saw him and said, "I see somebody with red paint on running toward us away from there. I don't know who he is. After a while we shall see."[a]

8. THE ANIMALS' JOURNEY

[Dave.] Birds, frogs, rabbits, and Coyote—every bird in this [Carson] valley and northward were talking together. One said, "Everything living today, why should we not get together for a dance two months from now and see another country?" Another said, "I'd like to go somewhere, we don't want to stay here all our lifetime. I have a father and a grandfather." In the fall they all gathered and went to another country, where they found other birds and animals, who did not like the visitors. They looked at the mountains and valley there and what was growing in it. One day the natives met some of their visitors and asked, "What have you come here for? You are too many, you are eating up all we have. If you stay any longer we'll fight you." They told their headmen, "They say we are eating up their food." He did not care; he said, "We'll fight with them any time they are ready."

They began to fight. The natives defeated the visitors and killed half of them. Many lost a brother, sister, or father. They were very sad about it, some were scared and couldn't get back quick enough, some died on the road. Coyote, as the fastest runner, got home first. Wolf was with him. Coyote said he'd feed on squirrels and game of that sort. They had nearly got caught. Coyote said, "We'll stay here a little longer. We don't care about those little chipmunks and the rest. We can do nothing against those big fellows like the bears."

It was in the springtime, there was lots of high water in the Truckee, and some couldn't cross it. Heron [?] was in the party. The fugitives came to the site of Reno. They had no boat to cross in. Heron came along with his long legs and made a noise. He said, "I thought you fellows had got home by this time." Badger escaped the enemy by always going into a hole. "It's foolish to go that way. Our friends are mostly killed. You can't get across, let's camp here." Badger said, "You have a long leg, maybe it'll reach across the river and we can use it for a bridge." "Well, I'll try." He lay down and his leg reached across. All of them went over on his leg. Old Frog-woman couldn't walk much and was afraid of crossing in this way; she had a cane sharpened at one end. "Oh, maybe I'll fall down." "Don't be afraid, get on and go across." She was the last one. When she got to the middle of the river, the bird moved his leg to tease the old woman. Frog said, "This is moving," and nearly cried. She stuck [prodded] Heron's leg with her cane. "Don't stick me hard like that, it hurts." She kept on doing it harder and harder. Heron got angry. He moved his leg to one side so that she fell into the water, drifting down. "Oh, my old relative is being drowned," cried someone. However, they saw her head sticking out, and finally she got to the other bank with the rest.

All went on from there to Carson Valley. They were so starved they could hardly walk. Frog was in the rear. Some people began to mock her, asking, "Why does she always

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[a] The *vagina dentata* motive, evidently.

[b] Bill commented thus on his tale: "I believe it sometime [i.e., in part]. You know, a grizzly when he stands up looks like people. I believe it hardly that women ate rabbits between their legs. But the old Indian said that was right [true]."

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stay behind?" "I'll show you what's wrong," she said. "You can't beat me." She made a few jumps and was miles ahead. Then she asked, "What's the matter with those boys? They are faster than I."

Coyote, who was carrying meat in his mouth, came to the river in the afternoon. He said to Wolf, "We can't get across, brother. You are a good jumper, jump." Wolf tried several times but failed. "Maybe I'll do it." Coyote went far back, came at a dead run, and seemed to fly across. He looked at Wolf, who tried to do the same but was afraid. At last he jumped but did not get clear across, falling a short distance from the bank. He was pretty heavy. Coyote was watching. The water was deep. Wolf couldn't get out, but drifted till Coyote seized him and pulled him out. When both were on land, they laughed, built a fire, and cooked. "Now let's go home quickly, we can get there before night." They ate, packed their food, and trotted homeward, side by side. Coyote beat his brother running. He looked around in every camp to see which members of the tribe had come home. Wolf cried, "Wu-o-o"; he could not find many of his friends, and mourned their loss.

9. COYOTE AND LIZARD

[Dave.] Coyote and Lizard were talking together. Lizard said, "Indians shall have five digits and be able to handle anything." Coyote said, "No, they shall have hands like a coyote's or dog's paw. They'll handle with their mouths." "No; do you suppose they can handle things with their feet? They must have five digits." "No; their hands must be like my feet." He got angry and said, "I'll catch and kill you." "All right, you'll kill me." Coyote jumped at him. There was a crack in a rock, Lizard went into it and Coyote couldn't catch him. "Somehow I'll kill you; I'll kill you easily." He went to make a fire in the crack. He made a sagebrush fire with thick smoke. Lizard thought the smoke would kill him. Coyote took a wing and fanned smoke into every crack. He thought he could kill Lizard, but Lizard stuck his head out away from the smoke. Soon the smoke went in, and Lizard made a sound, pretending to be burst, but was on the outside. Coyote was listening. "Now he is dead. I thought you couldn't die, but this smoke has killed you." Lizard came out on a hill. "Ah, you haven't killed me." He went back to the same hole. He made the same sound again. Then he jumped up once more, saying, "You haven't killed me."

[?] Coyote said, "I am going to be as tall as a pine-nut tree." Wolf said, "No, you shall not be so tall. People will make a willow pole tall enough for me to knock down the nuts." Coyote said, "You are wrong." But Wolf hit the nuts with a pole, he did not take Coyote's word.

Coyote said, "These people shall have the same kind of hand as myself." Lizard said, "Oh, these people are going to be like me." He showed his hand.

10. FROG AND COTTONTAIL

[Dave.] Frog was an old woman; she wanted to marry Cottontail because of his good looks and white tail. Cottontail wouldn't go near her. He said, "I wouldn't have a frog, she's too soft. I can go and run and feed myself very well." The cottontail lives around the mountains in rocks. Frog did not move away from the water and mud.

11. THE WEASEL BROTHERS

[?] There were two weasel brothers; the smaller one, Tama'lili, was a funny fellow; he wouldn't mind (just like a hoodlum). He said to Spider, "You can't catch me. I'm going to jump over this stump, you can't jump over it." Spider said, "I can run after anyone, I'll follow you around." The Weasel jumped. Spider, instead of jumping, ran under the stump and got pretty close to him. Weasel said, "Do you think you can run across the water? *I* can go on top of the water." He ran across. Spider also went quickly across and nearly caught up. Weasel was tired out and Spider killed him.

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Tama'hil'e older brother had sent him for something. When he did not come back, the older brother looked around, but found no track. He followed him all over, but could not find any. He asked Sun: "Have you seen my brother? I couldn't find him. Have you seen him? I have lost him. Tell me, you must see him." Sun said, "I haven't seen him, I don't know where he is." He asked again and again. At last Sun said, "I didn't want to tell directly. I think your brother has no sense. He was fooling with a bad boy. Something bad chased him, killed him, and dragged him into his house [hole]. I saw him a little while ago." Then the older Weasel went into the hole and made smoke. Spider got sick from it, he was suffocated. Weasel dragged his younger brother out and stepped over him. Then the little one got up alive again.

Both walked away. The older said, "You'll have to look out, you always fool with anybody, you must be careful. Don't do that any more. Go ahead, I think there are deer in that brush; scare them, we'll kill them." The younger went running and met Beaver. He walked toward him and shook his house. Beaver asked, "What is that?" He saw him. Weasel said, "My brother has sent me up here to get something to eat tonight; we are camping out there somewhere." "I have nothing to give you to eat." He asked two or three times. "I haven't got it, I tell you." Then Weasel got angry, broke up the beaver house, and ran away. Plenty of beavers came out and ran after him. They grabbed him and bit him to death, then dragged him into their house.

The older brother waited for a long time. He got tired and went hunting for him. He again asked Sun, who would not tell him at first. At last he said, "That man got him, killed him, dragged him into his house." The older Weasel went in and dragged out Tama'hil. He stepped over him. He got up. They walked off. He told him again, "You haven't any sense. I told you to be careful and not to fool when you meet somebody. I'm tired of you."

He sent him off again: "Go over to that tree where there are deer tracks. Go round that big brush, and drive deer to me, so we can kill them and have something to eat tonight." Young Weasel went into the thick brush, found a bear cub, caught him, and brought him to his brother. He rubbed the cub's back, and said "We have a nice puppy." He held him toward his body. "Let him go, Grizzly might come." After a while he let him go. The Weasels walked away.

He sent him off again. "Look at that tree. I'll stand under it, you come round, and if you scare up deer we'll kill them and camp here somewhere." He found no deer, only Woodchuck [?] making smoke against the other woodchucks and trying to kill them. He got two or three. Young Weasel came along and fooled Woodchuck, who had a long stick with which he was poking into the hole. Woodchuck was looking in, kneeling, when Weasel with a little stick struck him in the buttocks. Woodchuck thought he was being burnt. He again poked in his stick, and Weasel again did as before. "Who did that? It must be someone coming along to fool me." He tried again, looking between his legs, and caught sight of young Weasel, who laughed at him, saying, "Well, my brother has sent me to get a great big woodchuck to eat tonight. You have killed one, you have got it, my brother wants a big one." He refused; then Weasel seized it and fled. Two or three woodchucks ran after him, killed him, and dragged him into a hole.

Then the older Weasel looked everywhere for the younger. He could not find him and again asked Sun, "Have you seen my brother?" At first Sun would not tell him, but after being asked several times he said, "Your brother fooled Woodchuck, he tried to steal from him, then two or three of them ran after him, killed him, and dragged him into their hole." He went to the hole, made a smoke and killed Woodchuck, pulled out his brother and stepped over him. Then he came to life again.

Both of them walked away and went to a hillside. They saw a deer lying on the upper side of a tree. "Look out, that big deer is what we are looking for." The older brother sneaked up, saying, "Do you stay here, and don't move until I've shot him." The younger one would not obey, but kept sneaking alongside of his brother. "Stay here, don't move, don't follow me, I am going to sneak up and kill him. If you come alongside of me and shoot when I shoot, he won't die, he'll run away." Still the younger would not listen.

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The older Weasel shot, and so did his brother. Then the deer did not die, but ran down, far away. They followed and tracked him, but could not catch him."[a] 539

The younger Weasel saw a water baby and fooled him. The Water Baby said, "Look out, don't fool with me. If you do and kill me, the water will flow over you, following you down, and will drown you." But the Weasel killed him, scalped him—he had long hair—and brought the scalp to his brother. The older Weasel said, "Why, what are you doing! Don't you stop fooling? The water is going to drown us. Throw the hair back immediately!" The water followed the young Weasel and nearly overtook him, but when he threw the hair back the water receded.

[Jack.] Weasel (Powts'ûl) had a younger brother (Tomo'ûl); they were camping at the site of Woodfords. They went up to a high mountain near Sheridan. They went to the other side, to a big lake. The older Weasel said, "We'll go up there. You go to that tree, there are lots of deer tracks there, scare them; I'll stay here and kill them; then we'll eat." Young Weasel, however, went to Beaver. "Hello, my friend, you are playing here?" "Yes, I play here every day." "Let me play." "You don't know how to play," said Beaver; "we say 'k'omoya wa'lyely'd' when we play." "Let's play for a little while. You lie down like that, I'll hit you with my foot and say 'k'omoya wa'lyely'd.'" Beaver lay down. Weasel hit him pretty hard and broke his medicine.[b] Then he ran away. Beaver said, "Bad boy, you have broken it all up." He caught Weasel and stuffed the fragments into his nostrils and mouth, thus killing him.

The older Weasel came back, looked everywhere, and saw his brother. He stepped over him and thus revived him. "Let's go." They went 'way up. Then the older brother said, "You'd better go, I'll stay up here and kill lots of deer."

Ground Hog had a camp. The younger brother found him. Ground Hog had a big house, in which there was a big fire and smoke; he was killing ground hogs. Weasel said, "My older brother has walked off a little way, he told me my uncle was catching ground hogs and would give me a big one, then we should eat tonight." Ground Hog offered him a little one. Weasel refused it and got angry. He took a big one and ran away. Ground Hog called plenty of ground hogs to chase him; they caught him and hit him so that he died; then they took him inside. The older Weasel came looking for his brother. He asked Ground Hog, "Have you seen my brother? He went here." "No." "Yes, I have seen his tracks." "No." "Tell me, or I'll kill you." "Oh, he went to sleep inside my house." Weasel went inside and brought him out. He stepped over him and brought him to life again. The younger brother said, "It was pretty hot inside the house, my uncle made it warm." "He is not your uncle (ume'ue), he killed you."

Every day he got killed. The next day he went again up to the site of Tallac. There was a little fellow there with long hair, sleeping on a rock with his arms folded and his head resting on them; this was Metcuy'e'. Weasel took a sharp rock, saying, "He has pretty good hair, I think my brother will keep it." He jumped at Metcuy'e', who leaped down into the water. There they fought, going round and round. At last Weasel killed and scalped him. "This will be pretty good for my brother." He went to his brother. "I have found good hair for you." "It's no good, that water will catch us and we'll both die. It will come up high." They ran toward a high mountain. The younger brother pulled out a little hair from the scalp and threw it into the water, which receded a little but then came back again. "Throw it away, it's no good, the water will catch us wherever we go." It came near the top of the high mountain, covering everything there. Segubun was up there, lying down on the fire, which burnt his breast. Thus he saved fire for the Weasels. The water went down."

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[a] Subsequently the narrator said the Yellowjacket killed the deer and at once made away with the meat.

[b] Jack could not explain to me precisely what was hit and broken by Weasel.

[c] As appears from the context, as well as from another version, the water fell when the whole scalp was thrown back into it.

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● 534 [Jack.*] The Weasel brothers went up the mountains. They caught squirrels. It was pretty warm. They made fire in the shade and the older cooked the squirrels while the younger was sleeping. Then the older took them out and went to sleep. The younger then got up. Deep down below the fire Spider had his house. The younger Weasel raked the fire with a stick, bringing Spider out. The young Weasel laid the squirrels out to cool them off. His brother did not get up, he looked as if dead, for Spider had bitten him. Spider went after the younger brother, who ran off, Spider jumping after him. Weasel asked, "What is it that is pursuing me all the time?" He ran around and jumped up on a big rock. Spider jumped up, too. Again he ran and went up a tree; Spider also climbed up. He jumped into Lake Tahoe, running along the surface of the water. Spider came jumping across.

After a while the older brother got up and said, "Come here, younger brother, here are your squirrels cooked, perhaps they are not hot any more. Let us eat and then go." He did not see him. In the meantime Spider had caught the younger Weasel and bitten him to death. He took him back below the fireplace. The older Weasel asked, "Where is my brother?" He went around, looking for the tracks, but couldn't find them. He went to a big obsidian [?] rock. From its middle he flew up to Sun's camp. He asked, "Have you seen my brother? I have lost him." "No, I haven't seen him, I was sleeping." Again he asked, "Have you seen him?" "No, I wasn't looking today, my eyes are no good, I can't see. Perhaps your uncle (Moon) has seen him. I was sleeping all day." Sun did not want to tell him, he was angry.**

Weasel went to the moon and stayed there all night. In the middle of the moon there were dry frogs [?]. Weasel said, "I don't like frogs, those are not fish." "Oh, they are good," said Moon; "I always eat them, I don't like fish. Always throw away fish from the weir basket and pick out the frogs. Early tomorrow morning you may go to the creek, maybe you'll catch fish in the basket; bring them here and eat." He went to the creek next morning. The basket was pretty full, frogs were numerous, there were some fish. He picked them out.

Weasel asked Moon, "Have you seen my younger brother? I lost him yesterday." "In the day or the night?" "Yesterday at noon. Have you seen him?" "No, yesterday I slept all day. At night I look around and see everything, in the daytime I am blind. Perhaps your uncle (Sun) has seen him. Take my two dogs." They were porcupines. Weasel went to a big rock in the morning and, standing with his back toward it, kicked it with his heel. Two porcupines came out. He took one under each arm and went to Sun's house, putting the porcupines on the roof. The porcupines spread their quills. Weasel entered. "Why don't you tell me about my brother?" he asked. "My uncle thinks you've seen him. You didn't tell me, my dogs will sting you." Sun was afraid and said, "I'll tell you." He told him."

The older Weasel went down into the ground to Spider's house with a pipe. Moon had instructed him not to let Spider smoke first. Spider said, "Give me the pipe to smoke first." Weasel would not do it. He smoked himself for a long time. Spider had a great many children all over the house. As Weasel continued smoking, all the little Spiders fell down. Spider said, "That's enough, my children are pretty nearly all dead." Weasel continued smoking. Spider was meaning: "I am nearly dead, don't smoke any more." At last he fell down dead. Weasel took out his younger brother and stepped over him, so he came to life again. He said, "It was pretty warm in my uncle's house, I slept too much." "That's not your uncle, he's no good, he bit you to death." They went away. The older brother kicked the Spider's house, then it burst up.

* This recital by Jack was told as a separate story.

** It is not clear why Sun and Moon were represented as brothers by Jack.

*** Jack here gave some details which I was unable to understand fully. It seems that Sun was angry because the older Weasel slept too much, so that his brother could run around without supervision.

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13. WITO'WINUK

[Jack.] Witu'winuk had a camp in a rock. He was a big old man. Once an old woman went out digging wild potatoes. He called to her, "Come here, I have plenty of meat, come and eat, then go digging potatoes!" She went there. He caught her, choked her to death, cut her up, and ate her.

When she did not come home, the other women began to look for her. They saw lots of blood where she had been cut up. "We'll seize him and kill him," they said. They took stone knives and cut him all to pieces. This was 'way down toward Hot Springs. There was no more Witu'winuk then. The women said, "He won't bother Indian women digging potatoes any more."

13. THE BIG BIRD

[Dave.] A big bird had his nest about four miles from McKinney, in the middle of Lake Tahoe. His name was A'y and he ate Indians. He stayed there during the daytime, but in the evening began to fly around looking for people. Early in the spring the Washo would begin to go over from this (Carson) valley to get fish by spearing, for at that season they were hard up for meat. Then there would be a camp by every creek flowing into the lake. The bird would look around, see the fires, and know when to catch Indians. He would alight on a big tree, which he sometimes broke by his weight. Seizing an Indian, he would fly back to his nest. This happened every year. The Indians were helpless with their bows and arrows.

One old man was picked up by the bird; he had a bow and arrows in a deerskin quiver, also some obsidian [?]. The old man shaded his eyes, looking as if dead. A'y put him down in the nest, where half the body of another Indian was lying uneaten. The bird said, "This is a good thing; first I'll eat what is left, then tomorrow I'll eat this old fellow." The Washo listened to him. A'y picked up the big shoulder of the corpse and, shading his eyes, swallowed the whole body. The old man shut his eyes as if dead. The bird always shut his eyes while eating. The Washo put in a sharp, black stone with the body, so the bird swallowed it with the flesh. It cut up the bird's inside. "What's the matter? My inside is hurting, I have a pain in my stomach." He began to yell. "Oh, something is hurting my stomach," he groaned. "I think I shall not live." Soon the nest began to shake as he shook his wings. He nearly died, groaning, "I shall not live any more." The old man listened. Soon the bird died. The Washo got a stone knife, cut off his wing, tied it with buckskin string, and made a boat. He jumped in, and it went without oars. He landed toward Hot Springs at one end of the lake. There were lots of Indians then, no whites. They looked at the wing. The old man was nearly starved, he was hardly able to walk. He told everyone he had killed A'y. "He won't eat Washo any more." They were glad to hear it and were not afraid any longer. The bird had hidden under dead trees.

14. THE GIANTS

[Dave.] Between Sparks and Wadsworth an Indian had a fish house. He speared four or five big fish before sunrise. Several Washo came from near the site of Reno. A giant about thirteen feet tall watched them from the mountains. He came down where the fisherman was sitting down with his spear, and seized it when the Washo was trying to spear a fish. "What's the matter? Something has hold of my pole." He jumped up and saw the giant. He asked, "Who are you?" The giant did not answer, but made signs pointing to the camp and a sign for sleeping and asking for one fish to eat. The Washo gave him one, then the giant asked for all the fish. The fisherman would not give them to him, but shouted at his friends: "Come here, my friends, some strange person is taking fish from me." Two others came up, yelling, carrying bows and arrows. They looked at the giant, who ran away. They pursued him but could not keep up with him. There were about a dozen Giant camps south of Pyramid Lake, and the Indians said they were going to war against them.

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● 532 The three Washo told their friends, "Something we don't know tried to catch fish away from us." The war chief talked, calling all the Washo together to fight. No Paiute were living at that time; they were all by Walker Lake. Three days after the speech all came together. They went down along the river and saw the giant's tracks. His feet were as long as an Indian's arm and his steps were about twenty feet long. The chief said, "I wonder where their camp is." They went all day from Reno and got to the place about sunset. They made a fire, ate, set out again, and got to within one-half mile of the lake. The chief sent two young fellows to scout. About 4 o'clock they attacked the giants, who threw rocks but had no other weapons. The Washo shot and killed four or five of them, leaving only three alive. "We'll let them be and go back." The giants had no weapons, no blankets, just rock walls piled up. The hole is there yet and can be seen now.

The Paiute, who until then had been afraid of the giants, heard about this battle and came from Walker River. The surviving giants went away; later the Paiute went there and held the land around the lake, getting plenty of fish to eat. They paid the Washo buckskins for driving away the giants and told them to get fish from Pyramid Lake whenever they wanted to.

All got fish houses up to Derby Dam and toward Sparks on both sides of the river. There is a big rocky point there close to the river. Plenty of mountain sheep were on the mountain this side of Derby Dam. They were pretty wild. The Indians hunted them. Sometimes a big herd would come down from the rocks to get water. The Indians watched for them but could not shoot them. They made a big net-like rope and a fence. A dozen men stood at either end and drove the game between the fences. An old woman made fire to cook the game. The men came together for the drive, but the sheep were not afraid of anything, jumped over the fence, and got away, all of them. The old woman, who was hungry and ready to eat, cried.

13. BULLHEAD

[Dave.] Bullhead [fish] went traveling by himself. He heard that many people were dancing by Walker Lake. He started, but being short-legged he could not go fast; it took him two days. He camped out one night. When he got there he made out that he was a little boy and hid behind the sagebrush. A woman gathering wood saw him. He was sitting down, playing like a boy. She did not know whose child it was, went home with the wood, and asked her husband to look. He went and looked around. Bullhead remained sitting; he knew the man was coming for him. The man asked, "Whose boy are you?" "I belong to strange people you have never known; I come from a great distance." "Where do you come from?" Bullhead told him. He asked the man, "When are you people going to begin to dance?" "After supper. There will be lots of people you have never seen and they will be very glad to see you." "I wish to do that, I am always good at looking, I'll look at your people dancing. Have you got some food at home? I am hungry, I have traveled far."

The man took him along. "You'll get all you want and will look on tonight." He gave him small fish, and pine-nut soup in a nice basket. Bullhead sat down and ate and drank. He broke up a piece of the cooked fish, then pushed the rest back. "That's all I can eat, I haven't room enough in my stomach for more. I only swallow a few mouthfuls, then I have enough." He took out a tobacco bag with a pipe, lit the pipe, and smoked, raising his head.

Bullhead said, "Call your chief, I want to talk to him." His host went, and the chief came back with him. Bullhead said, "The day before yesterday I heard you were going to have a good time here, so I came. I couldn't get here sooner, so I camped out. I started early in the morning and got to this man's house." The chief said, "We have had a big time here." "I thought I'd get to your place, I want to see you, that's why I sent for you." "All right, this camp is just the same as mine, these are all my people, you won't get lost. Everyone knows you are a good fellow, I suppose." "That's what I wanted you to tell me. Tomorrow morning I'll go near where you had your fun and stand close by the water."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

"All right, tomorrow morning we'll do that for you." "All the women and children shall come to see me as I stand up there. Tell your people each one to put his finger on me. Then you'll all feel well if you touch me. I'll show you the way I do to some people."

The chief called the people. "Each of you shall put his finger on him." They all did so, some reaching over the heads of others. There was something sticky on his body and they all stuck to him. "You have done what I asked you." "Yes," said the chief, "all have done it." Then the fish jumped into the water, diving into the deepest place under a big hole and drowning them all. Blood was running out. He scalped all the bodies and let the corpses drift. He could hardly pack all the scalps when he got out. He sat down, pulled out all the scalps on the land, and picked out the best ones with long hair, leaving the poor ones aside. He spread them out and dried them. "That's what I wanted. I got all the meat and scalps. Maybe I shall not get home for some days." Then he cut willows and made a big basket to hold the scalps. He filled it and tied a tumpline of buckskin string to it. It was so heavy that for a long time he could not get up. At last he got hold of a sagebrush and helped himself up. He had a small watertight basket filled with water for the journey. He could hardly walk with his pack. He went a little way, was tired, and stopped. The next morning he went on. He camped out many nights. He nearly got home. He was so hungry he wanted to cook some of the scalps to eat them. He cooked three or four in the ashes, then went on. He was near home. His wife and children were always watching for him. At last he came up behind something. His son saw him first. "My father is coming with a big load." "Let us all go to meet him and take good food to him." So they went. He said, "I got tired packing this," and gave the bundle to his wife and children. They carried it home. "This is what you wanted me to do, I have got lots of meat for you, take it out and dry it." The woman took it out and dried the scalps on sagebrush. They quickly rotted, the head skin came off, and there was a bad odor. The next morning he called his wife down for it. "That's not the way you ought to have done when I told you to tend the meat, you should have cooked them all." He thus lost them. He woke up in the evening and was furious. He said, "I am not going to hunt for you any more, tend to it yourself. I know you can't do anything. I pack plenty of meat and you spoil it." He left his wife and camped out for two days. Then he returned. He pulled out lots of sagebrush to burn up so as to remove the stench. His son cried about it, saying, "Don't do it, I'll eat the spoiled things." He said, "Your mother spoiled them, maybe we'll get poisoned from them." He left his wife and son together. He said to the boy, "Your mother can tend to you, I'll do what I want." He went to the water and began to stay under the rocks as now. He never appeared again.

16. BIRDS' QUARRELS

[Dave.] Chickenhawk was going together with the black Crow. Crow came from the country where the pine nuts grow. He thought he could come through easily, but could not on account of the ice. He tried to break it, but failed. He tried again the next day, but failed again. He had pine-nut seeds in his mouth ready to plant them. He said to Chickenhawk, "You always kill something with your heart, maybe you can break the ice with it." "That's so, my breast is strong, nothing can resist it. I kill live game with it, perhaps I'll break the ice. I can fly a long way, more than you can. In the morning I'll try to break it, to get through; watch me. I'll fly up as high as I can and hit the ice with my breast." Crow watched. He flew 'way up, hit the ice with his breast, and broke it. Crow liked it very well, and a whole band [of crows] came through with pine nuts in their mouths, taken away from another country.

Chickenhawk laughed at Crow. "You can't do anything as I do, you got stuck at something that was not very hard, you are no man at all." Chickenhawk went away and never met Crow again.

1: Lovie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

●539 [?] Owl (ti'wum) said, "I'll catch mice, that is the only thing I live on." Big Chickenhawk (ma'ʷawi)" said, "Don't keep all of them, I want some for myself, too." They began to quarrel. Owl said, "You are faster than I, you could catch deer, I don't, I never go up the mountains, I live by the willows, where the mice are." "Don't talk that way or I'll kill you." Owl answered, "Don't try to jump on me, I don't try to do anything to you. When I see the mice, I can live on them; you want to kill me for nothing. I want to live."

Buzzard and Eagle also fought over game. Buzzard said, "Don't catch anything in the valley, don't eat everything you kill, I can't look a long distance like you. Have some on the ground for me." Eagle said, "I can't feed you for nothing, you are not my friend or my brother or father." Buzzard was angry. "You are not my friend," he said, "do as you like, I don't care."

17. THE STAR-HUSBANDS

[Jack.] Two Indian women were living in a house on Lake Tahoe. Their mother's father was camping by a river near by. He had a fish house and had plenty of fish. He cut and dried them and hung them up in a tree. He had good big fish. The girls gave him some flour in a basket. He told them he had eaten it all, but actually he had said to himself, "This flour is no good, I won't eat it," and had thrown it away along both sides of the trail. In return he gave the women only one poor fish. One of them said, "Let me go and see the old man." She saw that he had thrown their flour away on both sides of the trail. She was angry and did not go to him, but went a little way to a big tree and cried. Then she went home and told her elder sister, and both cried. They said, "Let's go away, we don't like the old man, he has lots of fish and has only given us one."

They sat down on a willow and, on it, flew up a hill near Genoa. They stayed there all night. They made a fire. The elder sister sat down to cook, while the younger was making a design in basketry, singing, "Don't make any more designs, come here and eat." "Pretty soon I'll come, I'm making a basket design." They lay down to sleep at night. Both looked up and saw many stars. "I think I'll catch that big-eyed one." "I'll catch that small-eyed one, he looks good." The two stars came down, and while the women were asleep, took them through the sky hole they made to the other side. There they had a camp. They had plenty of antelope meat. In the morning the women got up. "I don't know this place. Where have we come to? The stars must have taken us up here." In the morning they cooked the antelope meat and ate.

Their grandfather once more took a little fish to his granddaughters' hut and, without going in, said, "Here's your fish." Then he saw that they were gone. "Well, my grandchildren have gone away, I don't know where; I'll look for their tracks." He looked everywhere but could not find them. Then he went home, packed some dried fish, and went looking for their tracks again. He didn't find them and came to this side of Genoa.

The women had stayed with the Stars almost a week. One Star said, "Dig lots of wild potatoes and bring them here." They went digging and their sharp stick made a hole in the sky. One of them looked down on Carson Valley and saw their grandfather walking everywhere with his fish. "I see our maternal grandfather." "Let me look. . . . Yes, it is he." The two women quickly went home and took a great many antelope sinews. For one or two days they made a rope of them. One end of it they tied to a big tree; then they threw the rope down the sky hole. The next morning they told their husbands, "We are going to dig potatoes and come home by tonight." They went, but both of them began to climb down the rope. One of them had a little baby in a basket cradle. The baby was crying. The other woman said, "Oh, take him out of the cradle and carry him in your arms, he's crying too much in the basket." They had nearly got down to the earth. As soon as the mother took the baby out of the basket, he quickly flew up to his father and began to cry. The Star said, "He's pretty hungry; give him meat." Still he kept on crying, "Tʸdaawa iya [My mother is going on the sinew]." His father said, "Maybe he is hungry, cook doormeat for him." He wouldn't eat, and kept on crying and

[a] Described as having a yellow breast.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT2d

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repeating the same words. At last the Star said, "Maybe the two women have gone down. Where is my big knife?" He found it and went running toward the hole. He cut the sinew rope, so that the women fell down and were killed. Their grandfather came along and saw them alongside of each other, and lay down on top of them. Then he died, too.

18. THE WALKING RACE

There were a tall and a short man. The former said, "I can go around the lake [Lake Tahoe] in one day, I don't think anyone else can." The other immediately bet against him, "I can do it, I can beat you walking." He wagered a buckskin, dry fish, arrows, and other things. The tall man said, "You can't walk"; the short one answered, "I can, too, walk." Before sunrise they began. It was pretty hard to get around the lake. They walked all day and got to the north end together, to the site of Tahoe City. The short man came running, he kept going to Emory Bay. He got tired out; the tall man achieved it in one day. It was pretty dark at Emory Bay; there the short man got hungry and lay down. He could go no farther. The taller one got to the goal. The next morning, the short man came home; everybody laughed at him. He was ashamed, did not talk to anyone for three days. This happened before the white people were here.

19. FRAGMENTS

Ka'wai (an animal resembling a mink) shoots and looks around, then hides when someone comes. Chickenhawk (with a white tail) was called sister by him. "Come here, my elder sister, I want to talk to you." Chickenhawk was a little way off and came to Ka'wai, who said, "Will you tell me anything about the hunt? Tell me something, then I'll go. As for me, I do not know where the game go to. I want to kill something we both could eat." His sister said, "My son used to look for game and find something quickly, but he is dead. I am hungry; since there is no one to do this [i.e., hunt] for me, I am poor. I cry all the time. You, my younger brother, bring me what you find and I shall be happy."

Lizard had a flint. When war started he carried the flint on his head, sharpened. "When you start fighting," he said, "I'll put it on the arrow. I might lose it, so I don't put it on the arrow till we go to war."

Once the whole country was a sink. All the people and all the game on this land were drowned except one man and one woman, who went up on the highest mountain, where they had nothing to eat for ten days or two weeks. After a while no rocks were sticking up any more, then all the water went down quickly and flowed away. The couple came down, perhaps they were young, and walked down to the valley. They found meat on the land, ate it, and lived on it for a while. They multiplied, begetting a daughter and a son.

[P.369,A]

776 over, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
● 539 stories recounted by informants:

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ilmenite. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[782] [755]

2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

[778]

[782]

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 787 539

5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a cannon of Navaho witches is often the life of a relative (1967, p. 181).

4xDowns E-5 (no date) 1981 MTSU Washo MTSU

[P. 367, B]

776 787 539 Water Babies lived in a big house made out of that black shining rock [obsidian]. But they didn't go there. The Water Baby said 'we got some girls that want to give you something,' and he took my uncle to a place and there was five girls there. They all sat around my uncle and sang him a song and told him that it was his song from now on. Then the Water Baby took my uncle back and then he said it was like waking up from a dream and there he was laying in the creek down under a bunch of cattails."[1]

776 539 6. "There was this white man up here fishing. He caught a Water Baby but he didn't know what it was. He thought it was some kind of fish and took it to San Francisco and they put it that place where they have a lotta fish [aquarium]. Captain Jim went all the way down there to tell the mayor that they had better let that Water Baby loose, but nobody would pay no attention to him. Well you know they had a big earthquake down there and the water came up around everything. When it was all over that tank where they had the Water Baby was empty."

THE GIANTS

773 776 Washo mythology features several creatures which may each have contributed to the wild men I will describe in this section. Beth Lowie and Dangberg report myths in which a giant, Hangwuiwui, is the principal figure. Although the myths do not describe him, my informants generally picture him as a colossus who hops on a single leg from the top of one mountain to another. He has a single eye to match his single limb and a proclivity for gobbling up Indians. Several miles southwest of Gardnerville, in the hills overlooking Double Spring Flats, a cave is known by the Washo as Hangwuiwui aq'l (the place where Hangwuiwui lived). Present-day Indians tell a number of stories about this giant and display a certain uneasiness when they are near places he is supposed to haunt.

Another kind of giant appears in a myth reported by Lowie. These beings appear to be considerably more human than Hangwuiwui. Traditionally they camped south of Pyramid Lake and terrorized the Paiutes. However, when one of their number attempted to take fish from a Washo the tribe rallied and routed the giants in a battle near Walker Lake. The giants did not have bows and arrows. They fortified themselves behind rock walls and threw stones.

According to my informant on the subject, the mountains are still the home of a tribe of "wild men." These people have managed to hide the location of their camps so that no one knows where they live. My informant felt that they were in fact some kind of Indian. Despite the mythological ability of the Washo to defeat the giants, modern stories about them suggest they have a great deal of supernatural power in addition to their physical prowess.

539 The following stories were told to me as contemporary or relatively recent occurrences:

1. "There is these wild fellas up in the mountains. I guess you call them giants. One time there was an old man who had set up a blind to hunt chip-

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[1] This story very closely parallels one recorded by James Stirk among the Tolowa. Humboldt Anthropological Society Papers, No. 10, Fall, 1958.

[P. 368, A]

539 munks, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of those fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild man had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

[513] [237] 2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down (maybe that wild man did something to the fire). Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild men still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

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THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES

Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

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973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Psychiatric clients and victims or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Morrison 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seeminystic, very conscious of his influences and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [528] [539] [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aq, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aq bird's skeleton?"

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773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwu. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[782] [182] [124]

a:Downs E-6 (no date) 1961 NTS9 Washo NTS9

[R 392, A]

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fetal. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "branch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2342-2344)

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(172)

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called shamkillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a campsit in Smith Valley was known to Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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(484)
(361)
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Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

(539)

"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody knew'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

(731)

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P.374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(1966)

Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In the past, dreamers were particularly important in setting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last semicommunistic bands in the middle 1930's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

[P. 380, 8]

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[1] They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

Bear (258, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[2]

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[1] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[2] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, A]

224
●[539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [643] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

[789] [764]

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 265, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[177]

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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that some sounds have a "happy sound," others a "sad and serious sound," but he was unable to give examples of what was meant.

It is worthwhile to cite the words of two other informants in this connection. Informant X noted:

> The Shoshone and Paiute use their own words. The Washo language is too slow . . . and words that have the right meaning are too long. The only meaning is in the other language, but I don't know the meaning. I only know my own feelings. We just sing the songs as a tune.

Informant Y reported:

> The words got a meaning, but not like ordinary words. We sing different songs for different times. We start out with certain songs before midnight and other songs later. . . . That's the way I was told about them. Each song represents some things . . . like a sick person sings to feel good. The words mean something in another Indian language. Sometimes we put Washo words in. It is pretty good to put your own words in; then you know what you are saying. But I follow the song just as I learned it, because the Washo didn't have that way of worshipping.

The English words, "Jesus only one," appear in three songs. It is not unusual to find English words and phrases appearing in American Indian songs, but they are not usually of this particular context. In connection with the song, the singer noted that the words were "a necessary part of the song. They are always sung with it," while another informant reported that the English words are put in the songs "for the benefit of people who don't speak the language of the song. That's so they can understand something."

In general, the Washo texts seem to conform to the overall Peyote style.

Instrumental accompaniment

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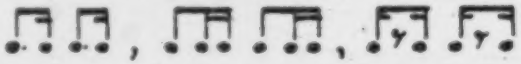
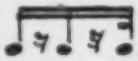
All songs are accompanied by the rattle shaken by the singer, and the drum played by a second musician. There is no other instrumental or vocal accompaniment.

The rhythmic patterns used by the drummer are almost totally unvaried—the standard beat is a steady evenly-spaced series of eighth notes. The rattle, on the other hand, is played in a considerable variety of patterns ranging from a simple succession of quarter or eighth notes to such configurations as:



Of special note is a pattern in which the rattle player establishes a beat which can only be classified as "hot":



while the "hot" beat is admittedly a somewhat vague concept from the analytical standpoint, it is readily apparent to the ear and distinctly present in several of the Washo songs. This is the only instance of a hot beat in American Indian music known to the present authors.

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

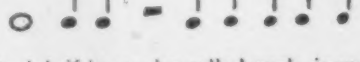
668
533 There is no suggestion of polymeter in the songs, even in such usage as melodic triplets on a duple rhythmic base.

It is difficult to establish clearly the relationship, if any, between melodic and drum pitches. In songs in which the subjective tonic and duration tones (see below, p. 638) are identical, drum pitch is the same in but one case. In three songs, the drum pitch is two semitones above the ST-DT; in six songs it falls on the sixth degree of scale, in one case on the fourth degree, and in one case on the third degree. These relationships do not seem to indicate a clear tuning of drum in order that melodic pitch may be taken from it. At the same time, it is fairly noticeable that when drum pitch changes within a song cycle, the subjective tonic seems also to change; when drum pitch remains stable, subjective tonic tends to remain stable. It should be pointed out that the drummer changes pitch before the singer—that is, between songs—and thus it seems unlikely that it is he who alters his drum pitch to conform to the pitch chosen by the singer. At the same time, Washo singers say that "the drummer is supposed to tune to the singer and follow the rhythm of the gourd," or "the drummer has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch." No distinct relationship can be established here; it seems, however, that drum pitch is probably used by the singer, either consciously or unconsciously, as a guide.

Instrumental and vocal introductions and closings

In discussing instrumental introductions and closings, it is perhaps wisest to follow through a single cycle of four songs. Cycle I is begun with 72 beats of drum and rattle alone, and the first song terminated by a drum tremolo which decrescendos from *forte* to *piano* and which is followed by a single eighth note tap. The tempo is then resumed almost immediately on the drum, the rattle rejoins it, volume is increased to *forte*, and 52 beats mark what seems to be the introduction to the second song. Song 2 again closes with a drum tremolo alone, the same decrescendo, followed by the resumption of tempo, the rejoining of the rattle, and crescendo, for 48 beats to the third song. Song 3 is not closed by a tremolo; rather, there is a brief space of two beats of silence, after which drum and rattle resume at tempo for 96 beats. The final song ends with a drum tremolo. In general, this is the pattern for all songs, with some slight variations such as the substitution of a rattle for the drum tremolo, changes in length of percussion material between songs, and other minor points. It should be pointed out that there is but one clear break between songs in any cycle; this occurs between songs 2 and 3 in Cycle III and is probably traceable to nervousness on the part of the performers.

There are four instances of vocal introductions in the 21 songs; in song II,1, typical of the group, the singer uses a succession of tones on the tonic:



This introductory material, if it can be called such, is separated from the true

8: Merriam & d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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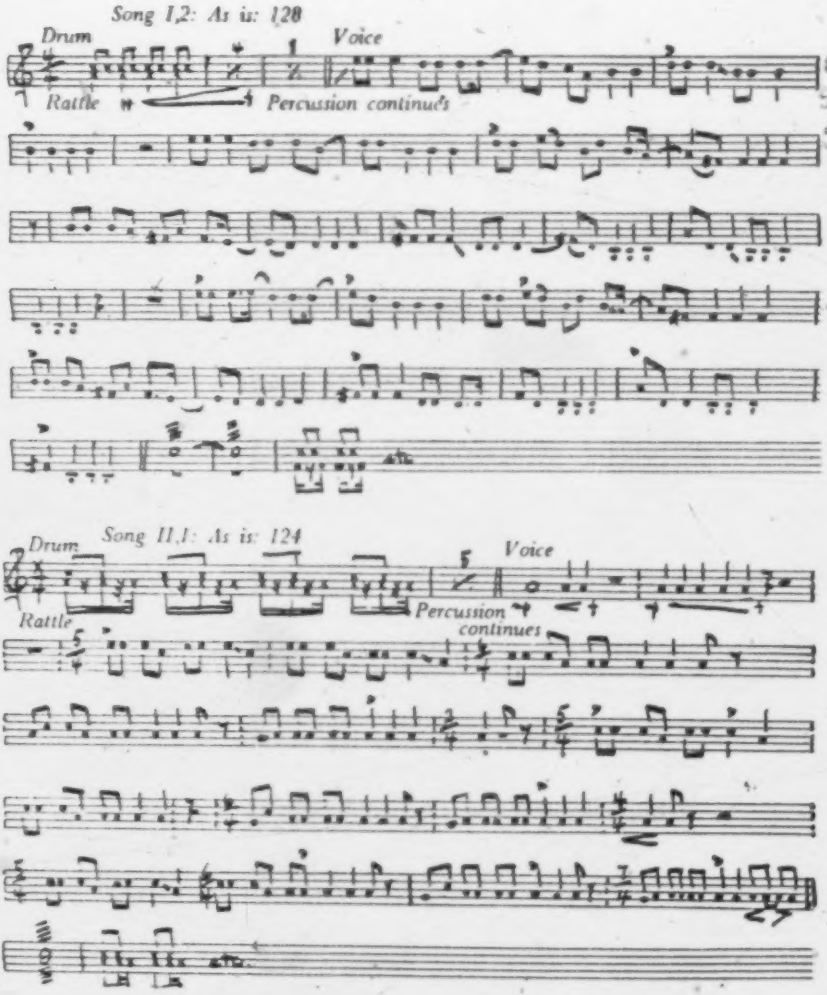
In addition, the dip or "double portamento," in which a pitch is established, allowed to slide downward for variable distance, and then returned to its original frequency, is found in three songs. The bend, a less marked version of the dip, appears in one song. No auxiliary tones are used as such.

Some use of dynamics is evident in both instrumental and vocal lines; the former is discussed elsewhere in this paper. Strong dynamics on the part of the singer are found in two songs; in II,3, a closing *sforzando* on the final tone; in song II,2, a definite decrescendo in a long falling phrase which is repeated in subsequent renditions. While strong dynamic ranges are not characteristic

[text continues on p. 634]



8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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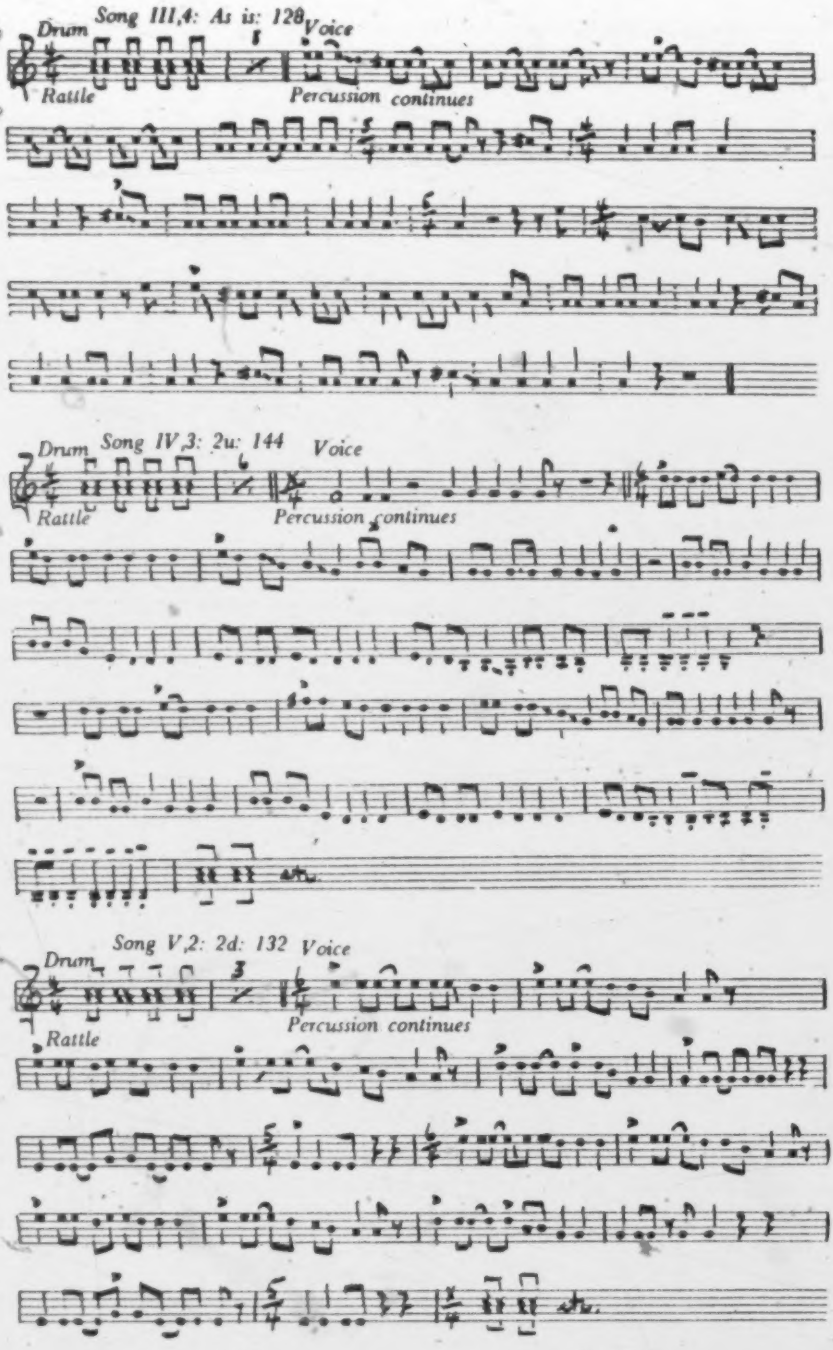

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed.

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house.

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two.

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position.

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver."

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr.

gólaš gepímiʔ miłíʰgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ miłíʰgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔmi, miłíʰgimelémiʔmi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ɬémuyi hakí.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš hákimiłíʰgiʔńawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

245
[247] Beyond this single farmer, the only attempts at cultivation I saw were a flower garden, maintained by the Paiute wife of a Woodfords Washo, and two small orchards. These last two efforts were made by men considered to be Washo, and consist of only a few trees which bear indifferently. I suspect that the Washo concern with trees, which is symbolized by a deep interest in pinyon pines and other fruit-bearing plants, might be directed toward a program of orchard culture.

[427] The Washo "Tribal Ranch," part of the Dresslerville community located in the bottoms along the Curom River, has never been operated successfully either by individual Washo or as a cooperative, and has for a number of years been leased by white tenants.

231 The dog, owned aboriginally, is ubiquitous in Washo settlements. Whatever distinctive features the pre-contact breed may have exhibited have long been submerged under a flood of bloodlines of every description since the appearance of European breeds. The animals are treated with kindness and are fed, often with commercial dog food, but driven out of the house
[224] should they attempt to enter. Dogs[1] serve only as pets and companions and apparently are not used in hunting.

235 Two families own barnyard fowl, one keeping them penned and gathering eggs, the other allowing them to wander freely about the homestead and occasionally killing one for the pot or frying pan. One family in Dresslerville maintains a tumble-down dove-cote that houses a number of pigeons. I could not find any practical reason for keeping pigeons except that the owners "just like them."

231 The common cat is a member of most Washo households. Generally the animals are allowed to fend for themselves, and many of them are missing toes or one or more feet or limbs, cut off by mowers as the cats prowl alfalfa fields in search of rodents. Their owners take a great deal of pride in a cat that is "tough" enough to survive one of these injuries and return home.

492
489 The last team of horses, and wagon, in Dresslerville was sold in 1928, and Washo transport became automotive or, as always, pedestrian. Older and middle-aged Washo show no interest in horses or riding, although some will bridle at the suggestion that Washo are not good riders.

231
177 Some Washo boys have become enamored of the western folk hero, the "cowboy,"[2] and show an enthusiasm for western clothes and a desire to
541 own and ride horses. However, only two Washo boys participate in the frequent rodeos held in the area, and these, I was told by other Washo, were not very good and entered only the minor events.

1 Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2 [See footnote, p. 150 -- Analyst]

177

The Washo example serves to illustrate how varied the response to a particular complex of behavior can be. It serves, if nothing more, as a warning that it is not possible from the nature of the introduced behavior to easily anticipate what the response in the receiving culture will be. It further suggests that the subject of response to animal husbandry among Indian tribes outside the more well known and dramatic area of the Great Plains may shed meaningful light on the process, and on the effects of the diffusion of animal husbandry in the New World.

Notes

1. Dogs were used for hunting in early historic times and presumably aboriginally.

2. This reflects one of the dominant themes of white culture in the West. Cattle raising is one of the major industries. Moreover, it is an activity with prestige. The romanticized figure of the cowboy is dominant throughout the area. In Gardnerville amateur ropers form one of the largest and most active recreational groups, and rodeo is a major spectator sport.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601

Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipu'a'yali	my son-in-law
le'"yue	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ula'rut	my wife's brother, husband's sister[32]
tima.a'"aci	my husband's brother[33]
tida'mau	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaca'ca	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'yil	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[34]

Spouse Class

tipume'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

601
114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601
114
171 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Paviotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distinguishing father's brother from father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[35] But in classing *all* cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[36] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601
593 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here";

● [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name.

601

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[32] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[33] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[34] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[35] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

[36] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:136, 163, 1922.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo [787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming [821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 775 539 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes [763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called *metsuy'e'*. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 539 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a *metsuy'e'* pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when
[768] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
● [55] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
[821] winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbĕýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbĕýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbĕýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing; some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

[775] [753] [754] [756]

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

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The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the
[755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[32] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come [775] and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result. [787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.' [782]

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [843] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [789] [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 246, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the [177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

CHAPTER II

ECONOMY

Compared to more technologically advanced societies, the Washo had little processing, storage, or transportation of goods. It was a "direct economy" in that the producing group consumed most of its own products. Distances between the point of distribution and the point of consumption were usually not great.

Economic demands seldom exceeded subsistence requirements so that even when natural supplies were abundant accumulated surpluses were small. Surpluses in pinenuts are an exception to this, but since pinenuts were difficult to store for more than one year or to tranport in profitable quantities, this surplus was set aside for subsistence and not trade. If one family had a surplus in pinenuts there was a tendency for all families to have such a surplus. Therefore these were largely non-tradeable surpluses.[1]

Supply was determined by the productivity of the natural environment and the amount and skill of the human labor used in production and distribution. The part of wealth devoted to acquiring new goods and the social forms involved in production, distribution, and consumption played a minor role in supply.

Pinenuts (tagum), acorns (malung), and other seeds were among the major staple foods. A variety of roots, berries, and leafy plants filled out the rest of the vegetable diet. Animal fats and protein were provided primarily by fish and small mammals, especially rabbits. With the exception of deer (m¢mdewi), the large mammals, such as antelope (ayas), mountain goat (ogul), and bear (taba) were not important in the diet. They were sought as much for their skins and the prestige of killing them as for their meat. Downs (1961, 381) writes "all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears." And there are suggestions that "the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner." Birds, reptiles, and insects were also eaten. Several hundred species of plants and animals were known and used by the Washo. Merriam (n.d.) collected names for over 200 plants and animals. Numerous plants were used as medicines (Train, et al. 1941; Murphey 1959).

Water (dime) was carried and stored in deer intestine bags and basketry water-jars. With the numerous streams and springs in Washo territory no place

1. See pp. 57-58 for a discussion of pinenut surpluses.

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] (592)
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

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Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

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Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multifunctional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

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The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

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Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa-Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

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and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth: bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

[P. 364, B]

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 112). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 39-40; 1954).

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The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 136-137):

Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

[P.365, A]

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> differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

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From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often coöperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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can break up a developing pattern in an informant's responses. This precaution was not followed in the present study because its importance was not realized until the field work was almost completed.

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Finally, the sample tested should be random. This is probably the most difficult of all the precautions to observe, for many persons will refuse to work with the investigator. Approximately twenty Washo refused with varying degrees of firmness to work with me. Of these, probably half would have, eventually weakened because I could have brought pressure to bear through some of their relatives. This still would leave a sizable number of adamant refusals. In small, homogeneous groups like the Washo, the lack of a random sample is probably less serious than in larger, more heterogeneous societies.

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In the present study, the above-mentioned precautions were carried out less fully than they might have been because the importance of some of them became clear only as the work progressed. The first four may be observed with no particular difficulty. I regard numbers one and four as particularly important. The problem of obtaining a random sample presents the most difficulty, but the effort must be made so that statistically valid inferences may be drawn about the larger population.

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The role profile test deals only with the qualitative characteristics of roles. It indicates that a role ranks high in teaching or helping or fondness and low in submission or hostility. But roles also differ in their content. For example, both mother and father help a person, but the nature of the help differs. The mother cooks for an individual and mends his clothes; the father helps him to fix his car or to build a house. The role profile test tells us only that something is taught, but it does not tell us what is taught. The content of the teaching or helping or punishing distinguishes roles as much as the qualities of the roles. Among the Washo, the differences in the content of roles generally follow sexual lines. For the most part, this study does not deal with these differences in content; but it will be seen that content must be taken into account in distinguishing between the roles of the members of the nuclear family who are of opposite sex and in the same generation.

THE SAMPLE TESTED

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The role profile test was administered to 47 of approximately 280 Washo living in the vicinity of Gardnerville, Nevada, and Woodfords, California. An effort was made to select a sample with an equal number of men and women, and one in which the young, middle-aged, and old were represented fairly equally. However, the persons within these categories were not selected randomly. The sample contains 20 men: five are thirty-five years of age or younger; 9 are from thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. The sample contains 27 women: 10 are thirty-five years of age or younger; 11 are thirty-six to fifty-four years of age; and 6 are fifty-five years of age or older. No one was tested who was under fourteen or who had less than seven different kinds of relatives. This reduced the number of young people who could be tested. The reluctance of the older Washo to mention dead relatives meant that many of the older people would not give all their relatives in the genealogical interviews, or would re-

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

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the average value of X for all individuals who receive the rank r. For any given value of X, say x, the probability that you will get a sample of n in which exactly (r - 1) will have values of $X > x$ and $(n - r)$ will have values of $X < x$ while one will have a value in the interval $(x, x + dx)$ is

$$\frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} q_3$$

where q_1, q_2, and q_3 are the probabilities respectively for falling short of x, exceeding x, and falling in the interval $(x, x + dx)$.

More precisely, to within terms of order dx,

$$q_1 = \int_{-\infty}^{x} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_2 = \int_{x}^{\infty} \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-t^2}{2}}\, dt,$$

$$q_3 = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

The formula for the expected or mean value, μ_r, of the rth rank can then be written as follows

$$\mu_r = \int_{-\infty}^{\infty} \frac{n!}{(r-1)!\ (n-r)!} x \cdot q_1^{n-r} q_2^{r-1} \cdot \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi}} e^{\frac{-x^2}{2}}\, dx.$$

A table for the values of μ_r is given in Fisher and Yates (1953, pp. 76-77).

Admittedly in our data, the samples of n were not selected at random since they consist of all the relatives of the ranker in three selected generations. However, the Washo are a small, homogeneous, interrelated group; therefore, the relatives of one person are probably quite similar to the relatives of any other person. Taking this into consideration, it was thought that the relatives ranked by a given individual would have sufficient spread over the range of a characteristic to make the use of the metric μ_r meaningful. At the very least, the use of normal scores is a device which enables one to put rankings of, say, fourteen items and rankings of, say, seven items on numerical scales which are comparable.

If the kinship terms have no effect on the ranking within the categories, then the assignment of the kinship terms to the particular individuals being ranked would be at random. Thus, the rank of "father" would depend on the specific characteristics of the individual being ranked and not on the fact that he is called father. Consequently, it would seem that since individuals vary, the rankings of "father" would also vary from protocol to protocol. If, however, it were found that the rank of "father" is relatively constant, then it would seem that the kinship term "father" has a weight in determining rankings.

After normal scores had been assigned to the test rankings, the mean, standard error of the mean, and 95 per cent confidence limits were calculated for each

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} Xi}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (Xi - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate).

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1] [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Am.]

[P 390; A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, coöperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text continues top of P 391, B]

CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

[Text continues bottom of P 391, B]

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of nonsororeal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Washo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Washo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Washo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

also a measure of the man. One who has been able to "catch" many songs is no doubt "living a good life, and the medicine is backing him."

Instruments and criteria of performance

Musical instruments of the Washo Peyote singers include rattle and drum; the construction and materials used are as important to the musician as the special skills exerted in playing. The most adroit drummer or rattler feels he has done poorly if he is not satisfied with the qualities of his instrument; he is usually most confident if he has made the drum and rattle himself or if they have been made by a Peyotist he admires. Some of the most highly prized rattles are relatively old and have been passed from owner to owner, each of whom knows the history of its ownership.

The four important elements of the rattle are the gourd, stones, tuft, and handle. The gourd should be perfectly pear-shaped and not too large; the older and more used it is, the better, for this toughens and thins the shell which in turn improves the sound. New gourds are often boiled in oil and lined with pine pitch in an effort to speed this desired effect.

Considerable care and ingenuity is exercised in finding materials which will produce the proper sound inside the gourd; the number of "stones" should always be seven. White flint, which is found in the area and which does not break or wear in the gourd, is used by some singers; it is said to give a high-pitched soft rattle. Other musicians use bits of granite, quartz crystal, hollow brass balls from key chains, or small brass nuts (hardware).

The tuft is the "crown" of the rattle and must give a special and pleasing effect while the rattle is being shaken. It is symbolic of the tuft of the Peyote button, and also of sunburst or sunrise, associations which are very important in the appreciation of the general effect of any rattle. Material used is most often hair from a horse tail, but it may also be feathers—the comb of a cock pheasant, or hummingbird wing feathers.

The handle of the rattle is usually intricately carved or beaded, and a fine handle unscrews into two parts so that the rattle can be folded and packed into a small paraphernalia kit. The beadwork or carving symbolizes various aspects of Peyote ideology; for example, bands of color from bottom to top indicate evening, midnight, daybreak, and sunlight, thus concurring with the steps in Peyote ritual. The mounting of the gourd on the handle is considered extremely important; it must be mounted in such a way that the gourd touches the handle only where the pointed end of the latter fits tightly through the tufted top of the gourd. To achieve this ideal, a shell or silver fitting is placed at the bottom of the gourd; this retains the stones but at the same time allows a free space between fitting and gourd. If touching does occur, the rattle "sounds flat."

In performance it is the singer who holds the rattle, and each has some special rhythmic devices of his own which partly identify his playing. Methods of performance, or criteria as to the importance of rattling, are not highly verbalized among the Washo; responses range from, "the rattle is used to keep

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today. 616 [178]

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200. 361 [628] [178] [162]

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life. 595 587 595 587 178

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a 602 125 554

brief description of the behavior of relatives separated by two or three generations is included. This is based upon observations and a few rather general statements of informants. 602 125 554

The administration and analysis of the role profile tests and the characteristics of the group of people who took them are described in Freed (1960). The role profile test asks 16 questions probing various features of interpersonal behavior. The questionnaire is given below. All the questions are related to four general qualities of interpersonal interaction: dominance, submission, affiliation and hostility. The strongest and purest expressions of these qualities are in questions one (dominance), five (affiliation), nine (submission), and 13 (hostility). The questions between any two of these attempt to combine their qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (question two) combines dominance and affiliation; "to respect" (question eight) combines affiliation and submission; "to nag" (question 12) combines submission and hostility; and "to refuse help" (question 15) combines hostility and dominance. The data of the role profile test can be quantified, and this permits an objective description and comparison of roles. The quantitative treatment of roles and their similarities and differences is given in Freed (1960). This paper will describe roles only in qualitative terms.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

(The words in parentheses were useful in improving the informants' understanding of the questions)

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?

2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?

3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?

4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?

5. Which relative is specially fond of you?

6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?

125 602 554 7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

125 157 554 602 Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish). 157 125 602 554

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

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In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

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Summary and Conclusions

N W 105

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Sur-
554 prisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [478] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about
124 pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluc-
231 tance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a
825 lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

compatibility explanation of this situation. That 14 per cent of the Indians near the center of peyotist activity accepted the cult prohibits the conclusion that it was culturally incompatible; on the other hand, a majority opposition proves that cultural compatibility alone would not insure its general acceptance.

Questions naturally arise from this lack of uniformity in participation. What makes some Indians accept and others reject the new religion? Do peyotists form a distinct cultural or social subdivision of the society? Do they have common characteristics, status, economic position, etc., which unite them and distinguish them from others? Do peyotists belong to a distinct socio-economic group? The answers come from data procured in the field concerning 1000 Indians, the total adult population in the communities where peyote was most enthusiastically accepted.

As one would expect in a group which aboriginally recognized distinction solely on the basis of personality and achievement, the Washo and Northern Paiute have no mechanism for class or group social status. Individuals are today, as formerly, judged according to their ability. Therefore, personal performance is the one practicable criterion upon which categories of social participation might be established. Besides determining the number of adherents to the cult, information was obtained concerning financial status, willingness to work, use of alcoholic drinks, activity in Christian missions, shamanism, election to tribal councils, and degree of Indian blood. Personal observations were supplemented by the opinions of Carson Agency social workers; merchants who trade with Indians at Fallon, Colville, and Woodfords; Indian Service doctors at Wellington, Yerington, and Bishop; and the subagent at Fallon Reservation. These people went over lists of Indians in their vicinities, checking those outstanding for the characteristics here listed. There was no important disagreement when two or more people appraised the same individual.

The results of this count, presented in full in table 3 in Appendix III, show that the peyote cult attracted a representative percentage of the population. Neither the member group nor the nonmember group have in common any social traits which distinguish them from each other. For example, 5.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 5.7 per cent of the peyotists were outstandingly prosperous; 1.7 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were noted for not drinking; 1.3 per cent of the nonpeyotists and 2.0 per cent of the peyotists were or had been shamans; 13.1 per cent and 10.9 per cent respectively of the nonpeyotists and peyotists were of mixed blood."

Were it possible to psychoanalyze a representative sample of the cult members and its opponents, we might find personality types peculiar to each group in meaningful percentages. Probably, however, we should find great differences within each component of the society, and also numerous similarities between the two. Although the behavior and history of some individuals seem to explain why they react

[n] Some correlation between social status and acceptance of new culture elements has been reported. Shimkin tells me that although the peyotists constitute only about 30 per cent of Wind River Shoshone population, they make up over 50 per cent of the participants in the Episcopalian mission, the Ghost Dance, the Sun Dance, and the tribal council. They belong to the half of the tribe which can be designated as participators, in contrast to the half of nonparticipators. It is difficult to say which is cause, which effect, but such a correlation certainly suggests a causal relationship. Phillco Nash writes (p. 441) that those who joined the 1870 Ghost Dance on the Klamath Reservation could be placed in a single category: those who attempted to accept white culture and were economically disappointed. They constituted a group apart from both those who resisted innovation and the agency Indian employees who made a successful reorientation. Barnett concludes (pp. 27–28) that the culturally maladjusted—the mixed-bloods, widows, invalids, etc.—unite to form a recognizable section of Hupa society which has espoused the Shaker religion. Jenks (101–107) wrote that mixed-bloods develop peculiar attitudes which place them in the vanguard in accepting new culture traits.

CHAPTER IV

THE WASHO CASE IN ECONOMIC THEORY

The Washo had no money, marketplaces, trade for profit, accumulation of capital, or inheritance as these relations are defined in standard economic parlance. Little trade was present, either among Washo or between Washo and non-Washo peoples. Goods and services did not move through profit-incentive, or for capital reserves and the accumulation of prestige goods. Goods did move, however, through the incentives of subsistence, fulfillment of ritual obligations, and the maintenance of social approval.

The following sections address certain theoretical problems in economic anthropology: non-market mechanisms of exchange, political power and the economy, barriers to economic development, prestige economy and money, and overproduction.

Non-market Mechanisms of Exchange

A market is a price setting mechanism in the form of a sociocultural institution of economic exchange. A market inovives exchange at bargained rates according to supply and demand. Generally Washo society would be described as having a "non-market" economy because it did not have marketplaces (a physical place where people customarily come to exchange), prices were not "set", and the value of goods or a service was not usually determined by what other goods or services they could be exchanged for.

Only in the distribution forms we have described as involving secondary social relations (gambling, trade, and payment for services) do we find anything analogous to market institutions. In Washo society the exchange or market value was usually overshadowed by personal, social, religious, or biological survival values. It is essential to include these non-market values in any equation that attempts to describe the regularities of Washo economics.

Few demands were set by the culture for economic goods. When these demands were filled individuals ceased working. There was no significant accumulation of property beyond immediate needs. Hoarding was impossible due to the requirement of sharing with relatives and friends. There was a constant social lien on the production of individuals and little social advantage to be gained by accumulating goods. The most renowned Washo among his own people in historic times, Gumalanga, behaved and dressed as the poorest among them. Gumalanga expressed the egalitarian orientation of Washo social values.

The eight forms of economic distribution discussed in Chapter III were the major mechanisms of distribution in Washo society. To varying degrees

and status values" as opposed to the subsistence economy which is "the exploitation of the plentiful natural resources available to any industrious individual." Among the Washo material goods flow almost indiscriminately in promoting subsistence and prestige. Washo social prerogatives and status values are intimately intertwined with the exploitation of natural resources.

Cappannari (1960, 140) wrote that "DuBois...makes clear that the 'monies' (that is, dentalia, woodpecker scalps, obsidian blades, and so on) of the Tolowa-Tututni served as a medium of exchange primarily in the prestige economy rather that the subsistence economy. The same applies to the 'monies' of the Shoshoneans." Money in this sense is a counter of prestige, usually items of highly congealed value in the world of social ritual, but not fully explained in terms of food, shelter, or defense. Prestige money is found among the Washo in the case of eagle feathers and fine woven baskets. These have congealed values for purposes of social ritual. They are also more significant in the context of social ritual than in the context of economic actuality, although ritual and economics coincide at many points.

Money is defined by Driver and Massey (1957, 382) as "material which possesses homogeneity, portability, divisibility, durability, and which serves as a medium of exchange, as a store of value, and as a standard of deferred payments." Pinenuts came the closest to being used as a "money" in Washo economy except that pinenuts were not very durable and lacked the compactness to serve as a concentrated store of value. Salt, eagle tail feathers, baskets, and skins were more concentrated in value. The Washo had no regular medium of exchange and no standard of deferred payments. In the definition used here they had no money. Three terms are now used to refer to wealth; bilada is U. S. currency, gidatwadota is a person's belongings, and m¢mgiwa is the wealth a person has with which to gamble or "a bet."

Overproduction

In Washo society some economic products were never distributed. This "problem of surplus" existed, in a society where starvation was well known, because storage and transportation were inadequate and trade was poorly developed.

An example is the overproduction of pinenuts. In years with abundant pinenuts, more was gathered than would actually be consumed. Since some nuts would be preserved into the next year this was a stored margin of safety in case the next year's crop was low. If pinenuts were again abundant, the remainder of the old crop that was not consumed was left to rot and the new nuts were gathered. Actually, any single grove of pinon trees will not

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahaka by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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● [562]
[783]

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P 382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2334-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intes-
224 tinal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (340-348). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate neck meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or
[886] internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which some of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
[796] particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2618-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
222 pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."
527 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
[115] past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that people do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men attempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo. "... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and cannot be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48; Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control, three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by women that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Suicide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo become hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a person may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor consideration.

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[202] [574] On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 535 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówíyáʻkiʔi, ʔímlaʻhóʻʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

[178] [562] As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?weʔ, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[84] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[85]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[84] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[85] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians). 177 648

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases. [623] [423]

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo. 241 563 [433]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	38
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S[illegible] Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made [illegible] 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	733 Nonpeyotists	267 Peyotists	267 Peyotists	
			88 Active	139 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	5.7	13.8

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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gories, and the percentage of active and inactive peyotists as of November, 1938, are given. For example: Of the 753 individuals in the analyzed communities who opposed peyote, 5.3 per cent were prosperous; of the 247 who had joined the peyote cult (attended two or more meetings), 5.7 per cent were prosperous. Of the 88 active peyotists in November, 1938, 10.2 per cent were prosperous; and of the 159 apostate or inactive peyotists, 3.8 per cent were prosperous. There is some question about those listed as heavy drinkers. Most of those considered exceptional enough to be put in this category were the ones who landed in jail, except for certain peyotists who confessed to having been extremely intemperate. Peyotist former drunkards (self-styled) might not have used more

TABLE 5

OTHER PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

(W, Washo; P, Paiute)

Categories	Carson City (W)	Nixon (P)	Schurz (P)	Bishop (P)	Woodfords (W)	Total by tribes (W)	Total by tribes (P)	Total
Total population	128	359	440	250	80	208	1049	1257
Active peyotists	—	13	—	4	6	6	17	23
Inactive peyotists	5	—	20	—	5	10	20	30
Nonpeyotists	123	346	420	246	69	192	1012	1204

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in the following table (table 6).

TABLE 6

TOTALS OF ALL PEYOTIST COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total from analyzed towns	Total from unanalyzed towns	Total from all peyotist towns
Total population	1000	1257	2257
Active peyotists	88	23	111
Inactive peyotists	159	30	189
Nonpeyotists	753	1204	1957

liquor than others who were not singled out as being alcoholics. Those listed as heavy drinkers among the active peyotists stopped drinking when they joined the cult. This table indicates that peyotism has attracted a proportionate number of all the exceptional individuals in the Washo-Paiute community.

The results of an analysis, made November, 1938, of the principal communities where the peyote cult has attracted members are given in table 4 (opposite). Only persons fifteen years old or over are represented. The attitude of all Indians on official census rolls was determined by checking the rolls name by name with members and nonmembers, and by talking with most of those said to have been affiliated with the cult.

"Mixed-blood" includes all Indians listed on rolls as not full-bloods, besides a few whom the rolls listed as full-blood but whom the Indians said were mixed.

Peyotists, inactive, are those who had attended two or more peyote meetings, thus indicating more than curiosity, but who did not participate in cult rituals in November, 1938. Many were militantly opposed.

The totals of the adults of the five other communities where peyote meetings have been held are given in table 5 above. These figures are less exact than those in table 4 because the rolls were not checked. However, the names of peyotists were received from more than one source, and I contacted most of them.

The totals of tables 4 and 5 are combined in table 6.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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N W 162 171 *795

The totals of adult peyotists and nonpeyotists, by tribes, compared with the total population of Carson Agency, are given in table 7 below. The figures are slightly misleading because only peyotists aged fifteen or over are represented, whereas the figures for the nonpeyotists include all other Indians in the various tribes. These figures are fairly comparable to most of Newberne's (1925, 33–35), reproduced in table 2.

TABLE 7

TOTALS BY TRIBES FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	Paiute	Washo	Shoshone	Others	Totals
Total population	3487	747	1541	120	5895
Active peyotists	62	38	8	3	111
Inactive peyotists	116	68	2	3	189
Nonpeyotists	3309	641	1531	114	5595

The percentages of peyotists and nonpeyotists for Carson Agency are given in table 8 below. The figures in the first two columns to the left include only Indians aged fifteen or over. Percentages for the agency as a whole (column 3) represent the percentage of peyotists aged fifteen or over in the total population of the agency, and are comparable to Newberne's (see table 2).

TABLE 8

PERCENTAGES OF PEYOTISTS AND NONPEYOTISTS FOR CARSON AGENCY

Categories	In analyzed towns	In all peyotist towns	In agency as a whole
Active peyotists	9	5	2
Inactive peyotists	16	9	3
Nonpeyotists	75	86	95

N W 162 563 *795

Table 9 below gives the figures for mixed-bloods in the various categories in the analyzed communities.

TABLE 9

MIXED-BLOODS IN THE ANALYZED COMMUNITIES

Categories	Total adults	Mixed-bloods	Mixed-bloods (percentages)
Total population	1000	126	12.6
Active peyotists	88	5	5.7
Inactive peyotists	159	22	13.8
Total peyotists	247	27	10.9
Nonpeyotists	753	99	13.1

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mib¢shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (*lamamshawi*, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

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[525]
[439]

6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

224 433

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

[756] [622] [223]

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

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Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

[592] [476]

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

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Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

[782] [788]

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

571 431

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

[175]

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	K1	K2	Ka	To	To	Pa	Ba	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	K1	AF
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Chiefs (wohoavi or voimavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvini-voimavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (mavoimaxmo)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugwa voimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kumovoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tumavoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoimavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2177. Captives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2180a. Regular house	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181a. 30 ("month")	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2182. Ground smeared	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 407]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[47] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[48] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[47] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[48] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[49] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods--acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[a] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[b] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 2 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 18131–18141, 18202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututal. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe''yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa''ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 535 574 [177]

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] [439] [534] [114]

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

583 584

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 [768]

Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways --roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [415] [442] [846]

In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then [262] [222]

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] [124] [262]

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202]

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778]

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178]

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824]

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824]

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178]

[515]

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302]

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178

The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades [535] ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] [302] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opele, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Tsiuch, hair	Melio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibʔshigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutʔ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

p. 303), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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/For festive activities associated with the pinenut dance, see category 535./

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
[787] relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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[526] After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (dewé?) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (hé·du? ʔéhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (ʔuwí·yu) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a symbol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was in- ● [574] vited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
535 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówi·yá·ʔi, ʔímiʔhó·ʔiya, nólonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéhe? -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?we?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women. 881 535 533

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose. 881 535 431 178

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women. 881 431 [178]

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to 881 574 [535] [262]

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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624 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remaining people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gambling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
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881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e)wéʔwe?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔe ʔwé ʔwe ʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:50 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been impor-
224 tant as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not men-
[178] tion it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crisis rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.

W N 175 177 648

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

W 175 177 648

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

W [183] [476] [574] [735]

W 175 177 361 648

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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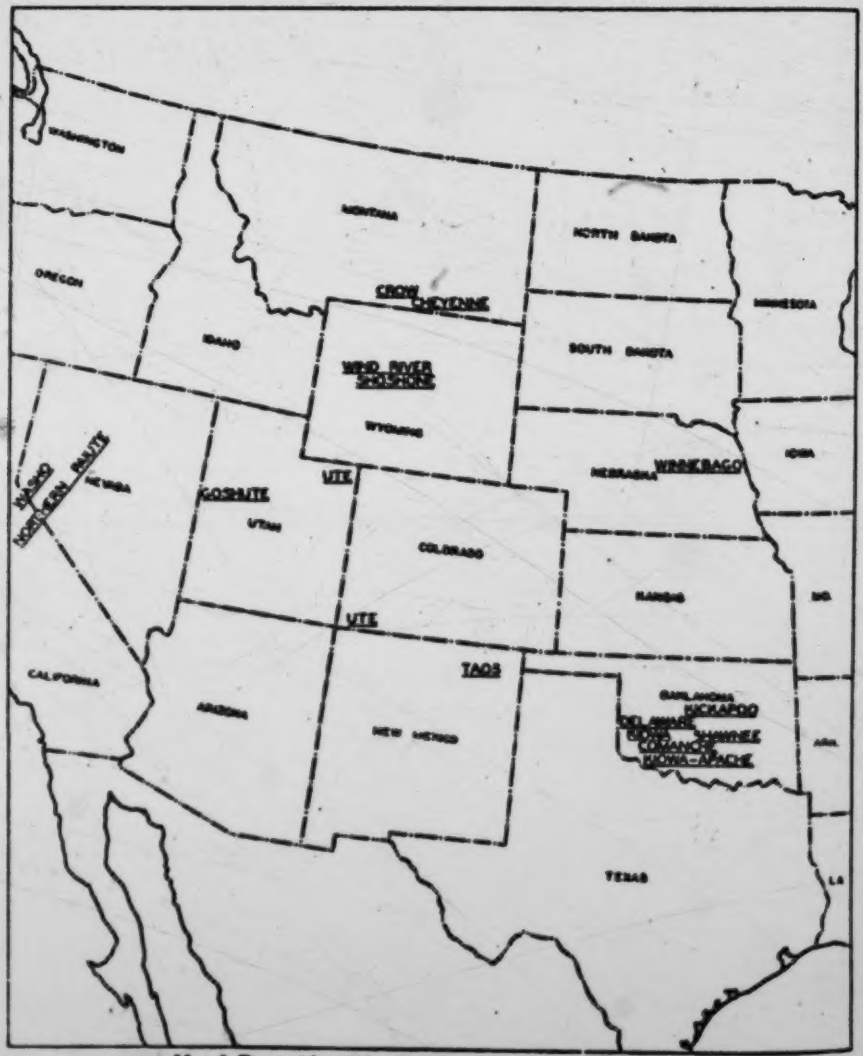
2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.



Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

Element	Occurrence																	
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Com	Kla	Ab S	Du I	Du S	Win	No C	Cr I	Cr S	WhS	Uta	Gos	P-P	Tmo	
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+·I	+	+		
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−		
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+			−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+	•+	+		
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+		
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+		
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+		
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+		+		
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+					−	+		•I	+	
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+		
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+		
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+		+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+		
265a. (See note)															•			

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The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized.

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POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

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The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di?i·sa bumé·li? (my older sister's husband) as well as dimá·gu dagóy? (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.358,C]
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TABLE 2

Polite Affinal Terms

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law	le?dleli? dagóy? (m. sp.); legú?yi? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father; daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law.....	labá·ɬa? dalá? (m. sp.); legú?yi? dalá? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother; son's child's mother
father-in-law	dibumé·li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother	diɲá?miɲ dadá?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.....	diɲá·m de?éwši?	son's father's brother
sister's husband	dimá·gu dagóy? di?í·sa bumé·li?	sister's child's father older sister's husband
brother's wife	dimáš dalá? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife	dišémuk dalá? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

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The informant is provided with slips of paper containing Washo kinship terms written quasiphonetically for all the relatives he possesses in first ascending, ego's, and first descending generations. These, of course, differ from person to person. The informant is then asked to arrange the slips of paper in a column in response to each of the sixteen questions. The relative ranking highest in the behavior questioned is to be placed at the top of the column; the remainder are to be ranked in descending order, with the one ranking lowest in the behavior in question to be placed at the bottom. The first few questions are for practice and designed to acquaint the informant with the kind of response desired. The investigator asks "which of your relatives weighs most . . . is tallest . . . is oldest" or some other similar question, and instructs the informant to arrange the slips of paper, helping him if necessary. Once the "set" of the experiment is established, the questionnaire is administered. The questions are explained to the informant, using examples if necessary; they are not read mechanically. The informant's responses are noted for each question, and the paper slips are shuffled before the next question is given. The result is a test protocol ranking a person's relatives in each of the sixteen categories of interpersonal behavior.

Several precautions must be observed if the test results are to attain their maximum reliability. First, the investigator must determine the opportunity the informant has had for knowing and interacting with the relatives to be included in the test. If there has been a reasonable opportunity for interacting with a relative, he is to be included in the test even if the informant has had little interaction with him. If there has been no opportunity for interaction, the relative should be excluded. For example, if a relative has lived close to the informant for many years, he is to be included even though the informant rarely sees him. In this case, the opportunity for interaction exists, and the fact that none has taken place may be an important feature of the role behavior. However, if a relative died when the informant was a baby, or lives at a great distance, or is feeble-minded, he is to be excluded, for the informant has had no opportunity to interact with him.

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Second, the same interpreter should be used for all informants. This should not be taken too literally, for feuds and hard feelings can make the presence of particular interpreters unpleasant to informants. In addition, if the interpreter is related to the informant, this might tend to influence the informant's responses. It is probably best to use an interpreter who is not related to the informant. This precaution could not be observed for two Washo informants owing to the prevailing rules of courtesy. These two informants were slightly deaf and it was necessary to shout at them. Among the Washo, it is considered impolite for a person to shout at a nonrelative. Therefore, relatives had to be used as interpreters.

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Third, the testing situation should be standardized. This means that as few relatives as possible should be looking over the informant's shoulder while he is taking the test. An easy way to shed distracting relatives is to conduct the interview in an automobile.

Fourth, the questions should be asked randomly. I suspect that there is some contagion from one question to the next. This is enhanced if, for example, all the questions probing dominance are asked one after the other. By randomizing the questions, the investigator

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity.

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Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc. [577]

Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments.

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"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units, [171]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (ta.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

[D.303, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased
● [578] would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that
[178] mourners painted their faces black. My informants denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone
764 would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
[626] and not wash their faces until they were real dirty and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his belongings are disposed of. There is an increasing tendency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The
769 cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with
178 flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[1]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[648] [1]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would weep around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his supernatural, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine, and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

[P 361, B]

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked tribe, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 36) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *gáwtelel lâyadi°*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dîpah gumlâmu*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *palad-ai* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *tâgîtelel lâyadi°*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sawâsag gumlâmu*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *dawâtelgi-š lâyadi°* (also *dawâtelgi-š lâyadi°*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilineal consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[P. 390, A]

in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

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Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The modal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

[See Cat. 116, p. 387, A - Am.]

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

octagonal "church" near Coleville, California, and was known as "the Peyote preacher."

The decline of the movement may be attributed to at least three factors: the aggressiveness and opportunism of Ben Lancaster's leadership, which eventually antagonized the majority of non-Peyotist Washo and encouraged the formation of dissident sects among the Peyotists themselves; the direct threat posed by the new religion to the already weakened influence of the shamans, which united them in concerted and violent attack against it; and the deep schisms effected by the movement in regard to traditional tribal loyalties and family ties, which turned the initial curiosity of the Washo majority to active hostility and rejection. The period of introduction, growth, and decline of the religion from 1936 to 1939 has been studied intensively by two earlier investigators (Stewart 1944; Siskin 1941).

Recent field work indicates a revival of the Peyotist movement among the Washo shortly after 1939. Initiated by a relatively obscure Washo member of the cult, who claimed to have learned a "new way" during a visit to Peyotists in Idaho, the sect was labelled "The Tipi Way." It was set in open opposition to Ben Lancaster's domination and succeeded in attracting a number of former adherents from among the Washo who had become inactive after the 1939 debacle. This sect has undergone many changes of leadership since its inception in 1941–42, but it has persisted with remarkable cohesion to the present time. Relations with other members of the tribe have improved to the extent that the Peyotists are now a tolerated and often respected minority, and carry on their activities openly.

When the original proselyter, Ben Lancaster, died in 1955, there were three distinct sects competing for dominance in the area. One of these was the moribund group referred to as "Lancaster's Way," made up of Washo and Paiute followers who had remained loyal to him. Lancaster's wife and an old Paiute adherent lead the handful of members, and it is known by the latter's name—"J—S——'s Way." A second group is led by a mixed Washo-Paiute individual, and the participants are drawn from his immediate family; it is also referred to as his "Way." However, the largest and most vigorous sect, is "The Tipi Way," which has its center of operations at Woodfords, California, with a substantially Washo membership.

A comparison of the recent total membership of these sects with the participation data presented by Stewart (1944) reveals that there has been a drop from 111 active Peyotists in 1938 to about 78 in 1955. In 1938 there were 37 Washo and 55 Paiute members, while in 1955 fewer than 15 of the active Peyotists are Paiute or of mixed tribal origin. Of the present total membership more than seventy percent attends the meetings of "The Tipi Way" sect.

The members of this dominant sect have initiated and maintained more contact with the Native American Church than have either of the others. Its members make frequent visits to meetings in Idaho and Utah, and informal delegations make pilgrimages to Peyotist centers in Oklahoma, which they consider to be the homeland of the movement. Every few months "runs" are

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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668 533 578 178 554 Along with the schisms which have developed in the cult during the breakaway from the Lancaster tradition during the past fifteen years, there is now an emphasis in the Tipi Way faction of the cult on knowing many songs and having different songs arranged into four-song cycles. The arrangement is usually an individual matter, and a person who has learned twelve to twenty-four songs and arranged three or six cycles is considered a very accomplished Peyotist.

However, among those who have remained in Lancaster's original group, the singing of one song through a cycle has become traditional; thus if a man knows ten songs he has material for ten cycles. Individuals in this group have learned as many new songs as have the Tipi Way people, but place a traditional ritualistic importance on singing a single song per cycle. "If you got a good song," they say, "it is your song and it is part of you. Maybe that song is the best one for you." On the other hand, Tipi Way people express the opinion that "it is boring to hear a man repeat the song so many times."

Sources of songs

668 533 177 There are apparently two major sources of Peyote songs for the Washo—other people, and on-the-spot inspiration; the former seems to be far the more frequent. Of eighteen songs in the present collection for which the origin is fairly well documented, seventeen were learned from other people. Of these, three were learned from Sound Chief records (1 Cheyenne and 2 Kiowa songs), and fourteen directly from other Peyotists in the period from 1939 to 1947. The listing shows 3 Bannock, 3 Shoshone, 2 Paiute and 1 Klamath ("they sound like any other Peyote song") songs, and five songs which were "learned in Idaho." The singers seem to be least sure of the songs learned by listening to records. Of the others, the individual learns the song from some leader, friend, or even from a stranger at certain meetings in which he has achieved the degree of involvement necessary to absorb the song "all at once," or "so that it just came into my head."

668 533 176 The songs made up by individuals seem also to involve dramatic learnings; the singers say that when one "catches a song" it is learned all at once in a moment of great emotional intensity. Of the single song created by a known individual, the composer commented that it was a song that "just came to me" at a Tipi Way meeting. "I never heard anyone else sing it. Maybe I might have heard it someplace a long time before that, and the meeting helped me to catch it—that happens sometimes. I always sing that song the same way; don't change it none."

Most songs seem to have been embellished, consciously or unconsciously altered over time, combined, improvised, forgotten and "caught" again in new form as one's own. The last are thought of as "new" or "my" songs, but the singer has no inclination to hide the fact that he was influenced by another song, and that "I just changed it a little." Nevertheless, it does become a "new" song.

The following illustrates one of the rare instances of known individual

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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than sheepish about it. The mistake was ritualistic rather than musical alone, and from this standpoint it seemed to make a great deal of difference; it was clearly a mistake and it was commented upon by others as indicating a lack of attention, or flippancy, or worse, depending upon what the listener felt about the singer.

It is at least possible that the singer's mistake in this case was brought about by nervousness. The person involved had been the victim of a faulty tape recorder—the tape was blank after his first rendition of songs, and this threw him into a state of terrified depression which was only partially relieved when the songs came out perfectly on second try. Other evidences of nervousness appeared in jocular or serious remarks addressed to or about the machine—a mistake was made "maybe because I was lazy or worried about that tape recorder."

Any errors made were exploited by rival musicians. In the case noted above, the singer's chief rival remarked: "Maybe that machine don't want your songs; maybe the medicine won't let those songs get taken down." In the cases of two leading singers who drummed for each other, both remarked semi-privately that it had been difficult to sing because of the poor drumming—"X was hitting all over the place. It threw me off and I made a lot of mistakes"; "Y had his thumb wrong; the sound was too open"; "I had a hard time keeping up with him; he was getting ahead of me all the time." Such rivalry is sometimes verbalized directly—"maybe he was trying to mess up my singing"—and in general it seems to be one of the means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists. It is expected that one person expresses his feelings about another by the way he either "helps" or "holds him back" in singing.

Values

There are some values in respect to Washo Peyote music which may be directly listed; they are those most frequently and clearly verbalized.

1. The most important thing about a song is that it is like a prayer. It has a unity and power of its own which cannot be "broke into parts."
2. Songs are gifts of Peyote and should be taken for what they are, rather than being talked about and analyzed.
3. Singing a song at the wrong time, or talking about it, may spoil it so that it loses its power.
4. Certain songs are to be admired for their intricacy, and the singer who can learn them is also admired.

On a somewhat different plane are other values, which are expressed as:

1. There is a certain length of time a song should be sung to feel right; it has to build up a certain amount of emotion and concentration in the singer and the listener.
2. "He drags the song out a little too long, like he don't want to let go of it. You can waste a song that way."
3. "He liked that song, I guess. He sang it good and he feels good. You can tell that.

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[a] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[b] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[a] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[b] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[*] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[*] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.[a] Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

[a] I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[56] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[57]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[58] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[59]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[56] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[57] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[58] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[59] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[47] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[48] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."[49]

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[47] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[48] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 73 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[49] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time.[a]

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult.[b] This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[a] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[b] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[a] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[b] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[6] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[7] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bamforth reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[8] Opponents allege that the .nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[9]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[6] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[7] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[8] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[9] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $7.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Sehurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Bingberg of Minden).

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[a] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[b] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinsfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[c]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[a] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[b] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututal. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[c] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

177
464 During the 1840's and '50's, and perhaps earlier, the Washo abandoned
489 trading or gathering trips much beyond the eastern limit of the oak trees in California. Several unpleasant encounters with white gold washers had made them feel that the entire area was extremely dangerous. However, the lure of Sacramento, where many desirable items of white manufacture, including guns, could be purchased, plus the possibility of work in the fields in post-goldrush California, caused them to begin the trans-Sierran trips again in the last quarter of the 19th century. By this time the railroads had crossed the mountains. Washo would gather near a rail station in Nevada until enough Indians to fill a boxcar were present. The railroad officials then would assign them to an empty car and take them into California, often switching the car onto a siding to serve as headquarters for the Indians. During their stay west of the Sierra, the Washo worked on farms for money and food. In addition, they picked wild crops, particularly berries, to sell to white householders. When they wished to return, the boxcar was included in an eastbound train and the Indians returned to Nevada. Despite appearances of modernity, arrangements such as this required far less readjustment of Washo life and personal outlook than the complete adoption of the horse and wagon would have.

233
177 Sheep herding plays an important part in the economy of eastern Nevada, but the Washo have been involved in this activity even less than in other livestock operations. I have no record of a Washo becoming a sheep herder, and, in fact, sheep are viewed as real competitors for natural plant foods, and the introduction of sheep into the area is viewed as a catastrophe. Most of the herds are owned by Basques, and a regular increment of Basque
[517] sheep herders is admitted to the United States to care for the animals. It is interesting to note that in the summer of 1959 the most popular motion picture in the Gardnerville theatre, and the one most enthusiastically viewed by Indians and whites, was an imaginative epic describing the progress of a Basque wagon train through Indian country.

177
231 The identification of the white man with his animals is suggested in
579 a late 19th century newspaper account of a young Washo who went on a
154 "rampage" after an altercation with a white man. Rather than threatening or attacking white people, the Washo killed several dairy cattle belonging to a white farmer.

177
231 The material presented in the previous pages is sparse, because the history of Washo response to the animal husbandry complex introduced by the white man has been negligible. The response of the Washo was minimal and included only the most superficial aspects of the complex such as learning to ride and drive horses and acquisition of the minimum skills needed to maintain the animals. Husbandry, in the sense of learning the skills and attitudes needed to raise and maintain livestock, never found a place in the Washo way of life.

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

● 58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gílis dínal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time.

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wu'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory. Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo."

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919.

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return."

Grace Dangberg (1919, 4) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewi'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewi'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 · Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 [795] [756] This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[727] 776 756 115 [342] [177] [434] [177] This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies, they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeloyol, from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

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[611] [581] [1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work on kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo show loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo go through the winter without depending on rabbit or 868 deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground 224 squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be [178] minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the [648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to 224 his immediate family. This included young deer and 262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any [226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no [771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance. 584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances 796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big [791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted [581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2388-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbə́ýə̄ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbə́ýə̄ for all the Washo, but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbə́ýə̄) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bil did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926) he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an ofender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a residentof Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

724
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[841] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
[881] did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
• [582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 333) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
[764] Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
[178] ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

	Washo		No. Paiute		C.Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.87
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [142] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

[P. 358, B]

The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized.

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[582]

POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di·'i·'ea bumé·li· (my older sister's husband) as well as dimé·gu dagáy· (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

601
576

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NOA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ch	Ki	Ed	Ha	Ta	Ta	Ha	Wa	Ai	Ba	Ya	Wa	Li	Ar
1980a. Dreamtick: bushable on end	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
1980. Fur on end	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
*1981. Musical bow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1982. Archer's bow used	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1983. Bow held in teeth	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1987. Bow plucked with fingers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1988. Bow rubbed with stick	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1989. Bow used by antelope dances	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1985. As toy	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1988a.For dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1991. Whistle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	•
*1992. Bone whistle: 1 hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1992a.2 holes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1993. Willow whistle: as toy	-	-	-	-	-	*•	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	•
1993a.Also for special dance (food dance)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
*1994. Flute (noise)	•	•	•	•	*•	-	-	-	•	•	•	*•	•	•
*1995. Flute: elderberry	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1997. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
1998. Length (in.): about 18	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
1998a.About 18	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2000. Pitch step	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2010. Holes: 4	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2010a.6	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2011. End blown	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2012. Blowing: by mouth	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2012a.By nose	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2014. Use: for musical music	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2015. As toy	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2016. For courting	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2017. By shamans	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	•	•	•
2017a.In hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•

NA 583

MARRIAGE

*2018. Bride price	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2019. As present	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2020. Reciprocal present	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	*•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2022. Marriage by abduction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023. Another's wife won by fight	•	•	•	•	•	*•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2023a.Wrestling	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-
2024. Friends assist in fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2025. Polygyny permitted	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026. Sororal obligatory	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2026a.Sororal usual	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2027. Polyandry permitted	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2029. Sororate	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2030. Required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2030a.Customary	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2031. Levirate	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2032. Required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2032a.Customary	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•
2038. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2034a.Mother's brother's daughter preferred	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	*•	-	-	-	-	•
2037. Child betrothal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*-	-	-	-	-	-	•

[P.404]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

● 583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form.

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking.

The chief, *teubeyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated.

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umiagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

NWA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kl	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	All
1992a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1993. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–			–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*–	–	*–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*2004. Flute (weima)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2012a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2014. Use: for casual music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

NA

MARRIAGE

583

*2018. Bride price	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2019. As present	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2020. Reciprocal present	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2022. Marriage by abduction	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2023. Another's wife won by fight	+	+	+	+	+	*–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
2023a. Wrestling	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2024. Friends assist in fight	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
595 2025. Polygyny permitted	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
NW 2026. Sororal obligatory	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2026a. Sororal usual	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
587 2027. Polyandry permitted	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	*–	+	+	+	–	–	–
2029. Sororate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2030. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2030a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
N 2031. Levirate	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
-X 2032. Required	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2032a. Customary	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
582 2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	*–	–	–	–	–	–	–
583 2037. Child betrothal	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+

[P. 404]

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [77] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Hunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [534] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [756] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [756] 2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

N [77] 2004. To: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [17] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

N 591 2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Ku: AL said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 586 548 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

2047. To: No divorce (LP).

2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p.439]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin,
● 584 shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

[P. 379, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if
[648] available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
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262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents' living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dánal ('winter houses')

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teŭbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

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[P.352, B]

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[P. 364, A] In

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 153, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dáŋal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 575

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [573] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

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The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

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The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

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Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	*	*	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	*	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	*	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

Joking Relations

2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+

Adoption

2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

*2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	*	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	*	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	*	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
*2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	*	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	*	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	*	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 405]

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606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

Inheritance is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

?:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

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A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

[P.364, A] Ia

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

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Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi N55

NWA 534

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Th	Kl	Kt	Ks	Yo	Ys	Pa	Ma	At	Sh	Tg	Wa	Ki	At
1988a. Drumstick: buckskin on end	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1988. Fur on end	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
*1994. Musical Bow	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	*+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1995. Archer's bow used	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1996. Bow held in teeth	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1997. Bow plucked with fingers	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1998. Bow rubbed with stick	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1999. Bow used by antelope shaman	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2000. As toy	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2000a. For dance	+	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2001. Whistle	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	*+	+	+	+	+	–	+
*2002. Bone whistle: 1 hole	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	*–	–	+	–	+	–	+
2002a. 2 holes	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2003. Willow whistle: as toy	–	–	–	+	+	*+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2003a. Also for special dance (food dance)	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*2004. Flute (reims)	+	+	+	+	–	*–	–	–	+	+	+	*+	+	+
*2005. Flute: elderberry	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
*2007. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008. Length (in.): about 12	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2008a. About 18	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2009. Pitch stop	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2010. Holes: 4	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2010a. 6	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2011. End blown	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013. Blowing: by mouth	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2013a. By nose	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2014. Use: for ceremal music	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2015. As toy	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2016. For courting	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2017. By shaman	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2017a. In hunting	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

NA

MARRIAGE

583 *2018. Bride price – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
2019. As present – – – – – – – – – – – – – –
2020. Reciprocal present + + + + + + + *– + + + + + +
2022. Marriage by abduction – – – – – – – – – – + – – –
NA 2023. Another's wife won by fight + + + + + + + – – + – + – –
2023a. Wrestling + + + + + – – – – – – – – –
2024. Friends assist in fight – + – – – – – – – – – – – –
595 2025. Polygyny permitted – + + + + + + – + + + + + +
NW 2026. Sororal obligatory – – – – – – + – – – – – – –
2026a. Sororal usual – – – + – + – – – – – – – –
2027. Polyandry permitted – + + – – – – – *+ – – – – –
● 587 2029. Sororate + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
2030. Required – + + – – + + – – – – – – +
2030a. Customary – – – + – + – – – – – – – +
N 2031. Levirate + + + + + + + + + + + + + +
NW 2032. Required – + + – – – – – – – – – – +
2032a. Customary – – – + – + – – – – – – – –
582 2033. Choice of mates: any blood relative taboo + + + + + + – + + + + + + +
2034a. Mother's brother's daughter preferred – – – – – – + – – – – – – –
583 2037. Child betrothal – + + + – – – *– – – – – – +

[p. 404]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents. 591

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring. 586 585

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him. 588 [593] [837] 601

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship. 582 [588] [622]

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage. 582

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't you got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway." 587

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of
535 the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck
574 with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another,
[177] not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instru-
[439] ment. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for
[534] a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.
[114]

MARRIAGE

583 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One
584 account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

● 591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted dur-
[768] ing the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

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	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

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horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1980 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-19 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Washo residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1926), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Washo residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1926, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology. [591]

601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In [596]

Residence Rules

Residence rules were established from the published reports, the statements of our older informants referring to aboriginal times, and the census data and brief life histories provided by our group of 70 informants. Lowie reports that residence was matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple moved. Another of his informants says that residence following marriage could be either matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality of a few weeks, after which the couple went to the husband's family. Many couples lived in either place alternately (Curtis, 1926, 97). On the basis of the information given by Lowie and Curtis, Washo residence is therefore bilocal with a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

Our informants report three kinds of residence: patrilocal, matrilocal, and neolocal. According to our older informants, no compelling rule governs the choice of residence. Most people spend the greater part of their lives near the parents or other close relatives of the husband or wife; neolocal residence occurs, but is usually of short duration and therefore relatively unimportant. Neolocal residence is reported as frequently by our older informants as by our younger ones, indicating that neolocal residence is not a recent innovation. Our data do not support a tendency toward initial matrilocality. Of 48 marriages reported by our informants, 17 were initially matrilocal. Since only three kinds of residence choices occur, on the basis of chance one-third of them would be matrilocal. The 17 initially matrilocal residence choices that occurred in the sample of 48 marriages do not differ sufficiently from the 16 that would be expected from chance alone to suggest a tendency toward initial matrilocality.

It is not entirely clear whether or not data from the modern Washo indicate that changes have occurred in Washo residence patterns since aboriginal times. I believe that none have occurred -- that the apparent differences between the reports of Lowie and Curtis and the data collected by my wife and myself arise from differences in field procedure. Lowie and Curtis interviewed only a few people, whereas we interviewed many. Residence data gathered from a large number of people will show greater variability than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule. Modern Washo residence is best described as bilocal, and probably no change has occurred since aboriginal times (Freed, 1960, 360-1).

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

• 591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents' living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dánal ('winter houses')

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AF	NWA
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	591
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	NWA
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	684
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	586
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	548
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
*2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	NA 836
KINSHIP RELATIONS															
Avoidances															
*2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	606
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2081. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	608
Joking Relations															
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NA 605 607
Adoption															
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NA 597
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES															
*2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NA
*2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	838
*2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	N
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA [842]
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[787]

[P. 405]

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

community, although a few men were respected and listened to more than others. Men like the Captain Jims, Captain Pete, and Captain George, who were spokesmen to the Whites in historic time, undoubtedly had a rather wide influence in their geographical locales. D'Azevedo (personal communication) regards Gumalanga, the Washo spokesman called "Captain Jim" who traveled to Washington D.C. to appeal for the pinenut lands, as a rare instance of a person who acquired a degree of tribal-wide acceptance as a leader in late historical times.

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Fifteen Washo Households

The household, defined as the people who regularly occupy a single galis dangal has been described as the most important social and economic grouping in aboriginal Washo society. The composition of 15 galis dangal are presented below with the number of occupants in parentheses. Hank Pete was the informant for all but the first one, which was given by Susie Dick.

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Mountain House around 1885.

1. (11) Susie Dick, her mother (Sally), father, mother's sister (Maggie), mother's sister's husband (Big Johnny), mother's sister's son (Sosh Angi), and daughter, and Susie's four brothers (Charlie, Johnny, George, and Hansen Pete).

Carson Valley around 1895.

2. (5) Dabashaygudi (Jim Pitchwood, Hank Pete's "uncle"), his wife, son, wife's mother, and his wife's "cousin-brother". Jim Pitchwood was a good hunter with his muzzel-loader shotgun.

3. (8) Captain Pete, his wife, son (Hank Pete), daughter, father's mother and one of her sons and two of her daughters. This was just after the family moved from near the cemetary in Carson City, when Hank Pete's brother died, and built in back of the slaughter house by Dangberg's Home Ranch back of Gardnerville where there is a good spring. The family later moved to Truckee following the marriage of Hank Pete's sister to George Howard.

4. (5) D¢dip¢ki¢s, his wife, sister, wife's brother, and a non-related w¢lm¢lti or North Indian. They were all w¢lm¢lti.

Double Spring Flat around 1900.

5. (7) Clara Frank, her step-father (Captain Jim or Gumalanga), mother, mother's sister, mother's brother and his wife, and Clara's brother (Mike Holbrook).

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh¸can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢ws ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (5) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [537]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [182] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

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of the relationship is wide, and "spontaneous" in being relatively uninhibited (Davis 1949). Secondary relations are at the other end of the continuum: extrinsic, impersonal, exclusive, and inhibited.

The eight forms of economic distribution as they occur in Washo society can be ordered along this continuum from primary to secondary: (1) ceremonial disposal, (2) familial sharing, (3) task group sharing, (4) gift and ceremonial exchange, (5) feasts, (6) payment for services, (7) gambling, and (8) trade.

In terms of the socio-economic groups involved, only two - familial sharing and task group sharing - are essentially concerned with economic production. The other six are concerned with distribution. This gives us the dichotomy of "producing groups" and "distributing groups". The distribution involved in producing groups takes the general form of sharing (weak reciprocity), while the distribution in distributing groups takes the general form of an exchange (strong reciprocity).

On the basis of a hypothetical breakdown of the total distribution of all economic goods and services in Washo economy we can order these forms on a continuum from the quantitatively most important to the least important: (1) familial sharing, (2) task group sharing, (3) gift and ceremonial exchange, (4) feasts, (5) gambling, (6) trade, (7) payment for services, and (8) ceremonial disposal. Other forms of distribution such as theft (lamamshawi, "thief"), lost (pa) and found (ipu), and the spoils of war did occur but were not important enough to be discussed here.

The following outline presents a few of the qualities of these eight forms of distribution as they appear in Washo society and in the order they will be discussed in the following section of this chapter.

"Primary" Distribution

1. Familial Sharing: based on division of labor by sex and age in the household; quantitatively most important. [462] [592]
2. Task Group Sharing: based on the breakdown of products from producing groups larger than the household.
3. Gift and Ceremonial Exchange: strong reciprocity: social status primary; connected with hospitality and life cycle events. [554]
4. Feasts: an abundance of food distributed by kin, task, or communal group. [574]
5. Ceremonial Disposal: based on supernatural beliefs.

"Secondary" Distribution

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6. Gambling: economic competition via games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

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of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household.

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

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In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek.

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

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Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

Rabbit skins were also cut into strips and woven into warm robes. Conical houses were made of wooden poles and brush thatch for winter weather while a half-dome windbreak served for warm weather.

The household of a family and relatives in a single winter house was the basic socioeconomic unit of society. Each household worked and shared together in solving the problems of survival and fulfilling social and ritual obligations. The household continued to fish, hunt, and collect its food in a fairly uniform way year after year in the same sector of Washo territory. If the fishing was poor in one place, they moved to another stream. If the pinenuts failed, they went to the west and gathered acorns. And wherever they went, they hunted or gathered what was available: some tree grubs here, a lettuce-like vegetable there, and a squirrel or rabbit or bird at the next place. The procurement and preparation of food was clearly the most time consuming activity in Washo life.

Men and women often worked together at the same tasks, but there was some division of labor by sex. Men hunted and except for basketry, were the craftsmen who made the clothing, houses, and hunting and fishing gear. Women gathered plant and insect foods, prepared and cooked them, made the baskets, and tended the children. A few individuals specialized to a degree in becoming shamans, midwives, herbalists, or particularly adept in a craft.

Sharing, as the economic basis of family life, was the very essence of Washo economy. Sharing found expression in the producing task groups that drew members from more than one household. It was through sharing that the vast majority of goods changed hands. Exchange, with a stronger demand for reciprocal equivalence than sharing, characterized the economic aspects of social rituals, as well as the more impersonal forms of distribution such as gambling, trade, and payments made for services rendered.

Washo economy appears in a few ways to be distinctive in the Great Basin. The Washo ranged a particularly productive environment which allowed them the highest population density in the Basin. The Washo may have had less trade than the surrounding peoples because of several factors, language isolation being one. Pinenut groves were privately owned, a rare phenomenon in the Basin. Washo techniques for gathering and storing pinenuts, in strips and the construction of great caches, is also perhaps unique in the Basin and inadvertantly presented them with another unique phenomenon, overproduction.

There are still broad gaps in our knowledge of Washo aboriginal life. The data are fairly complete on language and mythology, but the rest of Washo culture has been only sketched out in its major outlines. Most of this is unrecoverable and only by careful interviewing, archeology, and scrutiny of historical documents can we hope to reconstruct a way of life that began to disappear over 100 years ago.

One use in deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugâlu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipu'a'ɣali	my son-in-law
le'"yec	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ula'rut	my wife's brother, husband's sister[29]
time.e'"uci	my husband's brother[30]
tida'mau	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaca'ca	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'ɣil	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[31]

Spouse Class

tipume'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

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114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother from father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[32] But in classing *all* cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[33] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
● 593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, k.e'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name. 601

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[29] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[30] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

[31] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[32] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

[33] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

7: Freed NT20 Washo NT20

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 379(A)--413./

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate.

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

[P.369, B]

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories.[1] They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

[1 [see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

[P. 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

2/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- An.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelé'yu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelé'yu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bá·du? ʔúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (ʔuwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gilis dagal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa's. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (dey'ĕliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 883

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

101 174 177 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

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SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

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[P. 354, B]

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and those in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called pé·wlelel t'áyadi?, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or dí·pek gumt'ánu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, pálaá·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called t'á·lelel t'áyadi?, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawá·saŋ gumt'ánu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayat'silgí·š t'áyadi? (also dewt'silgí·š t'áyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[p. 362, A]

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence [591] rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology.

601 178 ● 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a [596] situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In

[P. 390, A]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

125 157 554 602 [128] [544] [476] questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, especially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men cooperate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 128 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 104 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh"can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called pémlelel ɬáyadi?, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or díbek gumlánu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, palaá·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called tánlelel ɬáyadi?, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawásaŋ gumlánu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayalsilgá·š ɬáyadi? (also dewlsilgá·š ɬáyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýŭ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýŭ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýŭ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

584 did not become too intimate. Hank Pete said "If this man maybe wants to give a gift to his girl friend, he doesn't look at her. She is in there where she can't see him. He visits, but they don't let them talk while they are exchanging gifts. She sits just inside to the right."

Bertha Holbrook said "My husband asked my mother's brother and he said it was a good thing. He used to give my folks money. They were poor. I never spoke to Mike before I married him." Clara Frank said the engagement was very strict and that no one but the parents said anything.

585 Marriage occurred when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. Bertha Holbrook mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side and putting a single rabbitskin robe over the shoulders of both of them.

591 The newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into the house of either parent. It was more common for them to move in with the wife's parents, but they often moved later to the husband's parents' place. The marriage sometimes resulted in both sets of parents living in the same or adjacent houses. In rare cases, if both of the parents' houses were unsuitable to the couple, they would move in with another relative. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

58 Engagement, courtship, and other formalities were reduced for marriages that took place later in life. Divorce occurred when economic cooperation, common residence, and exclusive sexual rights no longer prevailed. If
586 children were involved in a divorce they were divided according to the ability
[593] of each parent to support them or they were raised by other relatives. Usually there was a strong emotional attachment between a man and wife, in addition to factors of economic and sexual dependence, so that divorce is said to have been rare.

595 If a wife had younger sisters they frequently became her husband's wives as well, although the practice was not mandatory. It was the most common form of polygyny, but some men had two or more wives who were not sisters. Hank Pete claims that his grandfather had from three to five wives at various times during his life.

The author knows of only two cases of polyandry and both of these involve a woman's marrying two brothers. Hank Pete said "A woman married two brothers about 65 or 70 years ago. They got along fine. She rustled food for both of them. She had one girl and two boys by one man and no children by the other. They didn't live together. They had two gális dánal ('winter houses')

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time.

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo."

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919.

Death

Death (deyúltyi?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return."

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (wɬimɬti, pauwalu, and hangalɬti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (dɬtumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

community, although a few men were respected and listened to more than others. Men like the Captain Jims, Captain Pete, and Captain George, who were spokesmen to the Whites in historic time, undoubtedly had a rather wide influence in their geographical locales. D'Azevedo (personal communication) regards Gumalanga, the Washo spokesman called "Captain Jim" who traveled to Washington D.C. to appeal for the pinenut lands, as a rare instance of a person who acquired a degree of tribal-wide acceptance as a leader in late historical times.

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Fifteen Washo Households

The household, defined as the people who regularly occupy a single galis dangal has been described as the most important social and economic grouping in aboriginal Washo society. The composition of 15 galis dangal are presented below with the number of occupants in parentheses. Hank Pete was the informant for all but the first one, which was given by Susie Dick.

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Mountain House around 1885.

1. (11) Susie Dick, her mother (Sally), father, mother's sister (Maggie), mother's sister's husband (Big Johnny), mother's sister's son (Sosh Angi), and daughter, and Susie's four brothers (Charlie, Johnny, George, and Hansen Pete).

Carson Valley around 1895.

2. (5) Dabashaygudi (Jim Pitchwood, Hank Pete's "uncle"), his wife, son, wife's mother, and his wife's "cousin-brother". Jim Pitchwood was a good hunter with his muzzel-loader shotgun.

3. (8) Captain Pete, his wife, son (Hank Pete), daughter, father's mother and one of her sons and two of her daughters. This was just after the family moved from near the cemetery in Carson City, when Hank Pete's brother died, and built in back of the slaughter house by Dangberg's Home Ranch back of Gardnerville where there is a good spring. The family later moved to Truckee following the marriage of Hank Pete's sister to George Howard.

4. (5) D¢dip¢ki¢s, his wife, sister, wife's brother, and a non-related w¢im¢iti or North Indian. They were all w¢im¢iti.

Double Spring Flat around 1900.

5. (7) Clara Frank, her step-father (Captain Jim or Gumalanga), mother, mother's sister, mother's brother and his wife, and Clara's brother (Mike Holbrook).

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh"can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: B¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Daodama l¢wa ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use. 423 621 596

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification. 428

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands. 423 [768] [422] [425] [648]

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles. 428 423 178

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex. 462

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized. [868] [887] [463]

"Secondary" Distribution

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6. Gambling: economic competition vie games of chance and skill.

7. Trade: immediate reciprocation and explicit negotiation.

8. Payment for Services: dispensing of "secondary" socio-economic debts.

Familial Sharing

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Familial sharing is characterized by distributions resulting from the division of labor by sex and age. This system accounted for roughly 70%-90% of all Washo economic distribution. The importance of the various channels for the flow of goods fluctuated seasonally and regionally, but the internal family system always predominated. Familial sharing pertained to relations in the household but was extended as a general value to include all of humanity. With the exception of gambling, trade, and some payment for services, all the major distribution systems in Washo economy appear to be derived from familial sharing. That is, they appear as extensions of the primary relations found foremost in the family.

Familial sharing is not considered an exchange in the economic sense because of the special character of the reciprocity. It has the quality of the true gift. That is, the return of an economic good or service is not required. Children, for example, may never be in a position to repay their parents with economic goods. The case wherein the producer consumes his own production immediately without actually pooling or sharing is here included under familial sharing.

Reciprocation may come in non-economic forms such as the attribution of status or religious services. In familial sharing there is often no reciprocation from others at all. The sharing may be in the form of a cultural prescription, unreasonable for an "economic man", but nevertheless done: a ritual, conservative, habitual form.

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Since familial sharing was so important, we should understand something of the household or domestic unit, particularly its composition, relations with other households, and its annual round of activities. A reconstruction of the composition of fifteen households in existence between 1885 and 1900 showed a range in number of individuals from three to thirteen and a mean number of seven individuals.[1] The household usually consisted of a core family

1. This research is summarized on pp. 8-10.

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of a man, his wife and children, plus a few other close relatives such as brothers, sisters, and parents of either the man or the wife. Occasionally an unrelated friend was also part of the household.

The household composition changed over time by adding in-laws and children, by losing children who married and moved elsewhere, and by deaths. Yet each household had a degree of permanence as an economic unit.

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In the cold half of the year, roughly October through March, the people of the household lived together in the winter house (galis dangal). Communities (angale atega) consisted of from two to about seven galis dangal scattered about fifty feet to a hundred yards from each other. These small communities were located around every permanent spring in the Pine Nut Hills and at other springs at low elevations and along the Truckee, Carson, and Walker rivers, at Washoe Lake, and at Long Valley Creek.

The Washo generally moved into the mountains in the warm months to fish the streams, particularly around Lake Tahoe, to hunt, and to gather the highland plants. During this time communities of scattered windbreaks (gadu) sprang up along the streams. It is not clear to this writer to what extent the winter "communities" persisted into the summer. However, it is clear that the "territorial divisions" maintained a degree of exclusiveness from one season to the next. The members of each household continued to live and work together and the households were much more mobile than in the cold months. They shifted residence in warm weather several times, rarely staying at the same site for over a month.

If the pinenut crop was to be good the household would move to the Pine Nut Hills around the middle of September. After collecting pinenuts many people would go, as single households or larger trek groups, to the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada for the later maturing acorns in October. They would try to gather the acorns and pack them back to the east side of the Sierras before the snows began. The total time for the trek was about two or three weeks. Occasionally they would winter west of the crest of the Sierras and build galis dangal there.

If the pinenut crop was to be bad they might stay longer at the highland rivers and then go directly for acorns. If both the pinenut and acorn crops were poor a few households might stay in the mountains depending more on fish and game for subsistence. Wintering around Lake Tahoe was enhanced by the fact that this deep lake does not freeze over in cold weather.

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Familial sharing among the Washo was based on the differences of sex and age in a group committed to cooperative survival. The division of labor

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

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KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called pé·wlelel t'áyadi?, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or dí·pek gumí·nu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, pala·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called t'á·lelel t'áyadi?, which can be tranalated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawá·saŋ gumí·nu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayt'sílgá·š t'áyadi? (also dewt'sílgá·š t'áyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

60/ 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfathers were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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60/ 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 156), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In

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8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

847

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

577 605 736

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

842 [833] [524]

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

881

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

841 881 514 302

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

841 881 [753]

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		To	Kl	Kt	Ku	Te	Td	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Kl	Al	
2038.	Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	591
2039.	Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2040.	Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	
2040a.	Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2041.	Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	
2042.	Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	
2043.	Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	694
2044.	Paramour beaten	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045.	Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	586
2046.	Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047.	Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2048.	Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	548
2049.	Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2050.	Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2051.	Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	836
	KINSHIP RELATIONS															
	Avoidances															
2052.	Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2054.	Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	606
2056.	"Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2057.	Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	NA
2058.	Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	602
2060.	Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2061.	Chaconity avoided	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
	Joking Relations															NA
2066.	Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	605
2067.	Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	607
	Adoption															NA
2068.	Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2069.	Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	597
	HERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES															NNA
2070.	Male berdache (tuwasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2070a.	Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	838
2071.	Wears woman's dress	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2072.	Does woman's work	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2073.	Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2074.	Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2075.	Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2076.	Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NA
2100.	Female berdache (berdaci mono or tuwasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[842]
2100a.	Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2101.	Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2102.	Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2103.	Has male organs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2104.	Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2105.	Lives with woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2106.	Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	N
2109.	Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
2110.	Fire test in youth	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

[p. 405]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Terms of Relationship

To facilitate comparison, my list is presented in the order of Kroeber's;[1] but since the terms were always used with pronominal prefixes, these possessives are retained.

601 [193]

Parent and Child Class

tikoi'	*my father*
tila"	*my mother*
tiɣa'n	*my son*
tiɣa'nu	*my daughter*

Sibling Class

ti.a"t'u	*my elder brother or c. male cousin*
til"su	*my elder sister or c. female cousin*
tipo"yu	*my younger brother or y. male cousin*
tiwi'tauk	*my younger sister or y. female cousin*

Grandparent and Grandchild Class

tipa'pa	*my father's father*
lapa"pa	*my son's child (m. sp.)*
ti.s'lel	*my mother's father*
la.s'lell	*my daughter's child (m. sp.)*
ti.'a'ma	*my father's mother*
la'a"ama (also recorded la.a"ama)	*my son's child (w. sp.)*
tiku"u	*my mother's mother*
lebu'k'u.l	*my sister's daughter's child (Jack did not remember any reciprocal term)*
leku"l	*my daughter's child (w. sp.)*
tisa'ma	*my father's father's sister*
lasa"ama	*my brother's son's child (w. sp.)*
lasa'tsagi	*my brother's son's son (m. sp.)*
tisa'tauk	*my father's father's brother*

Uncle and Nephew Class

ti.s'.'uci	*my father's brother; mother's sister's husband*
tima"aca	*my brother's child (m. sp.)*
tita"a	*my mother's brother*
tima"gu	*my sister's child;*[2] *my sister's husband's child (m. sp.) my husband's sibling's child; my stepson (w. sp.)*
tiya'	*my father's sister*
tic'muk	*my brother's child (w. sp.)*
tica'ca	*my mother's sister; father's brother's wife; my stepmother*

[1] California Kinship Systems, UC-PAAE 12:362, 1917.

[113]

[2] For a speaker of either sex, according to my information; Kroeber was not sure of the stem for a woman's sister's child and thought it might be *c'muk*. However, he found that a woman called her sister's husband her "sister's child's father," magadakoi, which phrase supports my definition of *magu*.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601

Parent- and Child-in-law Class

la'yuk	parent-in-law
tipu'ṡ'ɣali	my son-in-law
le'ˇyec	my daughter-in-law

Sibling-in-law Class

ti.ala'rut	my wife's brother, husband's sister[a]
timɛ.ˇ'uci	my husband's brother[b]
tida'maa	my sister's husband, if childless (see p. 313)
timaca'ca	my brother's wife (m. sp.)
tiya'ɣil	my brother's wife (w. sp.)[c]

Spouse Class

tipume'li	my husband
timlai'ya	my wife

601
114 Kroeber's and my data agree closely, perhaps the only noteworthy differences occurring in the sibling-in-law class; for differences in possessive prefixes for the two paired reciprocals with common stem (e.g., tipa'pa, my father's father; lapa'pa, my son's child, m. sp.) are probably only of linguistic interest.

601 Kroeber has pointed out the striking similarity of the Washo and the Pa-
114 viotso terminologies, neither "classificatory" in the traditional sense. Distin-
171 guishing father's brother from father *and* mother's brother, mother's sister from father's sister *and* mother, they represent the type I have designated as Bifurcate Collateral.[d] But in classing *all* cousins as siblings they exhibit one feature of a Generation system. Gifford's maps for grandparent and cousin terms[e] show our two tribes to be in both respects part of a very definite block. The same applies to the lack of Bifurcate Merging features. In other words, Washo and Paviotso terminologies are typical of a large Far Western area that is both positively and negatively different from the region east of the Rocky Mountains.

601 Kroeber obtained no vocative terms for either spouse. This is intelligible
593 from Bill's statement that husband and wife do not ordinarily address each other by the spouse term. Sometimes, but rarely, a wife may call her husband by the distinctive term, for example, tipume'li, ka'yuk, "Husband, come here"; [551] and in a text giving a husband's imaginary speech to his wife he is made to 601 address her as timlai'ya. They do not address each other by name.

Some of the applications of the terms were worked out with the aid of brief genealogies.

[a] Kroeber translates "man's sister's husband, wife's brother."

[b] Kroeber gives a descriptive term for "my child's father's brother."

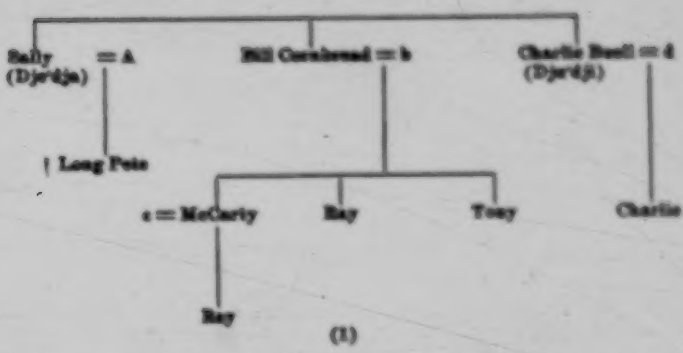
[c] Also "husband's sister," according to Kroeber. According to Jack, there was no term for a woman's brother's wife.

[d] R. H. Lowie, A Note on Relationship Terminologies, AA 30:263–267, 1928.

[e] E. W. Gifford, Californian Kinship Terminologies, UC-PAAE 18:130, 163, 1922.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

601



(I)

Sally and Bill call Charlie Buell tipe'ya, and this is the term Sally applies to both her brothers. Charlie calls Bill ti.a'ta; Bill calls Sally ti.i'ya.

McCarty calls Sally tiya'; she calls him tio'uuh and would call a hypothetical sister of his by the same word. McCarty does not consider Sally's husband—his father's sister's husband—a relative at all. The two men would merely address each other as tikmi'la, my friend.

Sally calls Ray, McCarty's child, laas'^aana and is reciprocally called tiaa'ua. Bill calls Ray lapa'^pa and is in turn addressed as tipe'ya.

McCarty calls Charlie Buell ti.a'uui; if McCarty had a sister, she would apply the same uncle term. Charlie Buell would call his nephew and niece tiaa'^aaa.

McCarty calls Charlie's wife—his father's brother's wife—tiaa'ua. She calls McCarty and Long Pete tiaa'^ga; Bill's wife applies the same term to her sister's child; Bill applies it to Long Pete, Charlie Buell's wife to Long Pete.

Long Pete calls Bill tita'^a. Bill's wife's brother calls McCarty tiaa'^ga, McCarty calls his mother's brother tita'^a.

Bill calls Charlie Buell's wife tiaaaa'ua. She calls Bill tiaa.a'uui.

Sally's husband calls Bill ti.a'aaui; Bill's wife calls Bill's sister by the same term. Bill's sister calls Bill's wife tiya'ali.

Bill's wife's sister's child calls Bill's wife tiaa'ua, which term thus evidently designates mother's sister as well as paternal uncle's wife. Further, McCarty calls his present stepmother tiaa'ua and is called tiaa'^ga by her.

Bill calls Sally's husband—that is, his sister's husband—tida'maa before the birth of a child, thereafter teknonymically tiaa'^ga takoi', my nephew's father. Similarly, a woman speaks of her sister's husband after the birth of a child.

Bill speaks of and to his wife's sister descriptively, for example, timlal'ya ta'wi'tcuk, my wife her younger sister. She calls him tida'maa before he has a child and subsequently tiaa'^ga takoi', my nephew's father.

Long Pete calls McCarty tipe'^ya, and is in turn addressed as ti.a'^t'a. If Sally had a daughter, McCarty would call this cousin tio'^uuh or ti.i'^ua, and be addressed as tipe'^ya or tia'^t'a in turn. Similarly, sibling terms are used by Charlie Buell's children with reference to Bill's children, and vice versa; and between Sally's and Bill's children reciprocally.

Bill calls McCarty tiaa'm and would call a daughter tiaa'ua. McCarty calls Bill tikoi' and his own mother tila'.

Bill calls either of his parents-in-law le'yuk, and is called tipe' a'uall by either.

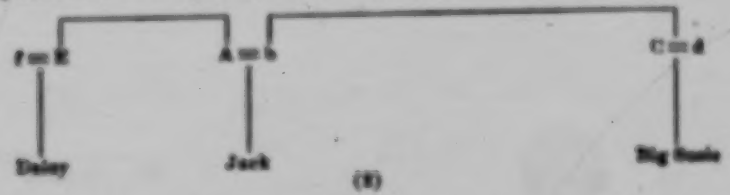
There was no term used by Bill's parents for his wife's parents, or vice versa, though Gifford notes fifty-one out of fifty-four Californian tribes as having a specific term for child's spouse's parent."

" Gifford, *op. cit.*, 192.

● 601 Bill calls McCarty's wife le'yus; she calls Bill and his wife le'yuk, which is what Bill's wife called Bill's mother.

Ray calls his mother's father tí.'ísi, and is called la'bíl in turn. He calls his father's mother ti'u'ma and is called la'a'ume in turn. Bill pointed out that this was "the same word, you know."

Ray calls his maternal grandmother tika'a, and she calls "back to him" loka'i.



(E)

Jack calls C tita'a, Big Susie and Daisy tiwi'tsuk, and E tí.'ísi. Jack would call the children of either maternal or paternal aunts by sibling terms.

Jack confirmed Bill's statement that the father's sister's husband was not a relative, and said the reciprocal term was also lacking. It was possible to say descriptively tiye' pume'ti, my paternal aunt's husband. Similarly, the mother's brother's wife was no relative but might be called tita'a tsunai'ya, my maternal uncle's wife. The wife's brother's wife and wife's brother's child remained undesignated.

Jack said the wife's sister was descriptively designated as tinlai'ya tawi'tsuk. There was no term for a man's stepson, nor a reciprocal.

Jack gave the descriptive expression tipa'ya tsas'ma, my younger brother's daughter.

Dances

535 The t'ewe'we has already been described (p. 306), and the tendency to confuse it and the gaiz'e was noted. Bill mentioned a "war dance" he had seen as a little boy in Alpine County. There were from forty to fifty performers, many of [534] them holding arrows. One old man sang, the others taking up the tune. There was no drum. Only men took part.

Dave referred to a mi'luwe'ne dance (old men lively? dance) called "love [177] dance" by the whites. It was not practiced by the Paviotso. The Washo had [178] learned it from the Pit River Indians, but the only group sharing it were the Digger Indians northward toward Redding. One man in it performed something like a war dance. Wearing a headband with a short and a long eagletail feather standing up in the back, he moved about rapidly so as to make the feathers wiggle. Holding a frankin in his hand, he would bend down to put it between his legs, then waved it around his head with his left hand and uttered a purring noise. Then he would stop and thus address his fellow dancers: "This is the way we all do, that I am showing you. Old persons this way, young people, I am showing you, that's the way I do. That's the way the Indians did before the whites. You, young people, think that's the way. Boys and girls, I'll show you well, do this way."

At major gatherings, dances were held within the horseshoe-shaped area formed by the camping patrilineal subdivisions of the tribe (p. 304). The [537] chief's speech on such occasions has been cited (p. 303). Admonitory addresses were popular, and probably not restricted to the chief; at all events, several

Tolmund B-8 (1952-1957)1960 NTSU Washo NTSU
[P.355,A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from non-sororal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous matrilocal has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1924), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1956). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

[P.355, B]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

601 ● 128

The classification of kinship systems used in this study is the one proposed by Robert H. Lowie (1928). On the basis of the terminological usages in the parental generation, he defined four types of kinship systems: generation, bifurcate merging, lineal, and bifurcate collateral. In generation terminology, one term is used for all male relatives and another term for all female relatives in the parental generation. In bifurcate merging terminology there is a single term for father and father's brother and a single term for mother and mother's sister, but father's sister and mother's brother have separate terms. The lineal type of terminology distinguishes father from father's brother and mother's brother (who are designated by a single term) and mother from mother's sister and father's sister (who are also referred to by a single term). Bifurcate collateral terminology has six distinct terms for parents and their siblings. Lowie's four types "can be applied to any trio of kinsmen in the same generation and of the same sex, provided the second is a collateral relative of the first in the same line of descent and the third is related to Ego in the same manner as the second except for a difference in the sex of the connecting relative" (Murdock, 1949, p. 142).

THE TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

The standard or aboriginal Washo kinship terminology is given in table 1 (pp. 356-357). The standard terminology is still used by the majority of modern Washo. It is a generation type of terminology in ego's generation and a bifurcate collateral type in the first ascending and first descending generations.

The morphophonemic analysis of kinship terms in table 1 is by William H. Jacobsen. The first column lists a number for each term; these numbers are the same as the ones used in the diagram of the standard Washo consanguineal kinship system appearing on figure 1. The second column gives the English translation for each term. The third column presents the singular form with the prefix indicating first person possessive. The final column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. If the stem is preceded by a hyphen, this indicates that it must always take a possessive prefix even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. The terms are given in approximately the order used by Lowie (1939).

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All cousins are called older and younger brother or sister depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. The relative ages of ego and his cousin do not affect the choice of terms; hence, a person may call a chronologically older cousin "younger brother," provided that his parent is older than his cousin's parent. Kroeber (1917) says that cousins are called older or younger siblings according to their own ages. This point was thoroughly checked with a number of informants and they all agree that terms applied to cousins depend on the relative ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than on the ages of ego and his cousin. Since Kroeber's

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[text continues on p. 358, A]

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TABLE 1

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	dagáy°	-gá°y
2.	mother	dáli°	-lá°
3.	parent	di°nálu	-°nálu
4.	parent	dayá·La	-á·La
5.	son	dagá·m	-gá·m
6.	daughter	dagámu°	-gámu°
7.	children	dagá°naŋ	-gá°naŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin	di°á·ta	-°á·ta
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin	di°á·na	-°á·na
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin	dábiya	-bíya
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin	dawíwak	-wíwag
12.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	dabálu or dábálu	-bálu
13.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (m. sp.)	di°yábévtam	-bévtam
14.	distant male relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	di°yámuwá·lwi°	. . .
15.	distant female relative or friend, alternate term for cousin (w. sp.)	dawí	-wí
Grandparent and grandchild class			
16.	father's father	dábá·ba°	-bá·ba°
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	bábá·ja°	-bá·ba°
18.	mother's father	di°yálal	-°yálal
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	ba°yálali°	-°yálal
20.	father's mother	di°yáma°	-°yáma°
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	ba°yá°ma°	-°yáma°
22.	mother's mother	dagá°a	-gá°a
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	bagá°yi°	-gá°a
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dábáb	-báb
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	bababyi°	-báb
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	dáámu°	-ámu°
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	baá°ma°	-ámu°
28.	father's father's brother	dáábaab	-ábaag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	baábaagi°	-ábaag
30.	mother's father's brother	di°yá·ba	-°yá·ba
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	ba°yá·ja°	-°yá·ba
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dáá°a	-á°a
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	baá°yi°	-á°a
Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class			
34.	relative of third ascending generation	dáláwa	-láwa
35.	relative of third descending generation	baláwi	-láwa
Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di°yádi°	-°yádi°
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dáá°da	-áá°da°
38.	mother's brother	dáá°a	-á°a
39.	sister's child	dáá·ga	-áá·ga
40.	father's sister	dáyá·°	-yá·°
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	dábáaak	-báaag
42.	mother's sister	dábába°	-bába°

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TABLE 1
(continued)

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	ldyuh	-dyuh
44.	son-in-law	dihn'dgaal°	-hn'dgaal°
45.	daughter-in-law	ldyud	-dyud
46.	child's spouse's parents	ldoosh	-doog
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	dwid-dai	-wid-dai
48.	husband's brother	dsaw'dwah°	-saw'dwah°
49.	sister's husband	dshlaaw	-shlaaw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dsaahlda°	-saahlda°
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	dydgil	-ydgil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dlhaaad'il°	-haad'il°
53.	husband	di'had-li	-'had-l
54.	wife	daaid'ya°	-aid'ya° or -iaid'ya°

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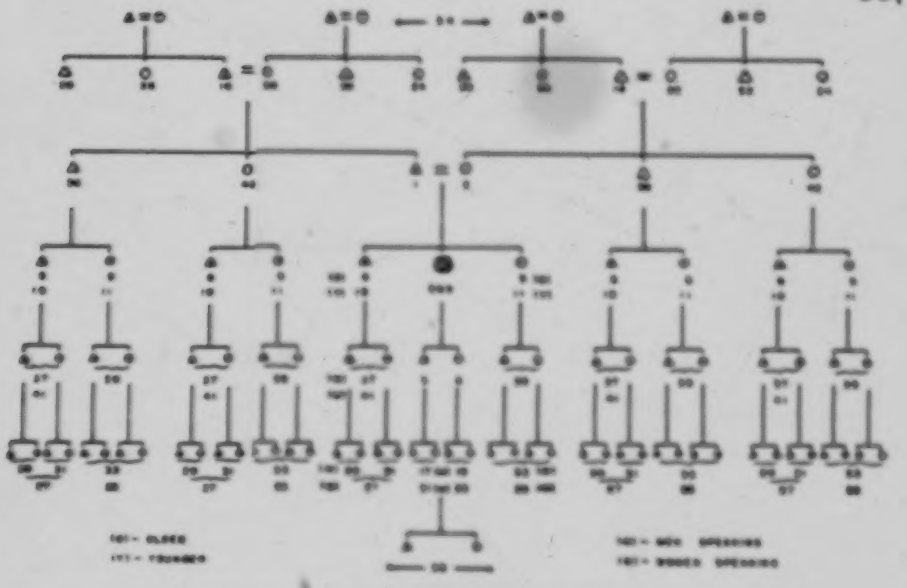

Figure 1. The standard Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females.

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information came from a single informant, he may have been misinformed on this point. There is, however, a tendency among younger people to call cousins older or younger siblings on the basis of their own ages rather than the ages of parents and their siblings. This trend is clearly visible in the analysis of terminological usages given in table 2. It is a logical development since the introduction of schools, calendars, and written records of births. Before them, relative ages of individuals of different nuclear families would not ordinarily be known if the persons were of approximately the same age.

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Six distinct terms exist for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Brother's child is distinguished from sister's child; both are distinguished from own children. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives. All my informants were quite definite on this point. Lowie (1939) and Siskin (MS) say that mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother, and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This was true when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. In such cases, mother's sister's husband is the same person as father's brother; and father's brother's wife is the same person as mother's sister. Lowie's information may have been obtained from the descendant of such a marriage.

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Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. For example, ego calls his mother's father di·ʔálel (my mother's father), and this relative calls him le·ʔálelí· (my daughter's child). Morphophonemically, the stem of these two words is the same (-·ʔálel). The term, le·ʔálelí·, may be translated approximately as "the one whose mother's father I am."

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There are apparently no differences in terms of reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) have not reported any; and I have found none in the course of my interviewing. William Jacobsen, who is currently making a study of the Washo language, also corroborates this.

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The extent of the Washo kinship system is elastic, but usually the range of recognized relatives is not extensive. Second cousins are brothers and sisters, but relationships are rarely traced that far. The children of grandparents' siblings are properly aunts and uncles (e.g., father's father's brother's daughter may be called father's sister, for father and his father's brother's daughter call each other brother and sister), but these relatives are usually not called aunts and uncles. Often my informants did not know the identity of the children of their grandparents' siblings; when they did know these persons, they sometimes called them by general terms meaning "my friend or distant relative." Occasionally, however, a person would call a child of a grandparent's sibling by the appropriate uncle or aunt term. Since the Washo are forbidden to marry relatives, a minute tracing of relationships would make it difficult to find a mate. This may account for the infrequency with which distant relatives are recognized. [582]

POLITE AFFINAL TERMS

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The Washo use a set of polite, teknonymous terms for most affinal relatives. These are given in table 2. One informant gave two polite terms for sister's husband. He was called di'ʔí·aa humá·li? (my older sister's husband) as well as dimá·gu dagóy? (my sister's child's father). My notes contain only one polite term for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother); I have not recorded the logically possible term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." This suggests that the use of descriptive terms with "mother" in them may be more strongly prescribed than those containing "father." On the other hand, my informants may simply have failed to mention the descriptive term "my older [or younger] brother's wife." Since I did not explicitly investigate all the possible descriptive terms which may logically be used for affinal relatives, table 2 may not give a complete list of terms. Nevertheless, the essentials of the system are presented.

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TABLE 3

Polite Affinal Terms

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law	le?dleli? dagóy? (m. sp.); lagá?yi? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father; daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law.....	labé·ɲa? dalá? (m. sp.); lagá?yi? dalá? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother; son's child's mother
father-in-law	dibumé·li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother	diŋá?miŋ dadá?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.....	diŋá·m de?éwši?	son's father's brother
sister's husband	dimá·gu dagóy? di?í·sa bumé·li?	sister's child's father older sister's husband
brother's wife	dimáš dalá? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife	dišémuk dalá? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

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ALTERNATE TERMS

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Terminological change was determined by comparing modern usages with the standard kinship system. In the course of seventy genealogical interviews, at least a few variant kinship usages could probably have been collected during aboriginal times. However, the conditions of modern Washo life make variant usages in genealogical interviews almost inevitable. Some informants speak Washo poorly and may guess at terms; others do not understand English well and may misunderstand the investigator's questions. The problem is to separate the alternate usages due to mistakes and misunderstandings from the ones which may indicate that the terminological system is changing.

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Two criteria are available for this purpose. First, usages arising from change in the terminological system should occur more frequently than other "alternate" usages which appear to represent erroneous information. Second, the alternate terms of the new, emerging kinship system should form an internally consistent system.

Analysis of the Washo genealogical data showed the following alternate usages.

1. Thirteen informants called some or all of their cousins by terms distinct from the sibling terms. The terms used are numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in table 1.

2. Five informants called their brother's children and sister's children by a single term.

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TABLE 3

Incidence of Washo Kinship Usages in Ego's and Adjacent Generations

Kinship usage*	Age group of informants							
	10-19 (15)†	20-29 (13)	30-39 (7)	40-49 (12)	50-59 (8)	60-69 (8)	70-79 (5)	80-89 (2)
Siblings								
Standard	12	12	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	2							
Miscellaneous	2	1						
Cousins								
Standard	2	3	4	8	7	7	4	
By own age	4	4	1	1	1			
Alternate	3	3	1	2	2	2		1
Term unknown	9	6	2		1			
Miscellaneous	1			2				
Uncles								
Standard	6	11	6	10	7	6	5	2
Alternate	3							
Term unknown	7	1				1		
Miscellaneous				1				
Aunts								
Standard	8	8	4	10	7	7	4	2
Term unknown	6	1	1					
Miscellaneous		2						
Nephews and nieces								
Standard	3	8	4	11	8	8	5	2
Alternate	1	2	2					
Term unknown	5	3						
Miscellaneous	1	1			1			
Father and mother								
Standard	12	13	7	12	8	8	5	2
Term unknown	3							
Son and daughter								
Standard	1	8	5	9	7	5	4	2

*The meanings of "standard" and "by own age" are clear from the text. "Term unknown" means the informant did not know the term. "Alternate" refers to the terms of the new terminological system. "Miscellaneous" includes all alternate usages regarded as unsignificant; these are listed in the text. If a single informant gave different kinds of usages (e.g., standard and alternate) for a single kind of relative (e.g., cousins), he was counted twice. If he gave more than one different kind of "miscellaneous" response for any one kind of relative (as for example to call one aunt "grandmother's sister" and the other aunt "great-grandparent"), he was counted only once.

†The number in parentheses is the number of informants in the age group.

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3. Three informants called their mother's brother and father's brother by a single term.

Two alternate usages were given by two informants: mother's brother's child was called brother's child, and older brother was called younger brother. A considerable number of alternate usages were given by only one informant: father's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's sister was called great-grandparent, mother's sister was called grandmother's sister, father's brother was called older brother, brother's son was called younger brother, mother's sister's son was called sister's child, and older sister was called younger sister. One woman used the male speaking term for brother's child instead of the female term. One informant used brother's child (man speaking) for sister's son and brother's son, and sister's child for sister's daughter and brother's daughter. This is what Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d., p. 42) call a "loan translation," that is, the Washo terms have been equated with the English nephew and niece terms.

The three alternate usages which occur most frequently appear to represent change in the terminological system. They form a consistent system: the new terminology is of the lineal type in all generations. The alternate cousin terms and the terminological merging of brother's child and sister's child show a significantly higher frequency than all other alternate usages. The merging of father's brother and mother's brother occurs only slightly more than other, nonsignificant alternate usages; but it is included with the other two primarily because it conforms to the trend toward a lineal terminological system in the three generations under study.

The alternate terms appear to represent a new system of kinship terminology rather than survivals from an older system. From the breakdown of Washo kinship usages given in table 3, it can be seen that the alternate uncle and nephew-niece terms are used by individuals in the younger age groups; and this leads to the inference that they are recent. The alternate cousin terms are spread rather evenly throughout the generations, but they too appear to be part of a new terminological system. This is indicated from the terms used for children of cousins. Older people generally use the terms meaning brother's child and sister's child in spite of the fact that they no longer call their cousins siblings. Younger people tend to use the cousin terms for the children of cousins. The terms for cousins apparently are first changed in ego's generation, and the change is then extended to the first descending generation. Thus the use of the alternate cousin terms is becoming more firmly embedded in the terminology. Another reason for believing that the cousin terms are part of a new kinship system is that the older people who use them state that sibling terms are also correct whereas the younger people are unaware that sibling terms may be used. The greater frequency of the alternate cousin terms compared to the alternate nephew-niece and uncle terms and their greater age as indicated by their occurrence among older persons is in accord with Dole's observation that when terminological patterns change, the cousin terms change first (Dole, MS, p. 428). The Washo data indicate that terms of the first descending generation may be the next to change, followed by changes in the parental generation.

Most people who use the standard cousin terms declare that the alternate cousin terms are incorrect.

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However, the older people who use the alternate cousin terms handle the language expertly and can speak as authoritatively on the culture as those who use the standard terminology. When asked the reason for using alternate cousin terms, these older people usually say that they just prefer them. One man said that he used the alternate cousin term because he disliked his cousin but was fond of his brother who was dead. He did not want to apply the term for a relative whom he liked to one he disliked. On the other hand, another informant said he used alternate cousin terms for male cousins because he was friendly with them (the cousin terms also mean "friend"). Another informant said she used the alternate cousin terms because these relatives were not her "real" siblings. Apparently, no rules govern the use of standard or alternate cousin terms; it appears to be a matter of personal preference.

In general, the younger people (10-19 years of age) who use alternate cousin terms do not know that sibling terms are also correct. This does not seem to cause conversational confusion. One boy told me that his cousins called him brother whereas he always called them cousin. He found the situation amusing, but apparently saw no conflict in the usages. Another boy recalled that he had heard older people call their cousins siblings, but said that he never did.

There is no noticeable tendency for a person who uses one of the alternate terms to use any of the others. Only one informant used the alternate lineal terms for both cousins and uncles. He had no nephews and nieces and so his usage for these relatives could not be determined.

RESIDENCE RULES

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Washo residence rules have undergone no discernible changes since the end of the aboriginal period. The minor differences between the findings of Lowie (1939), Curtis (1926), and myself are probably not due to change. Instead they appear to arise from two circumstances: (1) Washo residence patterns are difficult to characterize since there is no residence rule which must be strictly followed; and (2) Lowie and Curtis used only a few informants whereas my data were gathered from a fairly large number of people. The residence patterns reported by a large number of persons might reasonably be expected to show greater variation than the normative statements of a few informants, especially in the absence of a compelling rule.

Lowie reports residence as matrilocal until the death of the wife's parents, when the couple burned the house and moved. Another of his informants describes residence as matrilocal or patrilocal with a slight preference for the former (Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Curtis reports initial matrilocality. After a few weeks, the couple returned to the husband's family, but many of the couples lived in both places alternately (Curtis, 1926, p. 97).

These foregoing statements agree reasonably well with most of the data on residence which I collected. However, the situation is more complicated than Lowie and Curtis report. The 70 genealogies and associated brief life histories contain information on 37 first marriages of persons of all ages. Fourteen were initially matrilocal. After a few years, usually following the birth of the first child, the couple shifted residence. Of the 14 initially matrilocal marriages, 7 were

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1948, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who [178] lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but [594]

more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

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This chapter is devoted to determining the causes of the emerging system of kinship terminology. Before we proceed to the explanation which seems to account for the Washo data most satisfactorily, three other explanations will be considered. The first is that the alternate terms are due to a process which Schmitt and Schmitt (n. d.) call loan translation, that is, the old Washo terms are adapted to the English kinship system. This explanation deserves attention because the alternate Washo terminological usages form a lineal type of kinship terminology resembling the English kinship system.

The case for loan translation is strongest in the parental generation because the two separate terms for father's brother and mother's brother have been reduced to a single term which may be equated with the English term "uncle." But the terms for aunts have not undergone a similar merging, and it is fair to ask why loan translation should be restricted to uncles.

The use of loan translation as an adequate explanation encounters further difficulties with regard to the alternate cousin and nephew-niece terms. The process of loan translation should result in a single Washo term being used for cousins; instead, the Washo use four distinct terms. Furthermore, one of the informants who uses alternate cousin terms speaks no English and another speaks only a few words. These informants could not be directly affected by the English terminological system. In the first descending generation, the process of loan translation should alter the Washo terminology so that a single term is applied to nephews and another to nieces. But this has not happened; in the emerging terminology, all siblings' children are lumped under a single term, thereby ignoring the sex distinction between nephews and nieces. It seems clear that loan translations do not in themselves adequately account for alternate Washo terminological usages.

This is not to say that the Washos' knowledge of the American kinship system has no effect on Washo kinship terminology. It may be one of several causes of the alternate terms. But the new Washo terminology is not due solely to loan translation, for the new terms do not agree closely enough with the English system. I found only one clear case of loan translation: one informant called his nephews by one term and his nieces by another. This usage agrees exactly with the English system of terminology, a circumstance one might reasonably demand before using loan translation as an explanation of terminological change.

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A second possible explanation is that the alternate terms arise from unusual circumstances whereby a relative assumes a role ordinarily played by another relative and is therefore called by the kinship term appropriate for the assumed role instead of by the term ascribed by his genealogical position. I found only one case of this kind among the Washo: a woman called a cousin by the term "older sister" instead of the genealogically correct term "younger sister" because they were raised in the same house and her cousin was actually ten years older than she. The age

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III. ALTERNATE TERMS AND ROLE BEHAVIOR

601 178 discrepancy of ten years, together with being raised in the same nuclear family, made the term "younger sister" seem inappropriate. The woman knew that younger sister was the correct term, but preferred to use older sister. This kind of modification of terminological usages appears to be quite rare among the Washo. When children were reared by an aunt or grandmother, they always called these relatives by the correct terms instead of mother; and stepfather's were never called father. The Washo seem quite orthodox in the use of their kinship terminology.

A third possible explanation of the new Washo kinship system is Murdock's theory of the evolution of social organization. Murdock says that social organization is a semi-independent system which changes according to internal dynamics of its own. Of the major elements of social organization, which include the system of kinship terminology, kinds of kinship groups, rules of residence and descent, and forms of marriage, the one least susceptible to influences from outside the social organization is the terminological system. Rules of descent and kinds of kin groups are also relatively immune to the influence of external factors. Types of marriage can change directly owing to external influences, but "the impact of a change in marriage upon other parts of the social structure is usually relatively slight" (Murdock, 1949, p. 201). The aspect of social organization particularly sensitive to outside influences is the rule of residence. Rules of descent and kinds of kinship groups usually change after the residence rule. In brief, change in social organization begins with modification of the residence rule and ends with the adaptive changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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601 178 594 591 The features of aboriginal Washo social structure which are reflected in the standard terminology are bilocal residence, nonsororal polygyny, and bilateral descent, with the nuclear family constituting the largest kinship group. Their presumed effects upon kinship terminology as given by Murdock (1949) are as follows. Bilocal residence tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the generation type. Washo standard terminology is of the generation type in ego's generation only. Nonsororal polygyny tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Washo standard terminology is bifurcate collateral in the first ascending and first descending generations. When the nuclear family stands "in majestic isolation, as it does in our own society" (Murdock, 1949, p. 196), it tends to be associated with kinship terminology of the lineal type. The Washo family is nuclear, but it does not stand in majestic isolation. Murdock does not deal explicitly with this kind of a situation. However, he notes that extended families depend on the prevailing rule of residence and exert an influence on kinship terminology in accord with it (1949, p. 153). The Washo family and residence rules result in an alignment of kinsmen rather similar to that which occurs in groups with bilocal extended families; therefore, the family and residence rules taken together may be said to exert an influence in the direction of a generation type of kinship terminology. In

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summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure.

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was egocentric and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Kuper, 1918). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology.

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The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 132, 137). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade-

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quate explanation of the changes in the Washo kinship system although it is considerably more helpful than the other two theories discussed above.

SUGGESTED EXPLANATION FOR TERMINOLOGICAL CHANGES

The hypothesis here proposed to explain the alternate Washo kinship terms is that changes occurring outside of social organization can affect the terminological system without first modifying the residence rule or other elements of social structure. This hypothesis is based on the assumption that kinship terminology is closely correlated with patterned norms of behavior, or "roles." This assumption is most reasonable, for, as Murdock notes, it accords "with the overwhelming testimony of the data surveyed for the present study, and with the experience and the declared or admitted views of nearly all competent anthropological authorities" (1949, p. 112). If this assumption is provisionally accepted, the proposed hypothesis may be restated: role behavior and its associated system of kinship terminology may be directly affected by cultural changes without any changes necessarily taking place in the formal social structure. Or we may use the terminology proposed by Raymond Firth and say that within any given type of "social structure" many different forms of "social organization" may exist (Firth, 1951, pp. 39-40; 1954).

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The principal difference between this hypothesis and Murdock's theory is in the elaboration of the role concept. Murdock does not explicitly deal with roles although he implies the concept when he speaks of similarities and differences between kin-types. Murdock distinguishes five kinds of similarities and differences (1949, pp. 136-137):

Coincidence: a similarity between two kin-types owing to the probability that the members of both are the same persons, as can happen as a result of certain social equalizers. Sororal polygyny, for example, tends to equate WiSi with Wi.

Proximity: a similarity or dissimilarity in spatial relations. For example, matrilocal residence, by bringing Mo and MoSi together as close neighbors or even actual housemates, operates as a social equalizer to make more likely their designation by a single classificatory term, and by separating FaSi spatially from both of them operates as a social differential to favor the application of a special kinship term to her.

Participation: a similarity or dissimilarity in group membership. Thus patrilineal descent places BrDa and Da in the same lineage, sib, or moiety and SiDa in a separate group, thereby promoting extension of the term for Da to BrDa and differentiation of the term for SiDa.

Analogy: a similarity relative to a parallel relationship. Extension of the term "mother" to MoSi, for example, acts as a social equalizer in the case of MoSiDa, increasing her likelihood of being called "sister" even under patrilineal descent when Si and MoSiDa are usually neither sibmates nor neighbors.

Immateriality: a negative similarity resulting from the functional unimportance of the relatives of two kin-types, whereby a sufficient basis for

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differentiating them is lacking. Immateriality appears chiefly with respect to distant relatives. In the English kinship system, for example, it operates as an equalizer to favor the extension of the term "cousin" to various distant relatives of little importance, without reference to distinctions of sex, generation, or collaterality.

Murdock's similarities and differences are aspects of role behavior, but they are aspects which are strongly determined by elements of formal social structure. This being so, he can trace the effects of social structure upon systems of kinship terminology without dealing with role behavior, for it is so closely tied to the formal social structure as to lack the characteristics of an independent variable. This thesis suggests that roles are characterized by many more qualities than those listed by Murdock and that some of them vary considerably within the limits set by a given type of social structure. Cultural changes can therefore cause terminological change by altering role behavior without affecting the formal social structure.

The role concept has been used in various ways by other authors. Radcliffe-Brown (1935) once argued that apparent discrepancies between social structures and terminological systems in some Californian tribes were due to the fact that systems of terminology correlate with "social usage" rather than gross social structure. Radcliffe-Brown's social usage seems roughly equivalent to role behavior. Role behavior has been used explicitly in two recent kinship studies: Schneider and Roberts (1956) propose the concept of role to account for alternate usages in the Zuni kinship systems; and Schneider and Homans (1955) suggest that alternate terms in the American kinship system, such as "father," "dad," and "pop," reflect differences in role behavior. The central hypothesis of this monograph derives directly from these two papers.

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From the hypothesis that roles and terms are closely correlated and are capable of being influenced by cultural factors we may draw the following inferences regarding Washo role behavior and the emerging Washo kinship system. Since cousins are being terminologically distinguished from siblings, the roles for cousins and siblings should be significantly different. The role of mother's brother should not be significantly different from the role of father's brother, and the role of brother's child should not differ significantly from the role of sister's child, for in both cases, kin-types which are distinguished in the standard terminology are merged in the alternate terminological system. The roles associated with the rest of the standard kinship terms should all differ significantly from one another because they have remained terminologically distinct.

It is apparent that an explanation based on detailed comparisons of roles cannot use subjective assessments of similarities and differences between roles. A technique for describing roles is required which yields data that can be treated statistically. Such a technique, called the role profile test, was developed for this research. It is thought to give a more exact and sensitive picture of Washo role behavior than that which may be obtained solely through observations and interviews, and the statistical analysis of the test protocols gives an objective measure of similarities and differences in role behavior.

The inferences presented above will be tested with data derived from use of the role profile test. It will

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1945, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 429). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 388, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, cooperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text Continues TOP of P 391, B]

CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

[Text Continues bottom of P 391, B]

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of consanguineal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Wambo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Wambo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their context. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Wambo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907, 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1955-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

the terminological system used by the majority of the modern Washo. The terms are listed in Table 1. A diagram of the consanguineal kinship system is given in Fig. 1. The morphophonemic analysis of the kinship terms in Table 1 is based on unpublished work made available by Jacobsen. In the first column, the numbers assigned to each term are the same as the numbers used in Fig. 1; the English translation of the Washo term appears in the second column; the singular form with the first person possessive prefix is listed in the third column; and the fourth column gives the morphophonemically basic form of the stem. Almost all kinship terms require the use of a possessive prefix, even if the possessor is indicated by a preceding noun or independent pronoun. A hyphen preceding the stem in Table 1 indicates that a possessive prefix is always necessary.

The Washo call all cousins older or younger sibling depending upon whether ego's parent is older or younger than the parent of ego's cousin. Kroeber (1917) states that cousins are called older or younger brother, in accordance with their own ages rather than the ages of their parents. This statement was checked with a number of older informants; they all agreed that the terms used for cousins depend upon the ages of parents and parents' siblings rather than upon the ages of ego and his cousins. Jacobsen (1958) supports our interpretation. There is, however, a tendency on the part of the younger Washo to call their cousins older or younger siblings depending upon their own age and the ages of their cousins rather than upon the ages of the parents. Another tendency among present-day Washo is to make a terminological distinction between siblings and cousins by using for cousins the terms numbered 12, 13, 14, and 15 in Table 1. Thirteen of our informants made this distinction for some or all of their cousins. This terminological usage is not confined to the young but occurs among older people as well. However, it appears to be a relatively recent change that stems from acculturation rather than a pre-white usage (Freed, 1960, 268).

In the first ascending generation, there are six distinct terms for father, father's brother, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and mother's sister. Husbands and wives of aunts and uncles are not considered relatives, a point upon which all our informants were quite definite. According to both Lowie (1939) and Siskin (1941), mother's sister's husband is called by the same term as father's brother and father's brother's wife by the same term as mother's sister. This, however, was true only when two brothers married two sisters, as occasionally happened. Lowie and Siskin may have obtained their information from the descendants of such a marriage. The younger Washo tend to use a single term for mother's brother and father's brother. This usage, however, is not widespread; it occurs only three times in our sample of 70 people.

In the first descending generation, there are separate terms for son, daughter, brother's child, and sister's child. The younger Washo tend to classify brother's children and sister's children under a single term, but this is infrequent and occurs only five times in the group of 70 Washo.

Terminological usages between ego and all relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations are reciprocal. A person calls his father's father dibǩ·he? (my father's father) and this relative calls him latǩ·he? (my son's child) which can be approximately translated as "the one whose father's father I am." A single term is used for all relatives of the third ascending generation, and another term derived from the same stem for all relatives of the third descending generation.

The Washo do not have separate terms for reference and address. Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) report none, and we have found none in our interviewing. Jacobsen, in personal communication, also corroborates this.

The Washo have a set of polite teknonymous terms which they use for most affinal relatives. The list given in Table 2 may not be complete, for we did not investigate all of the logical possibilities. For example, two terms are given for sister's husband (my sister's child's father and my older sister's husband) and only one for brother's wife (my brother's child's mother). The possible descriptive terms, older or younger brother's wife, were not given by our informants, but most probably this is because they simply failed to mention them. Despite the fact that Table 2 is incomplete, the essentials of the system of polite affinal terms are adequately presented.

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Table 1

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Consanguineal and Affinal Relatives[a]

Term No.	English	Singular with first person poss. prefix	Stem
Parent and child class			
1.	father	dig6y?	-g6y
2.	mother	di1?	-i?
3.	parent	di?mí·lu	-?mí·lu
4.	parent	dityé·Lu	-é·Lu
5.	son	diŋá·m	-ŋá·m
6.	daughter	diŋámu?	-ŋámu?
7.	children	diŋá?miŋ	-ŋá?miŋ
Sibling class			
8.	older brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?á·tu	-?á·tu
9.	older sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is older than ego's	di?í·sa	-?í·sa
10.	younger brother, half-brother, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	dibéyu	-béyu
11.	younger sister, half-sister, cousin whose parent is younger than ego's	diwíisuk	-wíisug
12.	distant male relative or friend (m. sp.)	dikMílu or diMílu	-Mílu
13.	distant female relative or friend (m. sp.)	di?uliŁáwlam	-Łáwlam

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14.	distant male relative or friend (w. sp.)	di?ulimeé·liwi?	...
15.	distant female relative or friend (w. sp.)	diséʼ	-séʼ

Grandparent and grandchild class

16.	father's father	dibá·ba?	-bá·ba?
17.	son's child (m. sp.)	labá·ba?	-bá·ba?
18.	mother's father	di?élel	-?élel
19.	daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?éleli?	-?élel
20.	father's mother	di?áma?	-?áma?
21.	son's child (w. sp.)	la?á?ma?	-?áma?
22.	mother's mother	digú?u	-gú?u
23.	daughter's child (w. sp.)	legú?yi?	-gú?u
24.	father's mother's sister, mother's mother's sister	dibáʼ	-báʼ
25.	sister's child's child (w. sp.)	lebáʼyi?	-báʼ
26.	father's father's sister, mother's father's sister	disáma?	-sáma?
27.	brother's child's child (w. sp.)	lasá?ma?	-sáma?
28.	father's father's brother	disáksak	-sáksag
29.	brother's son's child (m. sp.)	lasáksagi?	-sáksag
30.	mother's father's brother	di?é·bu	-?é·bu
31.	brother's daughter's child (m. sp.)	le?é·bu?	-?é·bu
32.	father's mother's brother, mother's mother's brother	dité?o	-té?o
33.	sister's child's child (m. sp.)	laté?yi?	-té?o

Great-grandparent and great-grandchild class

34.	relative of third ascending generation	dipʼlsew	-pʼlsew
35.	relative of third descending generation	lepʼlsewi	-pʼlsew

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Uncle and nephew class			
36.	father's brother	di?ćwǎl?	-?ćwǎl?
37.	brother's child (m. sp.)	dimá?aa	-má?ǎa?
38.	mother's brother	didá?a	-dá?a
39.	sister's child	dimá·gu	-má·gu
40.	father's sister	diyá·?	-yá·?
41.	brother's child (w. sp.)	diǎémuk	-ǎémug
42.	mother's sister	diǎáǎa?	-ǎáǎa?
Parent-in-law and child-in-law class			
43.	parent-in-law	lǎyuk	-ǎyuk
44.	son-in-law	dibu?ǎŋalí?	bu?ǎŋalí?
45.	daughter-in-law	lǎyeǎ	-ǎyeǎ
46.	child's spouse's parents	lǎmik	ǎmig
Sibling-in-law class			
47.	wife's brother	diwlá·dut	-wAlá·dut
48.	husband's brother	dime?ćwǎl?	-me?ćwǎl?
49.	sister's husband	didámaw	-dámaw
50.	brother's wife (m. sp.)	dimaǎáǎa?	-maǎáǎa?
51.	husband's sister, brother's wife (w. sp.)	diyáŋil	-yáŋil
Spouse class			
52.	husband	dibumé·li?	bumé·li?
53.	husband	di?mé·ǎ	-?mé·ǎ
54.	wife	dimlá·ya?	-mlá·ya? or -imlá·ya?

[a] Source: adapted from Freed, 1960, 356-7.

Fig.1. The aboriginal Washo consanguineal kinship system.
Triangles denote males; circles denote females; numbers refer to the terms in Table 1.
Source: Freed, 1960, 257.

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Table 2

Aboriginal Washo Kinship Terms:

Polite Affinal Terms[a]

English	Washo	Literal translation
son-in-law.	le?ɬeli? dagóy? (m. sp.)	daughter's child's father;
	legú?yi? dagóy? (w. sp.)	daughter's child's father
daughter-in-law . .	labá·ɬa? dalɬ? (m. sp.)	son's child's mother;
	legú?yi? dalɬ? (w. sp.)	son's child's mother
father-in-law . . .	dibumɬ-li? dagóy? (w. sp.)	husband's father
wife's brother. . .	digɬ?miŋ dadɬ?a	children's mother's brother
husband's brother.	digɬ·m de?ɬwɬi?	son's father's brother
sister's husband. .	dimɬ·gu dagóy?	sister's child's father
	di?ɬ·sɬ? bumɬ-li?	older sister's husband
brother's wife. . .	dimɬɬ dalɬ? (m. sp.)	brother's child's mother
brother's wife. . .	diɬɬmuk dalɬ? (w. sp.)	brother's child's mother

[a] Source: Freed, 1960, 358.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory. Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [573] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyûliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	53.68
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.87
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 512 141 161 [143] [839] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 64 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, petrilocal or metrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

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593 /For the statistical analyses of the results of the role-profile test and their application to the status and role of the individual in the society in relationship to primary and secondary kin relations, see category 116, pp. 372-375, 378(A)--413./

[P 354, B]

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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be seen that the data strongly support the foregoing inferences, thereby supporting the validity of the assumption of a close fit between role and term. The close correlation of role and term together with the fact that the Washo kinship system is changing in spite of a relatively stable social structure supports the hypothesis that roles may vary considerably within the limits set by a given configuration of social structure, the variation being due to causes which lie outside of the social organization.

THE ROLE PROFILE TEST

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The role profile test makes use of sixteen categories for describing interpersonal behavior developed by Freedman, Leary, Ossorio, and Coffey (1951). I have slightly modified the categories and converted them into a questionnaire, which appears below. As conceived by Freedman and his associates, the sixteen categories were arranged in a circle. This emphasizes an important feature of the conceptual scheme. It has four nodal points: dominance, affiliation, submission, and hostility. These nodal points occur in the questionnaire at Question 1 (dominance), Question 5 (affiliation), Question 9 (submission), and Question 13 (hostility). The questions between the nodes combine the nodal qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (Question 2) is a combination of dominance and affiliation; "to punish" (Question 14) is a combination of hostility and dominance.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?
2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?
3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?
4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?
5. Which relative is specially fond of you?
6. Which relative most often coöperates (works together) with you?
7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?
8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?
9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?
10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?
11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?
12. Which relative nags you most?
13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?
14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?
15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?
16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

The role profile test is administered as follows.

[P 366, A]

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The informant is provided with slips of paper containing Washo kinship terms written quasiphonetically for all the relatives he possesses in first ascending, ego's, and first descending generations. These, of course, differ from person to person. The informant is then asked to arrange the slips of paper in a column in response to each of the sixteen questions. The relative ranking highest in the behavior questioned is to be placed at the top of the column; the remainder are to be ranked in descending order, with the one ranking lowest in the behavior in question to be placed at the bottom. The first few questions are for practice and designed to acquaint the informant with the kind of response desired. The investigator asks "which of your relatives weighs most . . . is tallest . . . is oldest" or some other similar question, and instructs the informant to arrange the slips of paper, helping him if necessary. Once the "set" of the experiment is established, the questionnaire is administered. The questions are explained to the informant, using examples if necessary; they are not read mechanically. The informant's responses are noted for each question, and the paper slips are shuffled before the next question is given. The result is a test protocol ranking a person's relatives in each of the sixteen categories of interpersonal behavior.

Several precautions must be observed if the test results are to attain their maximum reliability. First, the investigator must determine the opportunity the informant has had for knowing and interacting with the relatives to be included in the test. If there has been a reasonable opportunity for interacting with a relative, he is to be included in the test even if the informant has had little interaction with him. If there has been no opportunity for interaction, the relative should be excluded. For example, if a relative has lived close to the informant for many years, he is to be included even though the informant rarely sees him. In this case, the opportunity for interaction exists, and the fact that none has taken place may be an important feature of the role behavior. However, if a relative died when the informant was a baby, or lives at a great distance, or is feeble-minded, he is to be excluded, for the informant has had no opportunity to interact with him.

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Second, the same interpreter should be used for all informants. This should not be taken too literally, for feuds and hard feelings can make the presence of particular interpreters unpleasant to informants. In addition, if the interpreter is related to the informant, this might tend to influence the informant's responses. It is probably best to use an interpreter who is not related to the informant. This precaution could not be observed for two Washo informants owing to the prevailing rules of courtesy. These two informants were slightly deaf and it was necessary to shout at them. Among the Washo, it is considered impolite for a person to shout at a nonrelative. Therefore, relatives had to be used as interpreters.

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Third, the testing situation should be standardized. This means that as few relatives as possible should be looking over the informant's shoulder while he is taking the test. An easy way to shed distracting relatives is to conduct the interview in an automobile.

Fourth, the questions should be asked randomly. I suspect that there is some contagion from one question to the next. This is enhanced if, for example, all the questions probing dominance are asked one after the other. By randomizing the questions, the investigator

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fuse to be interviewed at all. This reduced somewhat the number of old people in the sample. Two people could not finish the test: one old woman, after completing four questions, burst into tears at the mention of a dead relative; and a young woman could not finish the last six questions, for she rejected the idea that any of her relatives could be hostile. The questions these women finished are perfectly usable and have been included in the analysis.

The sample includes 4 blind people, 4 others with whom I had to use interpreters, and 8 people who were illiterate. None of these 16 persons could manipulate the slips of paper by themselves. They could take the test, for they retained a mental list of the relatives involved and verbally directed the investigator as to the arrangement of the slips. The order of relatives was read back to them and they continued to make adjustments until they were satisfied. They handled the test fairly well, but not so well as people who could arrange the slips of paper themselves. This fact probably increases the variability of the protocols.

STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

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The purpose of this analysis is to reduce the data to a form in which the patterns of role behavior become apparent, and their similarities and differences can easily be compared. Since the sample was not chosen at random from the population, inferences drawn from it about the larger population are, statistically speaking, dangerous.

Two factors make the handling of the data troublesome: (1) the number of relatives contained in the particular protocols is different, ranging from seven to fourteen; and (2) protocols with the same number of relatives often contain different kinds of relatives. The ordinary, nonparametric methods of treating ranked data assume that each individual ranks the same set of objects. Another possible method of analysis involves the construction of preference matrices for all relatives in all sixteen behavioral categories. This idea was discarded because the size of the matrices, together with the variability and the smallness of the numbers in the cells, did not seem to promise sufficient returns for the work involved.

Consequently, the question of quantifying the data was studied. Because of the unequal number of relatives in the various protocols and because the relatives were often different in kind, some sort of metric seemed unavoidable. Consider a specific category of behavior and assume that the characteristic which determines a person's rank can be measured numerically and is distributed normally in the population. Let X equal the numerical value of the characteristic. Then X is a normally distributed random variable which, for convenience and with no loss of generality, we can assume has mean zero and variance one, that is, approximately 68 per cent of the population have values of X between -1 and +1. Thus, there are a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked positive degree leading to an almost certain rank of one in any comparison, and a few individuals who have the characteristic to a marked negative degree leading to an almost certain lowest rank.

Now suppose that you have a judge and you take a random sample of n individuals from the population and ask him to rank them. Further, suppose that you repeat this indefinitely with samples of n. Now consider

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relative in all sixteen categories. The mean was calculated as follows:

$$\bar{X} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} X_i}{N}.$$

The standard error of the mean was calculated by the formula

$$S_{\bar{X}}^2 = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^{N} (X_i - \bar{X})^2}{N - 1}.$$

The 95 per cent confidence limits were estimated by the formula

$$\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$$

(When x is distributed normally, the confidence coefficient corresponding to the interval $\bar{X} \pm 2S_{\bar{X}}$ is .954).

An inspection of the lengths of the confidence intervals revealed no striking differences among them. Comparisons of the end points of the confidence intervals showed the differences among the means of many relatives in each category of behavior to be significant because of the lack of overlap between the confidence intervals.

The male and female protocols were analyzed separately because it was assumed that roles are enacted somewhat differently toward men and women. That this assumption is correct is shown by the table on p. 395 (bottom). If the male and female protocols had been lumped, some of the differences in role behavior could have been obscured whenever the sex differences happenned to cancel each other. The fact that the male and female test protocols give slightly different results does not mean that we are dealing with two separate societies or that Washo society is stratified or segmented in any way. Since the Washo are one society and have essentially one kinship system, a significant distinction between two roles occurring among either men or women is regarded as a distinction obtaining for the whole society. Therefore, the following definition of role difference is used in this study: if the confidence intervals about the means of two roles fail to overlap in any category of behavior for either men or women, the roles are considered to differ significantly.

The results of the statistical analysis are given in Appendices I and II. Appendix III contains the graphs of the means of all the roles investigated. These graphs of means are called role profiles. Appendix IV presents the graphs of the sixteen categories with the kinship roles on the x axis.

ROLE BEHAVIOR

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One general observation may be made before examining Washo kinship role by role. This concerns the distinctiveness of almost all the roles. The Washo are among the bilateral tribes of the Great Basin, Plateau, and California which are generally thought to contain little significant kinship patterning apart from family relationships. Murdock has investigated this

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problem among the Tenino of central Oregon. He found a good deal of kinship patterning and concludes that there is considerable patterning of kinship behavior even in the simpler, sibless tribes (Murdock, 1949, pp. 111-112). The present study presents additional evidence in support of Murdock. The table on p. 395 (top) is a compilation of role comparisons indicating where the differences in the means are significant. This table shows Washo kinship behavior to be far from amorphous.

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The role data are summarized below. The letters in parentheses after the kin terms are the abbreviations used in the appendices. The order in which the roles are given here is the same order observed in all the appendices.

Father (F). This relative ranks high in dominance (Categories 1-4), fairly high in affiliation (Categories 5-6), rather neutral in submission (Categories 7-10), and generally low in hostility. There is some ambivalence in the role of father regarding hostility because he is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score in Category 14. In addition, women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure (Category 11). The only category where the role of father differs for men and women is Category 2 (to teach).

Father's brother (FB). This role differs considerably for men and women. He is a much more important relative for men than for women as indicated by his higher rating in all categories except the last two, which show rejection. The role differs significantly for men and women in Categories 2 (to teach) and 9 (to obey), and the difference comes very close to being significant in Category 1 (to order). The general role profile of father's brother for women is that of an unimportant relative with whom there is little interaction. The general role profile for men is roughly the same as that of father, the significant differences occurring in the first two categories.

Father's sister (FS). The role profile for father's sister is similar for both men and women. She is a rather cold and hostile figure; she ranks high only in hostility (Categories 11-13) and rejection (Categories 15 and 16). Although she is a disapproving relative, she possesses no disciplinary power over ego as shown by her negative score in Category 14. The role profile of father's sister is similar to that of mother's sister but ranks lower in most qualities except hostility and rejection. This is true for both men and women.

Mother (M). The role profile for mother is similar to that for father. She ranks high in dominance and affiliation, lower in submission, and low in hostility. Like father, she is a disciplinarian, as indicated by her fairly high score in Category 14. Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) shows a significant distinction between the male and female profiles, the women seeing their mothers as more suspicious. A similar distinction occurs for the father role, although the difference in role behavior is not significant. The mother is the most important and distinctive relative for a Washo. The table on p. 395 (top) gives 190 significant distinctions between mother and all other roles. This number is far more than the next closest relative, father, with 133.

Mother's brother (MB). This relative is neutral in dominance and affiliation, and low in submission, for both men and women. Mother's brother is a

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more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men (Categories 11, 12, 13, and 14). For the most part, mother's brother is a rather neutral figure showing few large positive or negative scores.

Mother's sister (MS). This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Mother's sister is neutral in affection for both males and females, ranks higher in submission for males, and fairly high in hostility towards both. Her rather high score in Category 13 for both men and women shows her to be a disapproving and critical relative.

Older brother (OB). The most distinctive feature of this role is its neutrality. Its scores in all categories are close to zero. This probably is due to older brother's ambiguous age position. He is older than ego but not a member of ego's parents' generation. Consequently, his role has attributes both of equality and of superiority. The result is a role lacking distinctive features.

Younger brother (YB). This is another role lacking distinctive features. The probable explanation is similar to that used for older brother: younger brother is ambivalent regarding age position, for he is younger than ego and yet a member of the same generation. The significant differences between older and younger brother occur in the first two categories. Older brother is a much more dominating figure than younger brother.

Older sister (OS). This role is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a mildly dominant and highly coöperative relative. For men, she is neutral in dominance, affiliation, and submission, but ranks high as a disapproving, critical, and suspicious relative. Significant differences in the roles occur in Categories 2 (to teach) and 6 (to cooperate.

Younger sister (YS). The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. It lacks distinctive features, seeming to fall between the roles of daughter and older sister. This is probably due to younger sister's position as a member of ego's generation who is younger than ego.

Male cousin (MaC) and Female cousin (FeC). These role profiles are based on a small number of protocols, since not many people use the cousin terms. Consequently, the profiles should be viewed with much less confidence than those of other relatives. The profiles indicate that cousins are unimportant relatives with whom there is little interaction. An apparent exception is the behavior of female cousins towards females in Category 13 (to disapprove).

Son (So). This relative ranks low in dominance and hostility and high in affection and submission. The profiles for men and women are similar.

Daughter (D). The role profiles for daughter closely resemble those of son; but there is more difference in the male and female profiles than there is for son. The difference is significant in Category 2 (to teach). Large differences also occur in Categories 6 (to coöperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect) with the profile for women scoring considerably higher.

Brother's child (BCh). This is a relative with whom there is little interaction. He ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility. The profiles

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for men and women are quite similar.

Sister's child (SCh). The role profiles of this relative are almost identical with those of brother's child. Sister's child ranks very low in dominance, low in affiliation, and low to neutral in submission and hostility. The role profiles for men and women are very similar.

A different perspective on Washo role behavior can be obtained from the graphs of the categories. They facilitate comparison of the sixteen roles within the behavioral categories.

Category 1 (to order). The most important relatives in this category are those who are older than ego. Father and mother attain the highest score for both males and females. Father's brother and father's sister for females and mother's brother for males are exceptions to the general rule that older relatives rank high in dominance.

Category 2 (to teach). As might be expected, relatives who are older than ego are ranked high. Older relatives who do not rank high are father's brother and father's sister for females and older sister for males.

Category 3 (to help). Mother and father attain high scores for both men and women. Father's brother and older brother are fairly high for men; older brother, mother's sister, and older sister attain positive scores for women.

Category 4 (to sympathize). Mother and father are the most sympathetic relatives. In addition, a man expects sympathy from his mother's sister and older brother, and a woman from her older brother, older sister, and younger brother.

Category 5 (to like). For women, the important relatives are mother and father. Older brother, older sister, son, and daughter also attain positive scores. All are members of the nuclear family. For males, affection is more widely diffused outside the nuclear family. However, men do not feel themselves as intensely liked as women: note the higher scores of father and mother for females.

Category 6 (to coöperate). There is considerable difference between men and women. The relatives who coöperate with men are men and those who coöperate with women are women. Note also the higher scores of the relatives who coöperate with women as opposed to those who coöperate with men.

Category 7 (to depend). This category of behavior is surprisingly undifferentiated for men. Mother is the only really dependent person. Even son and daughter rank low in dependence. Women see their children as highly dependent upon them.

Category 8 (to respect). One's children are the most respectful relatives. Mother also ranks high in this category. Women feel somewhat more respected than men, as indicated by the scores for daughter and mother.

Category 9 (to obey). The most obedient relatives are son, daughter, and the younger siblings, all of whom are younger than ego. A person has little authority over younger people if they are not members of his nuclear family, as indicated by the scores for brother's child and sister's child.

Category 10 (to want approval). For women, the only positive scores are achieved by members of the nuclear family. Men show a slight positive score for father's brother and mother's sister. As

7[see cat. 116, pp. 372 - 375 --Ed.]

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in Category 5 (to like), women confine their significant interactions to the family while men have more diffuse and less strongly structured relationships. This is made quite clear by the table of significant distinctions on p. 391 (right). Only two significant distinctions occur among the male role profiles; among the female role profiles, 31 significant distinctions occur.

Category 11 (to suspect wrongdoing). For men, the suspicious relatives are father's brother, father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Women have a greater number of suspicious relatives: father, father's sister, mother, mother's brother, and older siblings.

Category 12 (to nag). This is a relatively undifferentiated category. For men, older sister scores higher than all other relatives. Women seem to have no outstanding relatives in this category.

Category 13 (to disapprove). The nodal category for hostility shows a remarkable similarity between male and female role profiles. The only hostile relatives, and they are only mildly hostile, are father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Female cousin may be ignored because the cousin profiles are based on but a few protocols. Category 13 for men is similar to Category 11 for men. I can offer no explanation for the concentration of hostility in older female relatives.

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Category 14 (to punish). Older relatives are most prominent in this category. Father's sister is an exception for both men and women and father's brother for women. This category, together with Categories 1 and 2, shows that father's siblings lack dominance over women.

Category 15 (to refuse help). This category emphasizes the nuclear family relationships of father, mother, son, and daughter. They are the relatives with the lowest scores.

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Category 16 (to reject). This category illustrates even more clearly than Category 15 the closeness of a person to his father, mother, son, and daughter.

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Some interesting inferences can be drawn from this review of categories. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly emphasized, especially the father, mother, son, and daughter relationships. Second, neither patrilineal relatives nor matrilineal relatives receive greater emphasis; the two groups of relatives have equal importance. Third, there is an interesting difference between men and women. If Appendix D is examined, it will be seen that men have many more significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance (1-4 and 13-16) than in the categories testing submission. Women have a closer to equal number of significant distinctions among roles in the categories probing dominance as in the categories testing for submission. In other words, men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence and that Washo women may have made a more satisfactory adjustment to modern conditions than have the men.

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This inference receives support from my observations. Men seemed less inclined to put themselves in

1/2 [see cat. 116, p. 387, A -- Am.]

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a situation where their egos could be threatened. For example, they were more reluctant to be interviewed and to take the role profile test.

The apparent differences in the adjustment of Washo men and women resemble the different adjustments to modern conditions made by men and women among the Saulteaux and Ojibwa. Hallowell made a study of acculturation and personality changes among the Saulteaux and concluded that women are better adjusted than men because the male aspects of culture have changed more through acculturation (1942, p. 48). Caudill studied the psychological characteristics of acculturated Ojibwa and also concluded that women seem to make a more satisfactory adjustment to the conditions of modern life than do men (1949, p. 425). The Washo role data can be interpreted as supporting the psychological studies of Hallowell and Caudill.

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ROLE BEHAVIOR AND THE NEW TERMINOLOGICAL SYSTEM

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The data from the role profile test support the inferences presented at the beginning of this chapter. The table of significant distinctions in Appendix II (p. 395, top) presents the relevant data. As predicted: (1) there are no significant distinctions between either the roles of mother's brother and father's brother or the roles of brother's child and sister's child; and (2) the roles of cousins are well distinguished from the roles of siblings. Older brother and younger brother are both distinguished from male cousin seven times. Older sister is distinguished from female cousin nine times; younger sister is distinguished from female cousin three times. That cousins are well distinguished from siblings while mother's brother resembles father's brother and brother's child is similar to sister's child can be clearly seen from figures 2 to 9 on pp. 372-375.

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The inference that the roles associated with the stable parts of the kinship terminology all differ significantly from each other is supported reasonably well by the test data. However, there are five apparent exceptions: no significant distinctions exist between the roles of father and mother, son and daughter, younger brother and younger sister, mother's brother and older brother, and mother's brother and father's sister. The first three exceptions can be easily explained. These relatives are nuclear family members of opposite sex and the same generation. They do not differ in the qualities of their roles, but the sex distinction makes for significant differences in the content of the roles. However, the similarity in the qualities of the roles of father and mother and son and daughter is not ignored in the kinship terminology, for the Washo have two terms meaning "parent" and one meaning "child." In only two instances does role behavior fail to agree with terminological usage: mother's brother is not distinguished from either older brother or father's sister. Consequently, of the 120 possible comparisons among the roles of the three generations studied, 118 support the assumption of a close fit of role and terminological system.

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Since the terminological system is apparently changing in the face of a relatively stable social structure, at least some of the causes of this change lie outside social organization. What are the cultural causes which appear capable of modifying Washo role behavior so as to produce the emerging system of kinship terminology? In the case of the cousin terms, we must seek

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cultural causes which would reduce the importance of cousins as compared to siblings, thus setting the stage for the terminological distinction. This result would tend to follow the introduction of a money economy and the subsequent individualization of the society. As we have seen, cooperative activity has lessened among the Washo; and this presumably has meant that distant relatives are not as important as they once were. Consequently, the roles played by cousins have become progressively different from the roles of siblings, and this has been reflected in the kinship terminology. The

[Text continues top of P 391, B]

CONCLUSION

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This study has presented an analysis of changes in Washo culture and social organization. It has suggested that the changes in the Washo system of kinship terminology can be explained best by the hypothesis that cultural factors may affect kinship terminology directly instead of indirectly by first modifying elements of formal social structure, such as residence rules and kinds of kin groups. This hypothesis hinged on showing that role behavior is closely correlated with kinship terminology. This assumption was substantially verified by data derived from the role profile test; the Washo role behavior was shown to correlate closely with the new, emerging kinship system. Since changes in formal social structure could not adequately account for changes in the terminological system, it was concluded that cultural factors have directly affected role behavior, thereby causing terminological modification. Finally, some possible cultural factors were suggested to account for changes in role behavior.

[Text continues bottom of P. 391, B]

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merging of mother's brother and father's brother and of brother's child and sister's child probably is due to three major causes. The first is the individualization of the society, which reduces the importance of relatives not in the nuclear family; the second is the loss of sonsororal polygyny; and the third is the knowledge of the English kinship terminology, which may function as a kind of model for the new Washo kinship terminology. The cultural causes of the changes in Washo kinship terminology suggested here must be regarded only as hypotheses. Their verification requires comparative data.

CONCLUSION

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The role profile test provided much of the data upon which the foregoing demonstration has been based. It has shown itself to be a useful and sensitive instrument for the collection of role data. Its principal value is that it can be treated statistically, and this permits objective role comparisons within a society. Such comparisons can be made just as easily between societies, provided the same statistical analysis is used. The test has some limitations. First, it deals only with the qualities of roles and does not test for their content. Second, the categories may have to be modified from society to society, for there is no certainty that the categories used for the Washo would be satisfactory for other tribes. The test is not meant to replace observation and interviewing; but at the same time it reveals role patterning that would escape all but the most careful and prolonged field work. The role profile test seems to me a most promising technique for the study of role behavior.

A RECONSTRUCTION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION[1*]

by Stanley A. Freed

The reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social structure presented here is based upon the publications of earlier investigators and upon data that my wife and I collected in the course of about six months' field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956 and the winter of 1956-57. The major sources on aboriginal Washo social organization are: Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Siskin (1941). Our field data consist principally of interviews with 70 informants who ranged in age from 10 to over 80. Genealogical data, kinship terminology, census material, and brief life histories were collected from all informants. The testimony of our older informants regarding aboriginal conditions and the earlier published reports almost always agree, and thereby make possible a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social organization that is probably relatively sound. The changes in Washo social structure since aboriginal times will be mentioned here, but a discussion of the probable causes of these changes has been omitted because such an analysis has appeared in an earlier paper (Freed, 1960).

In addition to a description of kinship terminology, residence rules, marriage patterns and other customary categories of analysis of social organization, this paper will attempt to describe role behavior among kinsmen in aboriginal times. This description is based on data from role profile tests taken by 47 Washo in the winter of 1956-57, and therefore pertains to modern role behavior (Freed, 1960, 365-70). The degree to which these patterns of modern role behavior resemble those of aboriginal times cannot be determined with any certainty because the published sources contain virtually no information on role behavior; also, attempts to elicit statements of aboriginal role behavior from elderly informants were unproductive. However, it is possible to make a tentative estimate of the degree to which modern and aboriginal role behavior resemble each other on the basis of a general appraisal of Washo acculturation. The Washo are still a recognizable group; they speak their own language; and, in modified form, they practice a number of aboriginal culture patterns (Freed, 1960). For these reasons we can assume that role behavior among the modern Washo gives some indication of aboriginal role behavior.

Kinship Terminology

The kinship terminology of the aboriginal Washo may be established with relative confidence because the terminologies collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) not only agree closely with each other but also with

*Notes are at ends of papers.

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

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brief description of the behavior of relatives separated by two or three generations is included. This is based upon observations and a few rather general statements of informants.

The administration and analysis of the role profile tests and the characteristics of the group of people who took them are described in Freed (1960). The role profile test asks 16 questions probing various features of interpersonal behavior. The questionnaire is given below. All the questions are related to four general qualities of interpersonal interaction: dominance, submission, affiliation and hostility. The strongest and purest expressions of these qualities are in questions one (dominance), five (affiliation), nine (submission), and 13 (hostility). The questions between any two of these attempt to combine their qualities in varying degrees. For example, "to teach" (question two) combines dominance and affiliation; "to respect" (question eight) combines affiliation and submission; "to nag" (question 12) combines submission and hostility; and "to refuse help" (question 15) combines hostility and dominance. The data of the role profile test can be quantified, and this permits an objective description and comparison of roles. The quantitative treatment of roles and their similarities and differences is given in Freed (1960). This paper will describe roles only in qualitative terms.

Questionnaire of the Role Profile Test

(The words in parentheses were useful in improving the informants' understanding of the questions)

1. Which relative most often tries to tell you what to do? Which most often gives you orders (or bosses you)?

2. Which relative most often teaches you how to do something? Which one gives you advice or tells you his opinions?

3. Which relative is most likely to help you if you need it?

4. Which relative is most likely to feel bad and sympathize with you when something goes wrong?

5. Which relative is specially fond of you?

6. Which relative most often cooperates (works together) with you?

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7. Which relative depends on you most and most often asks your help?

8. Which relative respects you the most? Which one asks your opinions?

9. Which relative obeys (minds) you if you tell him or her to do something?

10. Which relative is most eager for your approval?

11. Which relative would be the most likely to say or think you did something wrong (or bad)?

12. Which relative nags you most?

13. Which relative disapproves of you and criticizes you most often?

14. Which relative punishes you or gets angry (or mad) if you don't mind or if you do something wrong (or bad)?

15. Which relative is most likely to refuse you help even if you need it pretty badly?

16. Which relative would be most likely not to want to have anything at all to do with you?

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Father. This is a dominant relative. He rates fairly high in affiliation, rather neutral in submission, and generally low in hostility. Despite his low score in hostility, the father is a disciplinarian for both men and women as shown by his high score on question 14 (to punish). Women see him as a mildly suspicious and disapproving figure as shown by a fairly high score on question 11. The role of father differs considerably for men and women in teaching (question 2). A father instructs his sons much more than his daughters.

Father's brother. This role differs markedly for men and women. Father's brother is a much more important relative for men than for women as shown by his higher scores when rated by men on all questions except the last two, which show rejection. The role of father's brother for men is similar to that of father except that father scores significantly higher on the first two questions (to order and to teach). For women, father's brother is an unimportant relative, with low scores on all questions, except the last two.

Father's sister. She is a rather cold and hostile relative for both men and women. She scores high only on hostility (questions 11 to 13) and

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rejection (questions 15 and 16). She possesses no disciplinary power either for men or women as shown by her low score on question 14 (to punish).

Mother. The mother's role is similar to the father's. She scores high in dominance and affiliation. Her score in submission is higher than father's. She scores low in hostility, but, like father, she is a disciplinarian as indicated by her fairly high score on question 14 (to punish). There is no contradiction between a high score in dominance and also a rather high score in submission. This means only that when the mother becomes old she sometimes may be dependent upon her children. Women see their mothers as much more suspicious than do men, as indicated by the mother's significantly higher score on question 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) when rated by women.

Mother's brother. His scores are neutral in dominance and affiliation and low in submission. He is a more suspicious and hostile figure for women than for men, as shown by his high score on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing) and 15 (to refuse help) when rated by women. For men, he is an unimportant relative with low or neutral scores on all questions except the last, which shows rejection.

Mother's sister. This relative is a much more dominating figure for women than for men. She is neutral in affiliation for both men and women, scores higher in submission for males, and scores rather high in hostility for both. Noteworthy features of her role are the high score on question 2 (to teach) for women and the rather high score for both men and women on question 13 (to disapprove).

Older brother. The most noteworthy feature of this role is its neutrality. Older brother's scores are neither very high nor very low on any question. His role is very similar for both men and women. The lack of distinctiveness in the role of older brother is probably due to his position as a relative older than ego yet of the same generation. This gives the role of elder brother elements of both superiority and equality which tend to neutralize each other.

Younger brother. The role of younger brother also lacks distinctive features; the reason is probably the same as in the case of older brother: younger brother is younger than ego, but a member of his generation. The roles of older and younger brother differ considerably in dominance; older brother is much more dominating than younger. The role of younger brother is very similar for men and women.

Older sister. The role of older sister is quite different for men and women. For women, she is a dominating, very cooperative, and rather critical relative as shown by her high scores on questions 1 (to order), 2 (to

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teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

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Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

[128]

The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

125 questions as has been done above. The former kind of analysis facilitates
157 comparisons of all roles on any question. This comparison is given in Freed
554 (1960, 369-70) and reveals several interesting features of Washo social organ-
602 ization. First, the importance of the nuclear family is clearly shown, espe-
[128] cially the father, mother, son and daughter relationships. Second, men co-
[594] operate with men and women with women. Third, although authority in the
[476] society rests in the older people, father's siblings have little authority over brother's daughters and mother's brother has little over sister's son. Fourth, the principal hostile relatives for both men and women are older women: father's sister, mother's sister, and older sister. Fifth, both patrilineal and matrilineal relatives seem to have equal importance in Washo social organization.

121 This paper has presented a reconstruction of aboriginal Washo social
128 structure and has noted the changes that have taken place since pre-white times. The descriptions of role behavior are based upon data from the modern Washo, but are thought to give some suggestion of aboriginal Washo role behavior because the Washo have retained their group identity and practice, in modified form, a number of aboriginal culture patterns.

Notes

122 1. The field work upon which this paper is based was supported by
104 a grant from the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, to whom my thanks are due. Unless noted otherwise, Washo words are written in a phonemic system devised for Washo by William H. Jacobsen, Jr., who did his work under the Survey of California Indian Languages, Department of Linguistics, University of California, Berkeley.

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For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

[593] [302]

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

881 778 (824)

The staff (bá·du? ʔúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

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During the woman's dance (ʔuwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

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One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

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with them. Nonetheless, 30 informants are averse to peyotism on grounds that Ben is "robbing the Indians."

A significant economic argument against peyotism is neglect of farms and cattle and lost employment because of excessive devotion to religion. In the first months of Ben's proselyting, from two to four meetings were often held on as many consecutive nights and fanaticism kept some away from their responsibilities.

Members say that shamans and gambling-house proprietors probably dislike the cult because it takes away some of their clientele.[4] Two who temporarily joined the peyote religion were known to be hypochondriacs, one a steady customer of shamans, the other a frequent inmate of the hospital. Gamblers would be expected to resist a religion which held all-night meetings on Saturday nights. Moreover, it is suggested that bootleggers instigated some antagonism.

Kinship, friendship, and the satisfaction derived from a sociable in-group were also important factors contributing to the spread and growth of peyotism.[5] Just as real or assumed blood relationship and friendship facilitated Ben's introduction of the cult, family ties were important in increasing and holding members. An examination of the list in Appendix IV shows that most active peyotists have kinfolk in the cult. However, this list also shows enough close relatives of members to be apostates or actively opposed to void any generalization that kinship wholly determines participation. Although only a few designate the pleasure of singing and meeting together as a reason for attendance, the enthusiastic preparation of gourd rattles, fans, etc., and the almost nightly singing practices indicate that the desire for social contact helps to convert and hold the Indians to peyotism.[6]

The basis for arguments of both peyotists and nonpeyotists is unverified opinion, wishful thinking, conscious or unconscious distortion of facts. Because of one or two apparently miraculous recoveries members attribute to peyote the power to cure all illness. Desiring to get well or to have their friends or families healed, they are prepared to accept excuses for failures. Opponents, on the other hand, blame peyote for the few deaths which followed attendance at rituals, maintaining peyote is a poison and that all users meet untimely ends. Opponents insist that peyotism is not a religion at all, but a congregation of narcotic addicts disguising their true purpose in order to avoid legal interference. To the members, however, peyotism is a religion, and it is extremely difficult, when listening to their prayers, to doubt their complete sincerity. So the argument swings on each point. Each side has as much truth as the other. Through associations and chance, these people choose what to believe.

DISCUSSION OF DIFFUSION

Whenever the diffusion of native religions has been studied, two theories, singly or combined, have been used to explain the phenomenon. The first, the cultural compatibility theory, postulates that new institutions will be acceptable to a people

[4] Parsons' account (pp. 67–68, 118–119) of opposition to peyote at Taos shows similar motivation: "The practice of . . . the outstanding shaman of the town is interfered with by peyote doctoring. I surmise that it was not until Porfirio realized the danger of this competition that the active opposition to the cult developed."

[5] Kinship and friendship facilitated the diffusion of the 1870 Ghost Dance, as well as the peyote cult. Du Bois reports (p. 135) intertribal marriages precipitated the transmission of the 1870 Dance from Shasta to Karok, Yurok to Tolowa to Tututni. Friendship aided a California Shasta proselyting related Shasta and other tribes on the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations in Oregon. La Barre reports (pp. 112, 116) that "marital ties have often . . . been the source of the spread of peyote"; the first Comanche user learned of peyote when he married an Apache woman; Rave's first converts were his Winnebago relatives; a Modoc in Oklahoma became a peyotist through marriage to a Quapaw.

[6] La Barre states (p. 59) that "the primary reason for Northern Cheyenne meetings is social."

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APPENDIX IV. PEYOTISTS AND THEIR RELATIVES

The following is a list of all active peyotists in the Washo-Paiute cult in November, 1938, with the status of as many kin as possible entered. No claim to completeness is made, since half-brothers and sisters and cousins are seldom mentioned by Indians. Peyotists always mentioned also their kin who were members, but frequently ignored their nonpeyotist relatives. Complete genealogies of all Washo and Northern Paiute Indians in this area, going back three generations, would be required for completeness, and such a task would require several months.

In the list, kinship abbreviations are: h, husband; w, wife; si, sister; b, brother; s, son; d, daughter; f, father; m, mother; c, cousin; g (combined with above), grandparents or grandchildren; st (combined with the above), step-parents or stepchildren; l (combined with above), in-law; ne, niece; nph, nephew; a, aunt; u, uncle; figures indicate number in category. Other abbreviations are: F, female; M, male; S, Shoshone; P, Paiute; W, Washo; M, Miwuk; 1 (under column "Blood"), full-blood.

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Fallon Reservation								
1. Byers, L.	F	26	S	1	c, h, ss, b			
2. Burchim, C.	M	40	S	1	w, std, c			
3. Burchim, I.	F	37	P	1	h, d	stf	2 u, 2 b	
4. Jack, M.	F	17	P	1	m, stf			
5. Dyer, F.	M	45	S	1	w, 2 d, c		s	
6. Dyer, H.	F	43	S	1	h, 2 d		s s	
7. Dyer, D.	F	23	S	1	m, f, ss		h	
8. Dyer, A.	F	21	S	1	m, f, ss			
Fallon Town								
9. Jack, H.	M	41	P (S)	1	c	b	w	f
10. Street, J.	M	46	S	1	w, ss, bl			
11. Street, M.	F	32	S	1	c, h, ss, bl			
Gardnerville								
12. Dressler, H.	M	69	W	1	nph, s, 2 d, 2 s, bl	nph	b, gs	
13. Dressler, G.	M	36	W	1	c, f, 3 ss, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
14. Pete, Irene	F	28	W	1	bl, c, f, 2 ss, b, h	c, s	u, nph	
15. Dressler, R.	F	33	W	1	c, f, 2 ss, b, 2 bl	c, s	u, nph	
16. James, M.	F	58	W	¾	2 s, d, 2 gd		dl, h, 2 s	sl, dl, gd, d
17. James, D.	M	35	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
18. James R.	M	29	W	¾	m, ss, b, 2 nc		ssl, f, 2 b	bl, ssl, nc, ss
19. Lancaster, M.	F	66	W	1	nph		b	
20. Miller, B.	M	21	W	½	fl, w, ml			
21. Miller, G.	F	23	P	1	h, m, f			

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Douglas County								
22. Arnot, E.	M	56	W	1	w, s			
23. Arnot, H.	F	46	W	1	h, s			
24. Arnot, S.	M	20	W	1	f, m			
25. Pete, H.	M		W	1	w, ml			
26. Pete, W. J.	F	30	W	1	h, m			
27. Simpson, H.	F	59	W	1	d, sl			
28. Dick, S.	M	43	W	1	3 std, sts, w, m, c, u			
29. Dick, I. M.	F	47	P	1	3 d, bl, h, m, ml, s			
30. Dick, S.	F	64	W	1	s, dl, b, nph			
31. Dick, S. G.	M	69	W	1	ss, nph			
32. Mike, L.	F	34	W	1	2 nph			
33. Peters, M.	M	21	W	1	b, s			
34. Peters, E.	M	27	W	1	b, s			
35. Lancaster, Ben	M	60	W	½	bl, w, 2 s, c			
Mason Valley								
36. Keno, James	M	62	P	1	w, s, dl			
37. Keno, M.	F	47	P	1	h, s, dl, c			
38. Keno, W.	M	28	P	1	m, f, w, u			
39. Keno, N.	F	18	P	1	h, ml, fl			
Smith Valley								
40. Cornbread, V.	M	36	W	1	2 bl, w, fl, 2 asl			
41. Cornbread, R.	F	38	W	1	h, f, bl, 2 ss, b			
42. Milton, J.	M	53	P	1	w, 2 d, 2 sl			
43. Milton, M.	F	55	P	1	c, h, 2 d, 2 sl			
44. Sam, R.	M	36	P	1	sl, bl, w, ml, fl			
45. Sam, M.	F	32	P	1	h, m, f, s, bl			
46. Wilson, A.	F	58	P	1				

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(*Continued on next page*)

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ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Continued*)

Name	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Mono County								
47. Sam, F.	M	46	P	1	w, s, d			nph
48. Sam, B.	F	35	P	1	h, s, d			
49. Sam, E.	F	17	P	1	m, f, b			
50. Sam, J.	M	15	P	1	m, f, s			
51. Tom, H.	M	41	P	1	bl, m, w, b, 2 s			s, bl
52. Tom, C.	F	31	P	1	2 bl, h, ml			
53. Williams, V.	F	35	P	1	s			h
54. Williams, C.	M	16	P	1	m			f
55. Charley, T.	F	67	P	1	d			2 nph
56. Charley, N.	F	24	P	1	m			b, c
57. Gregory, N.	F	59	P	1				
58. Harrison, J.	F	75	P	1				
59. Lundy, S.	M	43	M	1	f, b, w			
60. Lundy, Sally	F	40	P	1	h			
61. Jack, J.	M	43	P	1	w			
62. Jack, E.	F	30	P	1	h			
63. Johnson, R.	F	70	P	1				
64. McLaughlin, A.	F	82	P	1				nph
65. Lundy, John	M	17	P-(M)	1	f, m			w, fl
66. Dick, E.	M	39	(M)-P	1			d	ss, sl
67. Charles, D.	M	40	P	1	b			
68. Lundy, B.	M	29	M	1	b, ssl, f			
69. Lundy, J.	M	67	M	1	2 s, dl			
70. Tom, L.	F	66	P	1	2 sl, 2 s, 2 d, 3 gd			2 gs, gd, d, sl
71. Tom, Lee	M	45	P	1	m, b, 2 ss, 2 bl			bl, ss, c, nph
72. Harrison, L.	F	23	P	1	m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
73. Harrison, J.	F	21	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
74. Harrison, A.	F	17	P	1	2 u, 2 a, m, gm, stf, 2 ss			u, a, 3 c
75. Cornbread, H.	F	22	P-(W)	1	2 ss	m		ss, gf

Name*	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
76. Dick, Sadie	F	32	P	1	ml, 2 sal, 2 bl	3 bl, h, 2 sal		
77. Dick, Levi	M	44	P-(W)	1	w, ss, b, ml, m	3 b, 2 ss		
78. Dick, L.	F	44	W	1	bl, 2 sal, h, m, ml	3 bl, 2 sl		
79. Higgins, J.	F	65	W	1	d, sl			
80. Dick, M.	F	66	P	1	2 s, 2 dl	3 s, 2 d		
81. Dick, S.	N	41	P-(W)	1	ml, w, m, b, 2 sal	3 b, 2 ss		
82. Dick, E.	F	23	P	1	2 sal, h, m, bl	2 sal, 3 bl		
83. Pete, L.	M	73	W	1	w, s, d		s	
84. Pete, J.	F	61	W	1	h, s, d		s s	
85. Pete, Jarvis	M	33	W	1	m, f, ss		b	
86. Walker, C.	M	59	W	1	f, nph			sl, 2 b, 2 sal
87. Walker, A.	F	52	W	1	f, nph			2 bl, 2 sal
88. Walker, R.	M	21	W	1	u, s			f, stm, u, s
Nixon								
89. Frazier, E.	M	58	P	1	w			s
90. Frazier, M.	F	60	P	1	h			s s
91. Green, J.	M	63	P	1				d
92. Jim, W.	M	46	P	1				
93. Mason, B.	F	59	P	1	3 s, ss, dl			
94. Sam, S.	M	26	P	1	s, 3 b, m, nph			
95. Sam, A.	M	24	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
96. Sam, R.	M	21	P	1	s, m, 3 b, nph			
97. Sam, H.	M	34	P	1	m, w, 3 b, s			
98. Sam, L.	F	25	P	1	3 bl, ml, h			
99. Sam, M.	F	67	P	1	s, 4 nph, dl			
100. Sam, W.	M	47	P	1	m, w, 4 c			
101. Sam, I.	F	41	P	1	h, ml			

* Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

(*Concluded on next page*)

N
W
171
662
785*

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
N
W
171
● 602
4795

ACTIVE PEYOTISTS IN THE WASHO-PAIUTE CULT—(*Concluded*)

Name[a]	Peyotists				Relatives			
	Sex	Age	Tribe	Blood	Active peyotists	Inactive peyotists	Nonpeyotists	
							Unconcerned	Militantly opposed
Woodfords								
102. Fillmore, D.	F		W		b, m, gm, 2 u, f	ss	gf, 2u	h, bl, 2 a, ss
103. Cornbread, D.	M		W		ml, a, w, 2 bl, s	d	2 bl, fl	2 sl, d, 2 ssl
104. Cornbread, E.	F		W		m, 2 b, d, s	d	f, 2 b	bl, sl, ss, d
105. Cornbread, G.	M		W		m, f, gm, ss, 2 u	ss	gf, 2 u	bl, ss
106. Barton, J.	M		W					
107. Miller, L.	M		W		a			
Bishop								
108. Tom, Soda	M		P		w, sd, 2 nph			s, gs
109, Tom, Mrs. S.	F		P		h, d, 2 nph			
110. Charles, J.	M		P		b, u, s, c			
111. Moose, R.	F		P		2 c, m, sf			

[a] Indention of names in this column indicates relationship or residence with the preceding nonindented name.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

[526] [302] [611] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɬɬe'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pa"ulɬt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬɬɬt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. [526] However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] [221] [526] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬɬɬt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pa"ulɬt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ts'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 [603] [846] A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

157
125
602
554

teach), 6 (to cooperate), and 13 (to disapprove). For men, older sister is rather neutral regarding affiliation; she scores somewhat higher on both submission and dominance; and she is a very critical relative, as shown by her high scores on questions 11 (to suspect wrongdoing), 12 (to nag), 13 (to disapprove), 15 (to refuse help), and 16 (to reject).

Younger sister. The role of younger sister is quite similar to that of younger brother. She rates low or neutral in dominance, affiliation and hostility. Her rather high score on question 9 when rated by males shows that she obeys her older brother reasonably well.

Son. Son scores low on dominance and hostility and high on affiliation and submission when rated by men. The role of son is generally the same for women informants, except that son is a somewhat more hostile relative, as shown by his higher scores on questions 12 to 14, when rated by women.

Daughter. For men, daughter scores very low in dominance, neutral in affiliation, and very low in hostility. Her only noticeably high score, when rated by men, is on question 9 (to obey). For women, daughter scores low in dominance, but not nearly as low as she scores for men. Daughter scores higher in affiliation for women than for men, as shown by her higher scores on questions 6 (to cooperate), 7 (to depend), and 8 (to respect). Daughter also scores noticeably higher on question 12 (to nag) for women than for men.

Brother's child. This is a relative with whom there is little interaction either by men or women. Scores are low for almost all questions. Brother's child's highest score is on question 9 (to obey) for men. He ranks very low in dominance, a bit higher in affection, low to neutral in submission, and low in hostility for both men and women.

Sister's child. The role of this relative is very similar to that of brother's child. Her scores are low on all questions. She is a slightly more hostile figure toward men than is brother's child.

[603]
[586]

Relatives separated by two or three generations. The outstanding characteristics of behavior between such relatives are affection and the rendering of assistance. We noticed on many occasions that young children take care of their grandparents, especially if the old people are partially incapacitated. Old people are very fond of children. When young married people separate, grandparents sometimes take and rear the children.

[128]

The data from the role profile tests can be organized by question as well as by role. That is, the behavior of all relatives on any one question can be considered together rather than the behavior of any one relative on all

846
527
[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîbek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

[751] [531] The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maŋyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

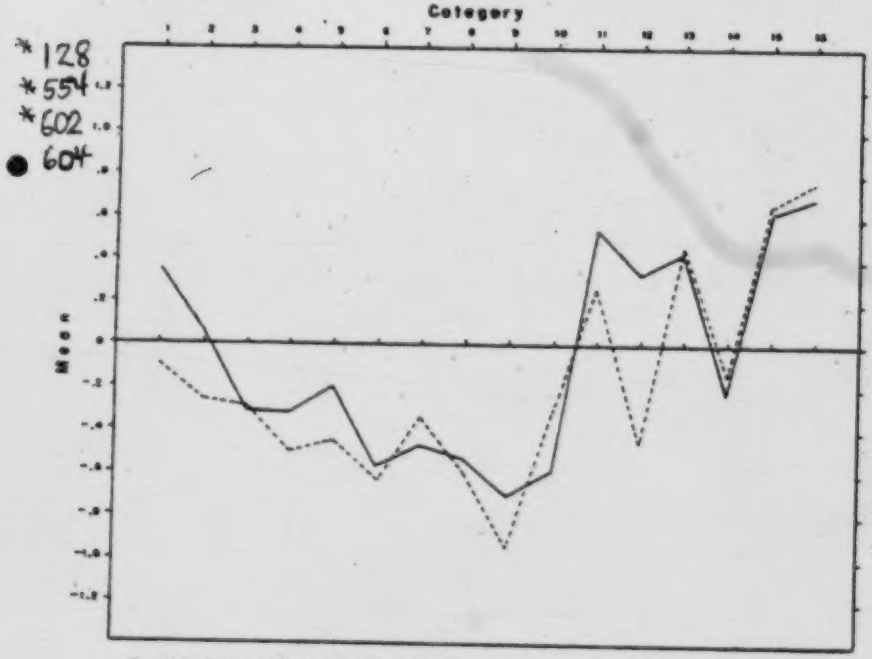
843
[754] If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act. One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

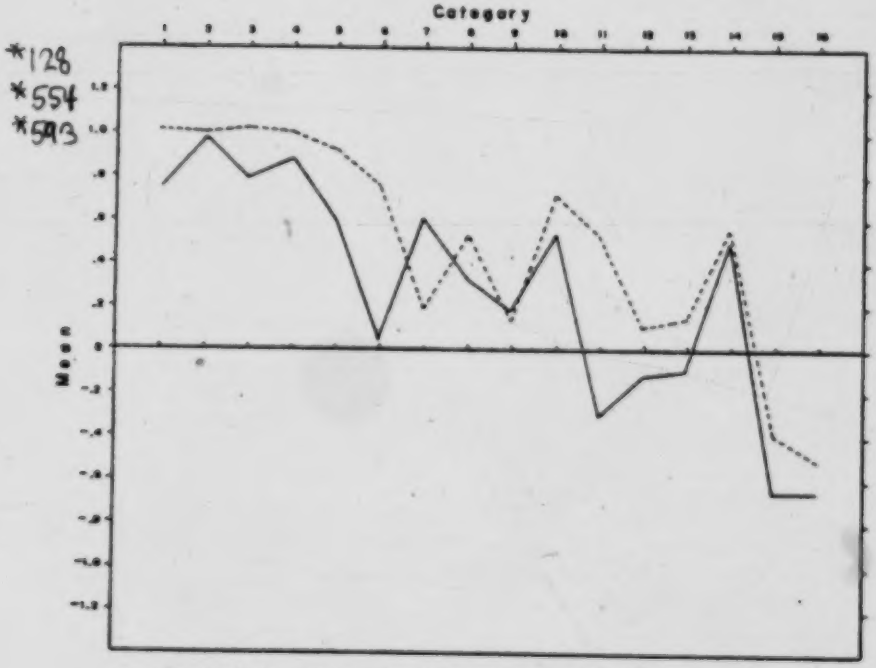
5 A Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 398]



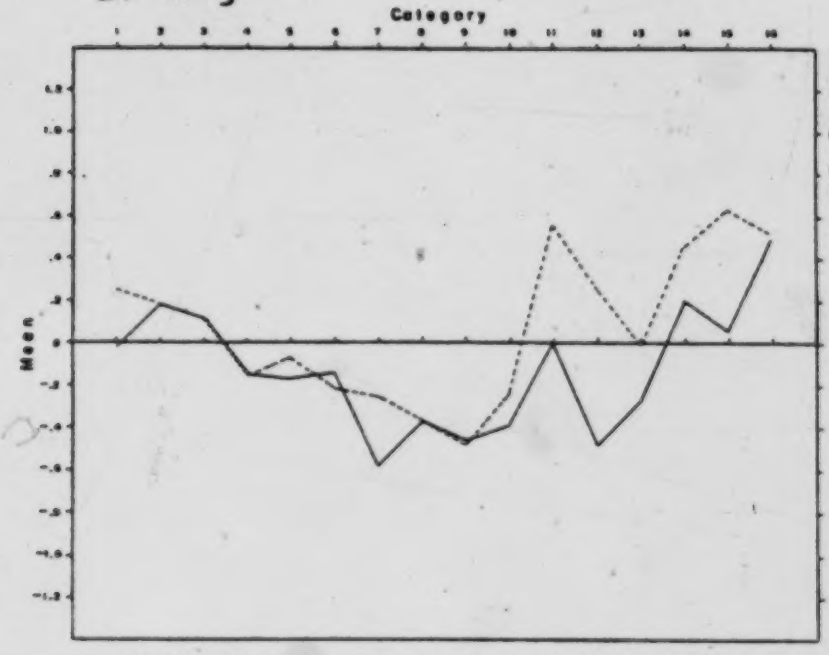
Graph 3. Role profile of father's sister for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



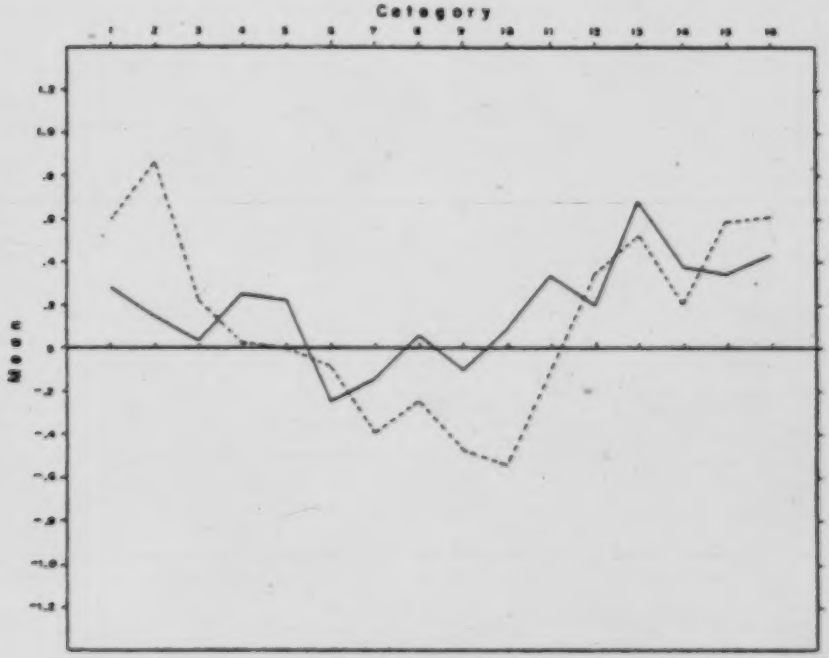
Graph 4. Role profile of mother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 399]



Graph 5. Role profile of mother's brother for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

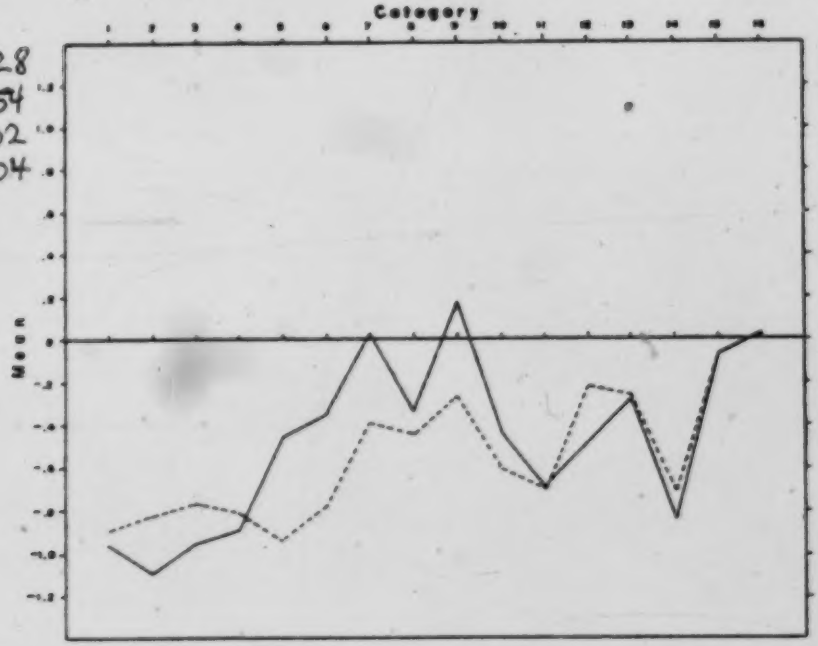


Graph 6. Role profile of mother's sister for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

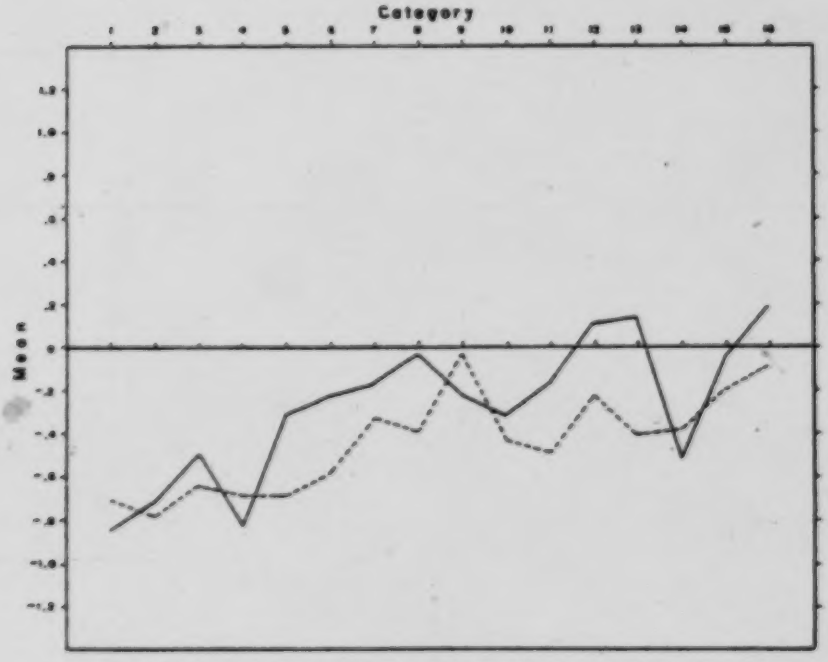
7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 404]

*128
*554
*602
● 604



Graph 15. Role profile of brother's child for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 16. Role profile of sister's child for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

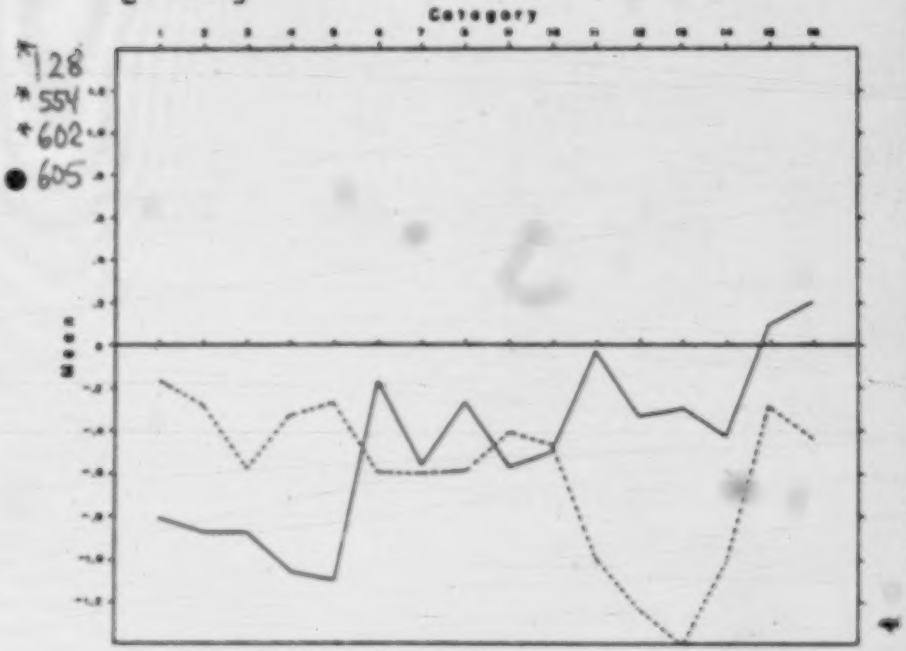
PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ew'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ew'we and

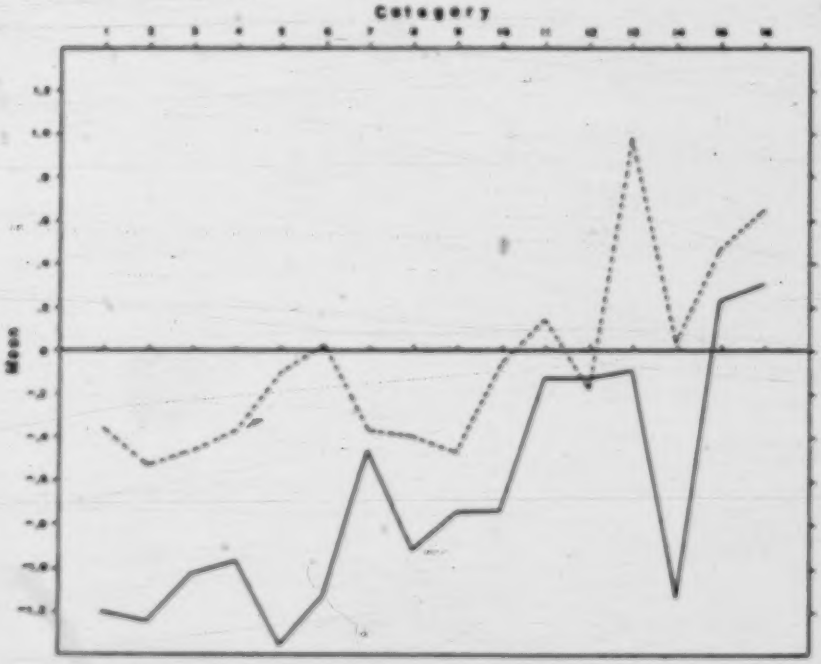
[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

7: Freed E-5 (1952-1957) 1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P 402]



Graph 11. Role profile of male cousin for males (solid line) and females (broken line).



Graph 12. Role profile of female cousin for males (solid line) and females (broken line).

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Ka	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Kj	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-

Joking Relations

2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-

Adoption

2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	±	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[p. 405]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 587

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

[P.372, B]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled ● [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes: thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [754] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Wood- [344] fords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley: attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

Washo NT20 ●
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ys	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Td	Ki	AE	
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	NWA 591
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2040. Variable	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	NWA 684
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	586
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	548
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	NWA 836
KINSHIP RELATIONS															
Avoidances															
2052. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	606
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	N
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 602
2061. Chaste avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
Joking Relations															
2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA 605
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	607 ●
Adoption															
2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA 597
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES															
2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA 838
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA [912]
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	N
2108. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	[787]
2110. Fire test in youth	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

[p. 405]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tc.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ei (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

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178
[578]

surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

KINSHIP GROUPS

61 ●

The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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596
[595]

616

The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *pé·wlelel t'áyadi?*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or *dí·pek gumí·nu*, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, *palaá·si* (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called *tá·plelel t'áyadi?*, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called *sawí·saq gumí·nu*, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called *dayaí·silgá·š t'áyadi?* (also *dewí·silgá·š t'áyadi?*), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

[178]

A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

621

Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
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Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɬɬe'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬelelt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe"ulelt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬel, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ts'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776. Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[795] [756] [787]

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his *mentor*,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

[611]

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[1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada.

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding.

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1]

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance

[P.355, A]

II. WASHO SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

A number of changes have taken place in Washo social organization since the end of the aboriginal period: the form of marriage has changed from sororeal polygyny to monogamy; the system of kinship terminology is apparently changing, as indicated by the existence of a set of alternate kinship terms; the sororate and levirate have been abandoned; and a weak system of agamous moieties has been lost. Other elements of social organization appear to have been fairly stable, e.g., rule of residence, patterns of descent and inheritance, and form of the family.

The analysis of Washo social organization given in this chapter is based on the investigations of Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), Kroeber (1907; 1917), Lowie (1939), and Rakin (MS), and upon the following kinds of data which I gathered in the field. First, the most reliable elderly informants were intensively interviewed about all aspects of social organization both past and present. Second, kinship schedules were obtained from seventy informants ranging in age from ten to over eighty. In addition, brief life histories and census data were collected in the course of the genealogical interviews. The life histories provided information on forms of marriage. Residence rules were determined both from the census material and from the life histories, since both kinds of data are necessary to establish residence rules adequately (Fortes, 1949; Goodenough, 1956; Murdock, 1955). Finally, sociometric data using family visiting patterns as the criterion were collected with the thought that, if any incipient unilineal kinship groups were present, they might be discoverable from the pattern of interfamily visiting.

The methods used to determine change in social organization were the same as those used by Bruner (1955), Eggan (1937), Gough (1952), Nett (1952), Schmitt and Schmitt (n.d.), and Spoehr (1947). The writings of earlier investigators and interviews with older informants supplied information on changes in residence rules, kinds of kinship groups, and forms of marriage. Changes in the system of kinship terminology were determined by comparing the variant usages contained in the large sample of modern kinship schedules with what was thought to be the aboriginal Washo kinship terminology. For the Washo, the aboriginal terminology may be established with relative confidence because the early kinship schedules collected by Kroeber (1907; 1917) and Lowie (1939) agree closely with each other and with the terminological system used by the majority of modern Washo.

Terminological change has a restricted meaning here. It refers only to changes which result in a new type of terminological system. Since the widely used classifications of kinship systems are based on the consanguine relatives of ego's generation and the first ascending and first descending generations (Spier, 1925; Lowie, 1928; Murdock, 1949), a change in the nomenclature of cousins or aunts and uncles is significant, whereas change in terms for grandparents' siblings or affinal relatives is not significant. The genealogical interviews conducted in this research dealt primarily with relatives critical in defining the type of kinship terminology.

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple.' Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 8) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the oldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbĕ́yū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbĕ́yū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbĕ́yū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

[P. 362, A]

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the generation type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. Curing ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

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[P.362, B]

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations. In talking with the Washo about relatives, I get no particular feeling of a group of kinfolk larger than the nuclear family. Informants will mention this relative or that one as being particularly close, but make no mention of a group of kin standing up for them against another kin group or being obligated to aid them. The modern Washo are best regarded as lacking kindreds. The earliest evidence regarding Washo social organization is Barrett's statement that "the social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit" (1917, p. 8). This is certainly true today and there is no evidence that the situation has changed since the end of the aboriginal period. [178]

MARRIAGE

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Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that polygyny was common and by no means exceptional. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says:

> In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

Lowie reports that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed. Lowie's data show a preference for the sororal form. He reports an incident in which a rancher asked a Washo why he did not have two wives. The Indian replied, "My wife has not got a sister" (Lowie, 1939, p. 309). The same preference for sororal polygyny is reported by my informants. The reason given is that strange women fight. Murdock classifies polygynous societies which are not exclusively sororal as nonsororal (1949, p. 140). I have followed his system and therefore classify aboriginal Washo marriage as nonsororal polygyny. The modern Washo have abandoned polygyny because it is forbidden by law. [178]

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Both the sororate and the levirate were formerly practiced to some degree. Lowie says that the levirate and sororate were correct but not compulsory (1939, p. 310). Curtis declares that a widow was bound to marry her husband's brother if he desired her (1926, p. 97). My informants generally agree with Lowie. The sororate and levirate are no longer followed. [178]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

GOVERNMENT—PROPERTY

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ˌkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not
[177] smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba''kumta'liˌe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa''ei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Patrilineal Groups

[526] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other,
[302] the p'alaa"ci and the t'aŋlélé'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack
[611] pɛ"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aŋldldlt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous:
[526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped
[221] in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within
[526] this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aŋldldlt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pɛ"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the
[177] matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ŋld, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name
[184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

844 A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say
[603] the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until
[846] the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wɛ̨lyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɛ̨k) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɛ̨l tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɛ̨l tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

T:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20
[P.355, A]

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surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

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KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called *pémlelel táyadi?*, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or dípek gumtánu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, palaá·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called táqlelel táyadi?, which can be tranalated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawásaq gumtánu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayatsilgá·š táyadi? (also dewtsilgá·š táyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[P. 364, A] In

summary, the standard Washo kinship terminology may be thought of as a compromise between a generation type and bifurcate collateral type, as might be expected from the divergent influences arising from the social structure. 601 178

The new Washo terminological system is lineal in ego's generation and the first descending generation. In the parental generation, the uncle terms are lineal but the terms for aunts remain bifurcate collateral. Can the changes in social structure, namely, the demise of the moiety system, the loss of the sororate and levirate, and the shift from nonsororal polygyny to monogamy adequately account for the terminological changes?

The first two changes in social structure appear to have no connection with the terminological changes. Exogamous moieties tend to be correlated with the bifurcate merging type of terminology; but nonexogamous moities do not have this effect, for they produce no regular alignments of kinsmen. Murdock classes societies with nonexogamous, unilineal kinship groups as bilateral (1949, pp. 161-162). The Washo moiety system was agamous and therefore exerted no noticeable influence on the terminological system. Thus its loss is probably not significant with regard to the changes that have taken place in the kinship terminology. If the sororate and levirate have an influence on kinship terminology, it is presumably toward the bifurcate merging type (Sapir, 1916). Since Washo standard terminology is not bifurcate merging, the sororate and levirate were never reflected in the terminology, and their lapsing has no apparent connection with the changes in the system of kinship terminology. [616] [616] [587]

The loss of nonsororal polygyny has been the only significant change with regard to the changes in the kinship terminology. Nonsororal polygyny is associated with kinship terminology of the bifurcate collateral type. Its loss therefore should result in some modification in the first ascending and first descending generations. In part, this has happened; bifurcate collateral terminology is disappearing for the uncle terms and in the first descending generation. However, the aunt terms have not yet merged. The emerging terminological system in ego's generation cannot be explained by the change in marriage arrangements, for the standard terms in ego's generation are not bifurcate collateral and therefore never reflected nonsororal polygyny. At best, the disappearance of nonsororal polygyny appears to be a factor in roughly one-half of the changes in the Washo terminological system. It helps explain the new terms for uncles and for nephews and nieces. It does not explain why the terms in ego's generation are changing or why the terms for mother's sister and father's sister remain distinct.

Although changes in marriage patterns probably help to undermine the bifurcate collateral terms, they do not explain why the lineal type of terminology is being adopted instead of the generation type. The only elements of social structure which Murdock gives as tending to be associated with the lineal type of kinship terminology are neolocal residence and the isolated nuclear family (Murdock, 1949, pp. 152, 157). The Washo lack these. Modern Washo social structure is more in accord with a generation type of terminology, for Washo residence is bilocal. Therefore, while changes in Washo social structure may set the stage for some of the terminological changes, they do not account for the specific form taken by the terminological modifications. In short, Murdock's theory does not provide a fully ade- 601 114 178 [585]

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

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756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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(787) One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts
(782) without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
(535)

222 Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
824 The pinenut dance (gumsalʔal) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days
(791) remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot
(262) every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
(211) large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer
(624) hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
(515) races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football,
(525) a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny.
(616) Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race. 526 527

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing. 526 527 616 [754] [302]

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game. 526 527

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser. 524 527

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket. [887] [1147]

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of
174 the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

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101 Of the two environments of the Washo, that of the arid Great
174 Basin rather predominated, which fact, combined with the facility
177 of communication and the consequently more frequent association of the Washo with their eastern neighbors than with those to the west, produced a culture in which Great Basin features are somewhat in the ascendancy. However, there are many features of the Washo culture which are very similar to those of the Miwok and Maidu of the California area.

[171]

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION.

177 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dis-
182 possession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon
[594] the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

[619]

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (tang¢l¢ltl) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢ltl).

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1. See map Plate I.
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (wɬimɬlti, pauwalu, and hangalɬlti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (dɬtumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

[P.350, B]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

passing just west of Virginia City; then north to a point a few miles east of Reno, and from there northwest to Honey Lake. The western boundary followed the crest of the Sierra Nevada. Lake Tahoe and the eastern half of Sierra Valley were in Washo territory, as were the modern towns of Woodfords, Truckee, and Loyalton, California; and Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada (Barrett, 1917, pp. 5-7; Curtis, 1926, pp. 87, 89; Kroeber, 1925, pp. 569-570; Lowie, 1939, p. 301; Merriam, MS; Siskin, 1938, pp. 626-627; Stewart, 1944, p. 66).

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POPULATION

Estimates of the aboriginal population vary considerably. Kroeber (1925, p. 570) gives the total in pre-white times at possibly 1,500. Mooney estimates 1,000 Washo in 1845, the date he considers to mark the end of the aboriginal period. Mooney believes that the Washo population had fallen to 300 by 1907 (1928, p. 20). This last figure differs markedly from Curtis' estimate of 800 Washo only three years later in 1910 (1926, p. 91). The Washo tribal secretary, Ronald James, estimates the present-day Washo at 850. Many of them have moved to the cities; probably no more than 600 remain within the boundaries of what was formerly Washo territory.

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GEOGRAPHICAL DIVISIONS

There are three geographically distinct groups of Washo. Those living north of Carson City, Nevada, are called wélmelti·ʔ. Washo living in the Carson Valley are called pá·waʔluʔ, and the California Washo are called háqalelti·ʔ, with the present California-Nevada border being the approximate dividing line between these last two groups (Simpson, 1876, pp. 93-94; Curtis, 1926, p. 90). I know of no cultural differences between these two groups, but the wélmelti·ʔ are said to differ from the other two by their slow manner of speech. In the spring and summer, when the Washo moved up to Lake Tahoe, the wélmelti·ʔ camped mainly around the northern half of the lake from McKinney around to Glenbrook. The pá·waʔluʔ lived on the western side of the lake south of McKinney, and the southern and eastern lake shore was mixed háqalelti·ʔ and pá·waʔluʔ. However, any family was free to camp anywhere around the lake.

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SEASONAL MIGRATIONS

The Washo were migratory hunters, fishers, and gatherers. A family usually spent the winter in the Pine Nut Mountains. In the spring, the able-bodied men and women went to Lake Tahoe to fish. The rest of the family moved into the great valleys east of the Sierra Nevada where they searched for roots, grass seeds, birds, birds' eggs, and berries. From time to time, someone who had gone to the lake would carry

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (waco, woco), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i''yeli ta''au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'ɣale'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo we'lmelt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 2:1-52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:391-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 265, 323 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[P. 300 [301] is blank]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

136 174 chiefly by the rabbit and various other small mammals; that of the Sierra region by larger mammals, such as the mountain sheep, deer, and bear.

[133] Even in the arid section of this area there were fairly large streams fed by the melting snows of the high Sierra, and fish of various kinds were abundant. In fact fishing was a highly important vocation, even of the Paiute living over in the region still farther to the east, especially about Pyramid, Winnamucca, and Walker lakes. In the higher mountain section of the Washo country, notably at Lake Tahoe, fishing was, perhaps, the most important phase of this culture. The heavy snows made these higher altitudes undesirable for winter residence, but the Indians spent much time there during the summer months, attracted especially by the abundance of lake trout.

[226] [132] [221]

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[171]

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177 182 Since the coming of the whiteman and the consequent dispossession of the Indians, the social system of the Washo has been largely disrupted. The following outline of their social organization, therefore, depicts the aboriginal condition of the Washo, though at the present time no villages in the old sense remain, and chieftainship is largely nominal.

621 [594] The social organization of the Washo is primarily based upon the family unit. The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all the others. Apparently there is no approach to a tribal organization, though this exists among the tribes immediately to the east.

[619]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621 624

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 1917.

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

[P. 374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

991
[756] [624] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe [828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of [178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In 987 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set-[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance [621] of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1920's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and [178] fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at [539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I [828] should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

1

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (pataimi mᵋgi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

● 621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster 423 of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut picking grounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

439 484

The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and become friends.

438

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

these mechanisms may be found in other economies in the world along the continuum of technological complexity. 433 [171]

Political Authority and the Economy

Sahlins (1960, 408) writes that "In primitive economies, most production is geared to use of the producers or to discharge of kinship obligations, rather than exchange or gain...control of the means of production is decentralized, local, and familial...economic relations of coercion and exploitation and the corresponding social relations of dependence and mastery are not created in the system of production...in the absence of the incentive given by exchange of the product against a great quantity of goods on a market, there is a tendency to limit production to goods that can be directly utilized by the producers." These statements fit the Washo case and help to explain why the investment of political authority and the possession of wealth are not associated in Washo society.

The ability to produce economic goods, and personal generosity, were two of the most respected qualities in individuals. Men who had these qualities were often given a degree of political authority. That is, their advice was respected and followed. In the broad view, political authority was the result of conformance to a configuration of obligations: economic, religious, kinship, etc. [577]

Sociopolitical Groups and the Economy

Steward (1938, 257-262) presents a theory for the development of sociopolitical groups in the Basin-Plateau area. In his view these groups were conditioned by their varying ecological adjustments. 621 433 22

"The subsistence habits required in each region determined the size, nature, and permanency of population aggregates. These, in turn, predetermined many, though not all, features of social structures and political controls. In some regions, as among Western Shoshoni, exigencies of existence permitted little variation in the general sociopolitical patterns. When, however, ecology allowed latitude in subsistence activities, noneconomic factors, such as warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc., became determinants of the sociopolitical patterns."

"Among the Western Shoshoni and many of their Northern Paiute and Southern Paiute neighbors it was physically impossible for families either to remain in one place for any considerable time or for more than a few families to remain in permanent association. The outstanding sociopolitical units, [171]

consequently, were the biological family and the small winter village, consisting of a loose aggregate of families...Because...of the erratic occurrence of wild seeds and the frequent variation of terrain covered, alliance did not always bring together the same families or village members. Habitual cooperation of the same people and therefore the development of fixed if limited political allegiances and controls was impossible. Likewise, habitual and exclusive utilization of particular territories by certain groups could not develop...Though kinship ties were important, the uncertainties of residence and of assured association with specific relatives prevented the development of an elaborate and nicely fixed set of kinship duties and obligations..."

Also ecology "permitted, if it did not cause, band development" in Owens Valley and "in late pre-Caucasian times among the Northern Shoshoni and probably the Ute."

The present writer has tried to show that "warfare, festivals, ceremonies, etc." should not be called "noneconomic", although they may be predominantly something other than economic. All groupings have some economic dimensions. However, Steward's point is well taken. He implies that as the natural abundance of food increased or the techniques of exploitation and transportation improved the nature of groupings became less determined by the search for food.

This present writer accepts the major outlines of Steward's theory, but must add that it was not entirely true for the Washo. The Washo had one of the more productive natural environments in the Great Basin and this was reflected in their being closer in form of sociopolitical groupings to the Owens Valley Paiute than the Western Shoshoni. However, when we compare seasonal variations of aboriginal social organization it is clear that predominantly economic activities determined the nature of groupings in the abundant summer as well as the meager winter.

Also Washo sociopolitical groupings were not radically altered by the comparatively abundant food made available by Whites. There is support for the idea that the cultural traditions behind sociopolitical grouping have some degree of internal dynamics and resistence to change, apart from economic changes, in the facts of Washo acculturation.

Barriers to Economic Development

The Washo lived in an area of abundance for a hunting, fishing, and gathering economy. They used this abundance to an advantage and, for a Great Basin tribe, had a dense population. Still they were surprisingly low in economic development. Kroeber (1939, 137) ranked the Washo on the

[P.361, B]

surance policies. Some bitterness has been caused by beneficiaries who refuse to share insurance money with their siblings, since the latter would have inherited equally under the old system. Another change is that wives and husbands can now inherit from each other, and a third change is that parents can inherit money from their children if the latter die first. In aboriginal times, only consanguine relatives inherited, and these in descending order.

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KINSHIP GROUPS

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The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans. The family was usually nuclear, often with a few, more distant relatives attached. The Washo formerly practiced polygyny and therefore possibly had some polygynous families. Whether these reached a frequency of 20 per cent, a level which Murdock uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families (1949, p. 28) and those with monogamous families, cannot now be determined. My informants regard the old Washo family as nuclear, and it will be so classified here. The modern Washo family is nuclear but usually includes a few, more distant relatives.

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The Washo formerly had a weak system of agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the pine-nut dance. One moiety was called ɓéwiɛlɛl ɬáyadi?, which means roughly "those who camp on the east side" (of the camp circle) or dípɛk gumlámu, meaning "people of the white paint." Lowie gives a third name, ɓalaɬ·si (Lowie's transcription). The other principal moiety was called tágɛlɛlɛl ɬáyadi?, which can be translated approximately as "those who camp on the west side" (of the camp circle). Members of this moiety painted themselves red and were also called sawéwaq gumlámu, "people of the red paint." Members of a third "moiety" were called dayaɬsilgí·ɬ ɬáyadi? (also dawɬsilgí·ɬ ɬáyadi?), meaning "those who camp in the corner" (of the camp circle) or "those who camp in between" (the other two moieties). They lived between the east and west moieties in the camp circle and were divided between them for purposes of playing games. This third moiety seems to have had the sole function of supplying additional members to the teams representing the other two moieties. Despite this third group, the system was fundamentally dual (Lowie, 1939, p. 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

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A person belonged to the moiety of his father, which often was his mother's moiety also. Nancy Emm reports that when persons of different moieties married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. Hank Pete claims that a woman joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join his opponents if they were luckier (Lowie, 1939, p. 304).

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Two kinds of kin groups that frequently occur in bilateral societies are demes and kindreds. The deme, says Murdock (1949, pp. 62-63),

> . . . is most clearly observable in the endogamous local community which is not segmented by unilinear consanguineal groupings of kinsmen. By virtue of the rule or strong preference for local endogamy, the inhabitants are necessarily related to one another through intermarriage, although they cannot always trace their exact kinship connections. They are consequently bound to one another not only by common

[p. 362, A]

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residence but also by consanguinity, as is, in fact, usually specifically recognized. Within such a group the only social structuring is commonly into families, which may be of either nuclear, polygamous, or extended type. Except for family ties, the strongest sense of identification is usually with the community as a whole, which is viewed as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities in a manner quite comparable to the attitude toward one's own sib in a unilinear society.

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Murdock believes that the Washo may have had demes (1949, p. 63). This would be important to know, since demes are thought to exert an influence on kinship terminology. They are associated with kinship terminology of the *generation* type in ego's generation only (Murdock, 1949, pp. 158-161). I endeavored to discover whether the Washo had had demes and could find no evidence of their former existence. Murdock may have based his opinion on a sentence in Barrett: "The village community is the largest division and each village is entirely distinct from all others" (1917, p. 8). From the context, I interpret this to mean only that each village was politically independent. The principal feature of the deme, the fact that it is an endogamous community viewed by its members "as a consanguineal unit in relation to other communities," was apparently lacking among the Washo. Lowie's description of a Washo village would deny the existence of demes. His informant said that the neighbors who lived about thirty feet away were not kin (1939, p. 303). Demes clearly do not exist among the Washo today.

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The kindred is the commonest type of bilateral kinship group. In our society, it includes that group of near relatives who are expected to attend weddings, funerals, graduations, holiday dinners, and family reunions. Members of kindreds visit freely and support one another when they are in difficulty. Kindreds in other societies have comparable characteristics and functions (Murdock, 1949, pp. 56-57).

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The Washo do not appear to have groups of relatives which satisfy these criteria. During ceremonies, the girl's puberty dance, and funerals are attended by all interested Washo; and relatives outside the nuclear family seem to have no special functions. A Washo expects help from members of his nuclear family, but

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more distant relatives have no particular obligations.

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Washo Peyote Songs

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I

The Washo

THE Washo people of Nevada and California have been described linguistically as a small Hokan-speaking group among the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Great Basin (Kroeber 1907; Lowie 1939). They formerly inhabited a relatively abundant territory extending from Honey Lake in the north to Antelope Valley and Sonora Pass in the south, and from the Pinenut Range east of Carson Valley in Nevada to Lake Tahoe and the summit of the Sierra-Nevada Mountains of California in the west. Present population is variously reported at between 400 and 1000 individuals; the figures on file at the Nevada Indian Agency in Stewart, Nevada, support the larger estimates.

The Washo were formerly distributed in small, band-like communities composed of semi-exogamous extended families which made use of the full range of their diversified setting in hunting and gathering, and were thus a highly mobile population. In recent times, however, there has been an increasing tendency to cluster in small colonies in or near the older white settlements of Nevada and California, and on the few remaining allotment acres provided by the government many years ago. The major source of money-income for families is provided by those members who are employed as laborers on road-construction gangs, ranches, and farms. A few women work as servants in the towns and resorts. There is little use of the land for agricultural purposes, while hunting, fishing, and gathering still provide an important part of subsistence. Despite the often drastic conditions of acculturation during the past one hundred years, the Washo have maintained considerable homogeneity as an ethnic and cultural minority.

The Peyotists

Peyotism among the Washo is scarcely more than twenty years old, having been introduced by one Ben Lancaster, a member of the tribe who had learned the ritual and ideology during a long sojourn among eastern and southern tribes. In 1936 he started the proselyting which resulted in the creation of an enthusiastic group of Washo and Paiute adherents during the period 1936–39. By 1940, however, the movement had already become defunct, and meetings were no longer held in Washo territory. Ben Lancaster continued to preside over the embittered and secretive remnants of the cult, which consisted of a handful of loyal Paiute and a very few Washo members. He also erected an

The Washo had weak agamous moieties whose only apparent function was to oppose each other in games at the annual pinenut dance (Freed, 1960, 361). Actually, three "moieties" were present, but one of them divided its members between the other two when participating in games; hence, the system was fundamentually dual. A person belonged to his father's moiety, which often was also his mother's moiety. When people of different moities married, they could join whichever moiety they wished. One of our male informants claims that a woman always joined her husband's moiety. Lowie says that in the hand game, a man could leave his own moiety and join the opposite moiety if it were having better luck (Lowie, 1939, 304). The moiety system does not exist today.

Settlements were very small. Lowie (1939, 303) states that the usual settlement had two to four houses, and that no village had as many as 10 houses. Neighbors were often kinsmen, but they might also be non-relatives. Modern Washo settlements are much larger than aboriginal ones; the largest, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of approximately 200.

Marriage

Curtis (1926, 97) and Barrett (1917, 9) report that polygyny was formerly practiced. Barrett notes that monogamy was as prevalent as polygyny. Lowie (1939, 309) says that both sororal and nonsororal polygyny existed, with a tendency to favor the sororal form because the Washo believed that strange women will fight. Barrett says that a man's choice of subsequent wives was not restricted. Both the sororate and the levirate occurred. Both were correct but not compulsory, according to Lowie. Curtis states that a widow had to marry her husband's brother if he desired her. Our informants support Lowie, both with regard to the preference for sororal as opposed to nonsororal polygyny and the noncompulsory character of the levirate. Polygyny, the sororate, and the levirate are no longer practiced. Many of the modern Washo contract a series of monogamous marriages with the earlier ones often of short duration and the later ones lasting considerably longer. Some Washo remain with their original marriage partners for life.

Role Behavior

The following descriptions of the role behavior of relatives in ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations are based on the role profile test. The relatives of the second and third ascending and descending generations were not included when the test was given. However, a

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843
513 A pregnant woman (dawšaal?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back
845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841
843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her
784 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows
[224] and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With
[162] a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child
[631] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 30 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugiyt?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

2/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 331) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 462

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Ha	Te	Ty	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Ty	Wi	Ki	Ar
DIVISION OF LABOR														
2111. General seed gathering, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2112. Pine-nut gathering, both sexes	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2113. Knocking down, male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2114. Picking up, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2115. Transporting, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	–
2115a. Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2116. Preparing, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2116a. Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	•	–
2117. Cooking, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2117a. Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2118. Carrying water, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2118a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2119. Bear camp, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2119a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2120. Long distance, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2120a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2121. Fire tending (gathering wood), female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2121a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	–
2122. Hunting, male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2123. Fishing, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2123a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2124. Gathering: larvae, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2124a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2125. Grubs, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2125a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	•
2126. Grasshoppers, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2126a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2127. Nuts and mice catching, female	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2127a. Male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2129. Pine nuts from st. cache, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2129a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
Manufactures														
2130. House, female	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2130a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2131. Baskets, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2132. Skin preparation, female	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2132a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2133. Clothing, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2133a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2134. Moccasins, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2134a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2135. Nets, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2135a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2137. Skin blanket, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2137a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2139. Bowl, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2139a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2140. Weaving, female	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2140a. Male	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2141. Tobacco cut, male only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
POLITICAL ORGANIZATION														
Political Group														
2161. Sovereign body is: localized band (named group of defined region)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2161 Village	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: KIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ka	Yo	Yo	Ma	Ma	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Kl	Al
2145. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2146. For rabbit drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2146. For antelope drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2148. For pine-nut trip	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
Chiefs (wihawavi or voimavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvisi-voimavi) (leader of owned and localized group)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
2151. Community approval required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
2153. Chief's successor (navoimamma)	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2154. Chief's messenger	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (mugava voimavi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2156. For rabbit drive (kamavoimavi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2157. For antelope drive (tumavoimavi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (naipavoimavi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2163. Band owned hunting territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2163a. Band owned valley in which lived	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2164. Band owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2164a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2172. All destroyed at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2173a. Cold springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2173b. Hot springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2174a. Protection only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2175. Warfare rare	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2176. War ritual	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2177. Captives	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
GAMES [illegible]														
2178. Unlosable, staffed, for chance (see, gambling)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180a. Regular house	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2181a. 30 ("month")	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2182. Ground smeared	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•

[p. 407]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606 2053. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tüvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. K1: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). T6: No tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MN). MN once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. K1: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

N [841] 2100. GN: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KH).

N [787] 2110. K1: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462 2136. T5: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622 2141. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [621] 2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [622] 2150. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 634 535 2155. K2: DM is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him nügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, toraviseya, were old-time dance

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'cacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[4] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[4]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[P.383, A]

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 ●622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains Tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 527 791 With the death of Captan Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It [756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship.

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached.

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti).

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership.

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation.

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled.

community, although a few men were respected and listened to more than others. Men like the Captain Jims, Captain Pete, and Captain George, who were spokesmen to the Whites in historic time, undoubtedly had a rather wide influence in their geographical locales. D'Azevedo (personal communication) regards Gumalanga, the Washo spokesman called "Captain Jim" who traveled to Washington D.C. to appeal for the pinenut lands, as a rare instance of a person who acquired a degree of tribal-wide acceptance as a leader in late historical times. 622 [648]

Fifteen Washo Households

The household, defined as the people who regularly occupy a single galis dangal has been described as the most important social and economic grouping in aboriginal Washo society. The composition of 15 galis dangal are presented below with the number of occupants in parentheses. Hank Pete was the informant for all but the first one, which was given by Susie Dick. 592 596

Mountain House around 1885.

1. (11) Susie Dick, her mother (Sally), father, mother's sister (Maggie), mother's sister's husband (Big Johnny), mother's sister's son (Sosh Angl), and daughter, and Susie's four brothers (Charlie, Johnny, George, and Hansen Pete).

Carson Valley around 1895.

2. (5) Dabashaygudi (Jim Pitchwood, Hank Pete's "uncle"), his wife, son, wife's mother, and his wife's "cousin-brother". Jim Pitchwood was a good hunter with his muzzel-loader shotgun.

3. (8) Captain Pete, his wife, son (Hank Pete), daughter, father's mother and one of her sons and two of her daughters. This was just after the family moved from near the cemetary in Carson City, when Hank Pete's brother died, and built in back of the slaughter house by Dangberg's Home Ranch back of Gardnerville where there is a good spring. The family later moved to Truckee following the marriage of Hank Pete's sister to George Howard.

4. (5) D¢dip¢ki¢s, his wife, sister, wife's brother, and a non-related w¢lm¢lti or North Indian. They were all w¢lm¢lti.

Double Spring Flat around 1900.

5. (7) Clara Frank, her step-father (Captain Jim or Gumalanga), mother, mother's sister, mother's brother and his wife, and Clara's brother (Mike Holbrook).

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [121]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Daws Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wɬgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

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a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (stabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢sht) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabey?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wapuléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply to Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

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hand by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ʔid·ge). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

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After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

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Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

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When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŏ̌ŏ̌yŏ̌) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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Northern Paiute NRB

N 175 177 1890, was joined by the Bannock and Plains tribes until the bloody termination 698 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to 668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How- W [668] ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 698 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 197 698 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticised view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

among the Paiute. At the same time there has been an acceptance of white culture in terms of agriculture and livestock-keeping which has placed the Paiute within the American economic system as an identifiable ethnic group. It is interesting, however, to note that the identification with Indians and as Indians, among the Paiute, has resulted in the retention of very little from aboriginal Paiute culture but instead has been marked by a gradual acceptance of more and more of Plains culture, including dances, chiefs and war bonnets (Steward, 1933, plates). This Plains influence may in part explain the tendency toward the development of political organization among the Paiute. The first war leaders, the Shoshoni, were men of prestige; thus, traits they introduced were accepted readily by the Paiute. A corollary of this was the acceptance of the idea that chiefs were men of prestige per se so that even the peace chiefs, i.e., leaders of the anti-war factions who were influential in postwar Paiute life, served as prestigeful culture-bearers. Among the Washo, however, the various "captains" utilized by the whites as points of communication with the Indians appear to have been largely without prestige or particular status among their own people. As these men often took on airs, came to believe their own importance and began to call themselves "chief" the Washo tended to look on them as buffoons or worse and tended to reject any attempt to introduce new ideas through such men.

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In contrast to Paiute Indian identification, there appears to be among the Washo a reluctance to admit to Indian practices and values. Although there is a relatively high degree of use of aboriginal foods the Washo tend to deny this and often refuse to admit they like or ever eat such foods. Bedrock mortars are often located under brush to escape white notice.

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Summary and Conclusions

This paper has attempted to describe the pre-contact situation and post-contact developments in western Nevada. We have seen that at the time of the entry of white men into this area the indigenous population was composed of two major groups, the northern Paiute and the Washo. As we have seen, these two peoples had made generally similar ecological adjustments, depending on hunting and gathering for subsistence. Culturally the Washo appear to share a number of traits with California tribes and seem to be more oriented toward the west than were the Paiute. Socially the two groups were organized in roughly the same manner: independent families operating together in small, loosely structured bands under headmen who were largely without power. Authority roles, such as antelope shaman and rabbit boss, were short lived and functionally specific. Communal hunts provided a basis for the amalgamation of a number of bands for short periods. Large supplies

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ho	Ye	Yo	Ya	Wa	pi	Im	Ty	Wi	Ki	Al
2140. Temporary large organization for annual dance	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2144. For rabbit drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2145. For antelope drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2148. For pine-nut trip	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
Chiefs (wahawvi or wiimvi)														
2149. Head chief (tuvia[-wiimvi) (leader of named and localized group)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2180. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Community approval required	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-
2182. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Chief's counselor (nevivumma)	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	-
2184. Chief's messenger	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2185. Special chief: for dance (nagava wiimvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2186. For rabbit drive (kamawiimvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2187. For antelope drive (tamawiimvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2188. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (wuipawiimvi)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2189. For fishing	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2190. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2191. For pine-nut trip	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2192. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2193. Head owned hunting territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2194a. Head owned valley in which lived	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2194. Head owned pine-nut territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	o
2194a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
2197. Head owned fishing streams	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2198. Disputes settled by fight	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2199. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	-
2170. Family owned fishing places	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2171. Chattels all privately owned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2172. All destroyed at death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2173a. Cold springs public	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2173b. Hot springs public	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2174a. Protection only	-	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	-	-	-	-
2175. Warfare rare	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
2176. War ritual	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2177. Captives	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2178. Valuables, stuffed, for slave (sex, gambling)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	-	o
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Burned willow house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180a. Regular house	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 10	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2182. Ground burned	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o

[p.407]

KINSHIP RELATIONS

N 606

2089. Paviotso: * (Curtis, 81).

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

N 836

2090. Tuvasa designated any sterile person as well as the sexually abnormal usually considered transvestites. Ki: "Charlie Lowry is tüvasa. He can't make babies. His wife has four children and Charlie supports them because he loves babies, but someone else made them" (DG). TG: He tüvasa "because our Indians were good and taught their children right" (MM). MM once saw a Kuyui man at Virginia City who wore dresses, did washing, and so on. Ki: JB knew of a Paiute man who wore dresses, did bead work, and so on, but he did not live in Fort Bidwell.

N [842 848]

2091. K2: See note 2090.

2091, 2092. Paviotso: * (Curtis, 80).

N [841]

2100. GH: Women tüvasa "never menstruate or have babies" (KH).

N [787]

2110. Ki: To test a boy to see if he is really tüvasa, place him on a piece of paper or on some dry grass. On one side put a bow and some arrows, on the other put buckskin, awl, basketry (cloth, scissors, and thread), then set on fire paper or grass. Frightened child will pick up objects from one side as he saves himself. If he takes the bow and arrows, he is normal; if he takes the objects associated with women, he is tüvasa and will be funny and never make babies. The young man at Nixon who is said to be a berdache was submitted to the test and took the women's things. He isn't married (DG).

DIVISION OF LABOR

N 462

2136. To: Most of the metates used were found already made.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

N 621 622

2141. Owens Valley: * (Steward, 304). Wa: CR thought there had been one "captain" for all Washo. Dick Bender named a separate "captain" for each of the three bands or divisions of the Washo.

W [121]

2142. Wa: "There were a considerable number of Washo villages, which were politically and socially independent of one another. Each community had its headman" (Curtis, 95).

W [122]

2150. Wa: * (Smith, notes).

N 634 535

2156. K2: DK is dance captain because he is interested in dancing. He engineered a big dance a few years ago and since then the other Indians have called him mügava voinavi and let him have charge of dances. Bull Tom, pusiava, and Harry ---, teraviaoya, were old-time dance

captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Tb: Band chief acted as captain of rabbit drive.

2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i'-nē'ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

2160. Wa: Head-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 95).

2162. Wa: * (see note 2142; Curtis, 95).

PROPERTY

2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying "my home town," or "my favorite fishing stream" (ND). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

2166a. Pa: DW said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Tb: The Ttvusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

2172b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight. Aeries descended from father to son. Wa: The only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

[P 393, B]

668
755

"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

668
756
178
[753]

These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated--moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for

[782]

his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance *&* interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

[623]

For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play

[276]

upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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668
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182
757

Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Morriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegelóya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

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[273]
[77]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

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8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

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9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

Northern Paiute NRB

N 175 177 648 668 W [668] 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians).

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases.

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (te.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ew'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[434] A giving away of presents (hiyemal'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[532] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he'"wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he'"wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
● [624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ew'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the most taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɔha"'tsi, t'a'ɣa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ɣalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,* who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yas kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

* Kroeber, Handbook, 872.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (mo'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kaiv'kaow ol'yes, kshamo'moyam, kepi''esh, kapa''esh ma'esis. kaiv'kaov'es, ma'esi kshe'le, istamais''ma . . . kais'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'dis kaya'tuka'es, kaya'tuk tomomi i'ke il'eal. wi'kis k'doc kimo'kayaktok i'ke ka'es, t'aiyess ga'mayess. mi'le ka''ma tomi'ke. gaya'es a''al. kak tikumes''sis i'ke mikis a''esiya. kiki''het a'esm k'vieke tiya'mis. i'ke isyaJoye's nake' akaaJis's kelliki ka'le wadiw'a''les. i'ke mi''ya, i'ke ka'sis kutisa'es kai'v''eya untamais'e kelliki ka'sis.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

" This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'law) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called magi"gala by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [415] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gum) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a't'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] [756] Antelope, deer (mendi"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

* Op. cit., 12.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out." As my data have it, the "rabbit chief" is distinct from the organizer of the deer hunt and, most emphatically, from the antelope charmer. Jack said a "rabbit boss" (pʌT'ɛ.n tɛ.xpɛ"yu) possibly inherited his office from his father, whereas Dave made him a people's appointee.

Dave described the rabbit hunt as follows: The rabbit chief, who was not identical with the political headman, set the time for the drive. People met with bows and arrows. Possibly 15 men had nets, which they united into an enclosure about 200 yards long and 4 feet in height, held by sticks 6 or 7 feet apart." The line was straight except at the ends, where it was crooked. About 200 Washo, the "boss" among them, joined in the drive, scaring their quarry. An old man with a boy stayed at one end of the net, which Dave compared to the wire fence of a chicken coop. Some people shot the game with bow and arrow. The rabbits thought they were escaping and rushed into the net, where most of them were caught. The boy would get up and kill them with a stick. The drivers killed most of the rabbits, each possibly 3 or 4 apiece, with a total kill of 400 to 500 a day. On the following day the hunters went in another direction, perhaps 6 miles away. When heavily loaded, they went home. Rabbits, when caught, were hit on the head with a club. (Cf. Jack's statement below.) Finally the rabbit chief said, "We stop today, we have all we want today. Let us go home." Then they removed the hide and the women gutted the animals. The men tore the skin from the legs with their hands, then cut the hides into string. The string was wound around small straight willow sticks. String was twisted into one piece 14 feet long. After drying them for a day and a half, they would take them down. Twenty-five strings made one jack-rabbit blanket to cover two people. When first finished, they were 2½ inches thick and so warm that in winter the Indians would undress completely under such a covering.

A blanket lasted three years, but the hunt was held every fall, after October. The owner of an extra skin might sell it for a buckskin to a man who lacked a good jack-rabbit blanket. Whatever flesh was left over was hung up in the shade and dried. The Washo would boil jack-rabbit flesh and pine-nut soup at the same time, using willow baskets for the soup. Jack said that from 25 to 30 men with possibly 10 or 15 nets (ti"gɛ) engaged in a rabbit chase. Several nets were arranged in a circle and the rabbits were driven into them. They were not clubbed to death, but killed with bow and arrow.

Other species added to the food supply. Porcupine (u"uwut) were eaten. Skunk (tupi"wi), one informant said, were never eaten; but Dave said they were once killed with smoke in a hole by his father-in-law, who boiled the flesh and liked it. The Washo boiled grasshoppers (paky'tɛmu) in baskets, and also cooked locusts (ta"tak) in the ground and dried them. A long-legged insect called tɛ'lɛm also served as food.

[a] Barrett gives the dimensions as some 300 feet and 24 to 30 inches, with a mesh about 3 inches square and stakes at 10-foot intervals.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbé'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, [177] and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe ti'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term ti'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7) was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (ti'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

1 [see cat. 116, p. 39 - - An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

ketry. In having a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names, accompanied by modifying terms, they also resemble certain tribes of the California area. 171

The similarities of the Washo culture to that of the Great Basin region to the east, on the other hand, are very strikingly shown in the fact that the foods are almost identical, and in that very similar methods are employed in securing the same. Especially is this the case in certain nets used in fishing and rabbit hunting, and in the methods employed in handling the piñon nut and other vegetal foods. The twined basketry of the Washo resembles very closely in many respects that of the Great Basin culture, and certain stone implements, particularly the metate and muller, are also very similar to those used in that area.

While otherwise the social organization of the Washo appears to have been in aboriginal times very simple, the absolute control exercised by the "rabbit boss," or hunting chief, over all matters pertaining to communal hunting and fishing, presents a very interesting and peculiar feature of the Washo culture. 621. 624 ●

It will thus be seen that the Washo culture has certain strong affinities with that of the California area and also with that of the Great Basin area, but that in general it is somewhat more closely allied to the latter than to the former. This is but natural on account of the situation of the Washo, which is largely within the Great Basin, and on account of the facility of communication and easy interchange of culture between them and the several Great Basin tribes immediately to the east, particularly those about Walker lake and in the lower Carson valley. This influence of the tribes to the east was accentuated by the relative difficulty of interchange with the California tribes living on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada, who on account of the deep snows of winter were accessible to the Washo only during a part of the year, and with whom communication was difficult at all times on account of this rugged mountain barrier. 171 177

Milwaukee, Wisconsin,
May 10, 191[illegible]

[pp. 26 and 27 are blank]

[P 394, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(1944)

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[758] [624] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit bone fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

[828] There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In the past, dreamers were particularly important in setting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last semisemadic bands in the middle 1930's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think so Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

224 southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small
(136) herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories
(177) about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-
(538) law who remembered the antelope songs.
(533) Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

(787) The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the
● (624) presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as
(791) leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Maybe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food;' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

(763) This informant was certain that the Washo did not
(186) expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by
(114) Stewart, which reported some of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (93-96).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit
185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur-
178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that
(237) most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de-
(484) cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were
(136) necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope
224 complex to the rabbit hunt.
(171) Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no
(535) mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive.
224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied.
624 There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with
787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack
791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[F.380, 8]

791 224 624 787 [782] 224 178 [464] 624 224 178 [182] [177] 224 535

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 [262]

Bear (296, 2958-2961).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 539

On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the oldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [791]

[10] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[10] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin. 285 358 171

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal. 291 [177]

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *peleu-lowe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary. 224 [624]

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon. 41 [171]

Piñon nuts, *tayum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *boleyu*. 262 [252] [439] 412 [415]

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*. 342 [171]

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement. 343 177 [231] [668]

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimí;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear. 344

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[P 251.A]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

224

[624] ●

The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbits. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 336). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

[237]
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[411]

Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, cooperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practiced.

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Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 336).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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?:Pmod B-8 (1902-1907)1980 NT30 Washo NT30
[P 361,8]

p. 308), an elected official. As many as 300 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 13). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1924, p. 93). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal cooperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from cooperative to individual activity.

7156 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
765 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeldya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
448 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine, and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[987] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýš (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýš for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýš) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying off. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gunsalgai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a bath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: 114—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	K1	K2	Ma	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	pi	Ba	Ig	Wi	Ki	pi	
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 571
2144. For rabbit drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2145. For antelope drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2148. For pine-nut trip	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	
Chiefs (wihoawi or wimawi)															
2149. Head chief (tuvia-wimawi) (leader of armed and localized group)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 622
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2151. Community approval required	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2153. Chief's announcer (mavimaomi)	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	[624]
2154. Chief's messenger	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagwa wimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2156. For rabbit drive (kamawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2157. For antelope drive (tumawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (naipawimawi)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2159. For fishing	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2160. For hunting generally	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2161. For pine-nut trip	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2162. Village chief	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
PROPERTY															
2163. Band owned hunting territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 621
2163a. Band owned valley in which lived	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2164. Band owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	423
2164a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	
2167. Band owned fishing streams	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2168. Disputes settled by fight	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2169. Family owned seed plots	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2170. Family owned fishing place	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2171. Chattels all privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2172. All destroyed at death	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173. Eagle carries privately owned	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173a. Cold springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2173b. Hot springs public	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	
WARFARE															
2174. Raids only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	NWA 721
2174a. Protection only	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2175. Warfare rare	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2176. War ritual	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2177. Captives	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 727
BIRTH CUSTOMS															
2178. Baleahin, stuffed, for chara (see, gambling)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	NA 778
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	952
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2180. Domed willow house	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2180a. Regular house	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 814
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•	

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[P. 398, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these mines or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
● [626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the auspices
178 of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing tenden-
178 cy to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[1]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[1]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mib¢ shigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hut¢ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegelēyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukáshkuah story, the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

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Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sorcerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was sometimes by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-28) agrees with the statements of our informants.

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Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has active control over his wegelēyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose generalized power (not wegelēyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelčyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelčyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the
[593] husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister. The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 762
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 626
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal 562
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can- [157]
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 762
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha 273
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its 626
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one.
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us
● [627] cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[1]

650 When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[1] The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

ETHNOGRAPHIC NOTES ON THE WASHO

BY

ROBERT H. LOWIE

I. INTRODUCTION

A SKETCH by Barrett, mainly relating to museum specimens, Kroeber's list of kinship terms, Hudson's notes on games in Culin's monograph, and a few mythological texts by Dangberg constitute our technical sources on the Washo.[1] Several weeks at Minden, Nevada (informant, Dave Cheney), and at Coleville, California (principal informants, Jack Pitts and Bill Cornbread), in 1926 supplied the data here offered.

The Washo (waco, wɔco), classed either as an isolated stock or as an aberrant Hokan group, ranged about Lake Tahoe (t'i''yeli ta''au), residing in westernmost Nevada and easternmost California. Carson City, Reno, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada, fall within ancient Washo territory, as do Truckee, Tallac, and Woodfords, California. According to Barrett, even a small region west of the Sierra, on the headwaters of the Mokelumne, Calaveras, and Stanislaus rivers, falls within the Washo area. Kroeber sets their total number in 1770 at possibly 1500, one-third of the total being in California, where more recent figures indicate approximately 300. But separatism was extreme: Jack Pitts had been to Lake Tahoe a single time, political units hardly embraced more than six or seven families, and only festivals united larger gatherings.

Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'ɣalɛ'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo wɛ'lmɛlt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 2:1-52, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:391-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 265, 322 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

[P. 300 is blank]

Inheritance
is essentially lacking, but rights in eagle series and certain pinenut groves did pass on from the father and mother to their children. The Washo had a kind of "moiety" division for games at festivals, but these appear to relate more to residence than kinship. 428 616 526 574

The major concrete kinship group was the extended family. It occupied a single house (galis dangal) and was composed of one, sometimes two, nuclear families who were consanguinally related. A few more distant relatives or even non-relatives were often attached. 596

The household, in addition to being the primary kinship group, was also the basic economic and political group. It was in theory and practice an autonomous, sovereign unit of society. Beyond the household, in the wider groupings of social organization, the divisions are not clearly defined. For present purposes we can say that the levels of social organization were (1) the household (called here galis dangal after the name of the winter house), (2) the community (angale atega, "houses together"), (3) the band, and (4) the tribal territorial divisions (w¢lm¢lti, pauwalu, and hangal¢lti). 592 596 [621] [619]

There was no generic term for bands, and these, as all actual groups of people, were referred to by the name of their geographical location or the personal names of band members. The "band" is defined here as several cooperating communities from the same sector of Washo territory which came together for antelope and rabbit drives, puberty ceremonies, and other social occasions. The Washo living in the vicinity of the town of Woodfords today thus constitute a band. They comprise a collection of four communities scattered around Woodfords with close ties with the few Washo who live in neighboring Markleeville and Paynesville. Band lines were weak and existed more by the facts of economic cooperation and general social relations than by kinship or political leadership. 621 [628]

Washo bands had a less "corporate" character than those described by Steward (1938) for the aboriginal Owens Valley Paiute and certain Great Basin bands that developed after the introduction of the horse. The corporate character of the Owens Valley Paiute bands is seen in band ownership and defense of hunting and seed territories, a band chief, and band cooperation in a communal sweat house and communal irrigation. [171]

It appears that an older man (often complemented by his wife) who was economically active would attract a following of several related, and perhaps some unrelated, households to form a community around a spring or along a stream. There was no structural position for headman (d¢tumo) beyond the [592] 622

1. These two cases may be simply extensions of levirate privileges since the second marriages were to younger brothers. In one case the older brother was crippled. [587]

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household [291] use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were [433] organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They [621] lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often [463] prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that [251] once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes [628] increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established [648] in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and [871] become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but [301] they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, [439] bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally [439] received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California [114] trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

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lowest level of a seven point scale of culture for native North America.

Trade, warfare, and communication provide the avenues for cultural diffusion. 433
If these avenues of communication lead to technologically advanced cultures, 439
we can expect economic development even if custom is sanctified and the 177
force of tradition is great. The greatest barrier to Washo economic development seems to have been their isolated territorial location. They were isolated from the surrounding high cultures in the Southwest, California, and the Northwest Coast. Barriers to trade were discussed above (pp. 50-51): mountain [133]
terrain, language differences, climatic extremes, lack of significant tradeable [628]
surpluses, location of sufficient resources within Washo territory, and inter-tribal hatreds. These barriers to trade were also barriers to economic development in that lines of diffusion remained weak.

Washo society was neither inventively productive nor absorptive. It does 433
not appear to represent a focal point for the development of any new and 178
more efficient solutions to the problems of survival. It appears rather, to have developed from big game hunting to a slightly more efficient base of [177]
hunting, fishing, and gathering. This development may have derived from the influence of Shoshoneans. More efficient techniques of gathering and storing fish might have raised their economy to the level of most Californians. Even in historic times the Washo have been slow in adopting agriculture and animal husbandry.

Manning Nash (Adams, et al, n.d., 23) suggested that the household was 433
not a very viable unit for economic expansion "because it is such a multi- 592
functional unit." Unlike the modern business firm, the household has many non-economic functions which conflict with its economic functions. This multifunctional character was present in all Washo socioeconomic groups.

The fact that the Washo did survive in their environment with a simple 433
technology attests to the culture's efficiency and viability. We simply raise the question of why they did not develop a more advanced economy and suggest that the kind of economy they had, with little inter-tribal trade and an orientation to the household, was a barrier to this development.

Prestige Economy and Money

The concept of a "prestige economy" came into use after DuBois (1936, 50) 433
defined the economic involvement in acquiring prestige among the Tolowa- 554
Tututni. She defined prestige economy as "a series of social prerogatives

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Daws Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

The word also denotes the implements used in curing. A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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Bill distinguished the Washo about Woodfords and of Antelope Valley as ha'ɣalɛ'lt'i, those near Minden and Gardnerville being p'a''walu, and the Reno Washo wɛ'lmɛlt'i. Though distinct, these groups had never waged war with one another. Bill associated the Washo with Mountain House and Bagley Valley but did not consider Antelope Valley ancient Washo territory, rather assigning it to the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso. When about 30, he himself came there, and at that time there were not many Washo in that locality.

Three alien tribes figure prominently: the "Paiute," that is, Paviotso (pa''le.u), whom the Carson Valley Washo sometimes visited near the Walker River; the "Digger," that is, Maidu (teobi'muc), about Placerville and Colfax; and "another kind of Digger" (tannu'), distinct in speech from the Maidu,—presumably Miwok. The two former were definitely noted as periodically hostile, the Washo trying to exclude both from Lake Tahoe. The Maidu often took game away from the Washo, even killing them, and thus precipitated fighting.

[1] S. A. Barrett, The Washo, PMM-B 2:1-62, 1917. Grace Dangberg, Washo Texts, UC-PAAE 22:391-443, 1927. A. L. Kroeber, Handbook of the Indians of California, BAE-B 78:569-573, 944, 1925. S. Culin, Games of the North American Indians, BAE-B 24:199, 265, 322 f., 335, 396, 523, 664, 704, 1907.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

● 648 According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

GOVERNMENT—PROPERTY

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow*-proof Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cum<"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ts'ə'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[a] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[a] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

668 [P.393, A]
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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated

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much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time

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doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather

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is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular

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peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of

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white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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[p. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing abili-
868 ty as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
224 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
[178] go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
● [648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.

584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 398. A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated. "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[1]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[1] The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

764 [P.378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
515 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
783 ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
775 supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[55] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
●[648] culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[551] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western ● [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [648] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bear- [789] skins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the [177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although 771 it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

two rivers has not been ascertained with accuracy. It seems to have been but a little below Reno and Carson City. Long Valley Creek, which drains northwestward into Honey Lake, a Californian stream, was also in their possession. West of the crest of the Sierra they had no settlements, but the Miwok acknowledged their hunting rights on the upper Stanislaus nearly as far down as the Calaveras Big Trees. They may have enjoyed similar privileges elsewhere. Where there are no winter villages, information is often conflicting: boundaries may have been in dispute, or amicably crossed. If the Washo hunted on the North Stanislaus they may have come down the Middle Fork also, or frequented the Calaveras, Cosumnes, or American. Sierra Valley has been assigned both to them and the northeastern Maidu. The deep snows prevented more than temporary occupation. Honey Lake, too, may have been more largely Washo than the map (Pl. 46) shows, or entirely forbidden to them.

Lake Tahoe is central to Washo territory, and was and is still resorted to in summer, but its shores are scarcely habitable in the season of snow.

The Washo call themselves Washiu or Wasiu. The names applied to them by their neighbors are unknown, except for northern Maidu Tsaisuma or Tsaisū. Northern Miwok Hisatok or Histoko means merely "easterners."

The Washo were at times in conflict with the adjacent Northern Paiute, whom they call Paleu, and by whom they are said to have been defeated about 1860.

NUMBERS.

There are the usual statements, some made as much as 50 years ago, about enormous decrease and degeneration or impending extinction; but actually the Washo seem to have suffered less diminution as a consequence of the invasion of our civilization than the vast majority of California Indians. Estimates of their population were: In 1859, 900; 1866, 500; 1892, 400; 1910, 300. The Federal census in this last year enumerated over 800, about one-third in California and two-thirds in Nevada, some three-fourths or more being full blood. As the Washo are distinctly separated from the "Paiutes" and the "California Diggers" in the local American consciousness, it is not likely that this figure involves any erroneous inclusions of consequence. Their lack of any reservation, and the semiadjustment of their life to civilized conditions, leading to a scattering habitation on the fringes of white settlements, have evidently caused a persistent underestimation of their numbers.

Their original strength may have been double what it is to-day; 1,500 or under seems a likely figure in view of the nature of their country, their solidarity, and their unity of speech.

[this plate has not been processed] --Analyst

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: THE WASHO INDIANS

Habitat

At the time of their initial contacts with Whites in the middle 1800's the Washo Indians were located at Lake Tahoe and a surrounding territory in what is now California and Nevada (Nevins 1956; Sieber 1951). Varying degrees of tribal ownership of land, depending on intensity and exclusiveness of use, existed aboriginally. Washo shared residence of Antelope Valley with Northern Paiute families, were closely associated with Miwok and Maidu on the western slopes of the Sierra Nevada, and with the Maidu and Northern Paiute in the Honey Lake area. These "peripheral lands" of Washo territory were not considered exclusively Washo, while the "nuclear lands" were vigorously defended by them as such.

The "peripheral lands" include the widest extensions of common travel in subsistence and trading pursuits. The "nuclear lands" include the common winter residence sites and the surrounding highlands.[1] These territorial lines are the result of a synthesis of territorial descriptions by Royce (1896-7), Barrett (1917), Siskin (1938), Stewart (1941), Indian Claims Commission (1959), d'Azevedo (n.d.), and data collected by the present writer. Families undoubtedly traveled and resided beyond these areas on occasion, but their recognized was essentially within their own of the three territorial divisions of Washo territory shown by the map accompanying this text.

The gathering of food and raw materials for manufactures took the Washo on treks into areas claimed by other tribes. They went south to Antelope Valley for salt (ungabi)[2], farther south to Mono Lake for fly larvae (mats¢bab¢shi), down the Carson River to the area of Dayton for red ochre (sawasang) and on farther for fish (atabi), and they traveled down several of the large canyons 20 to 30 miles west of the crest of the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) and other plants. These were treks out of the Washo nuclear lands into areas where contacts with other tribes might be frequent and dangerous.

Washo territory was roughly divided into three areas by which the local groups were distinguished. These were called "northerners" (w¢lm¢lti), "easterners" (pauwalu), and "southerners" (hang¢l¢lti) (Merriam 1904, 38; Lowie 1939, 301; and Freed 1954). There was no consistent wintering in the west so that there was no distinct group of "westerners" (tang¢l¢lti).

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1. See map Plate I.
[Facing p. 74, cat. 116 -- Analyst]
2. The values of the orthographic symbols employed here are presented in Appendix A.
[see cat. 116, p. 61 ff. -- Analyst]

A few Northern Paiute and Shoshoni groups did make intensive use of small areas so that their population densities approached or even exceeded that of the Washo tribe. Steward (1938, 47-48) presents the Owens Valley Paiute (2.1 sq. mi. per person) and Shoshoni groups along the Humboldt River (3.3 to 5.2 sq. mi. per person) as examples of high population density for the Great Basin.

In the estimate given above, Kroeber was using a population of 1,000 for the Washo in an area of 6,200 km^2 (2,394 square miles). Earlier, Kroeber (1925, 944) had estimated a population of about 1,500 for the year A.D. 1770. This latter figure is probably closer to the Washo population in the middle 1800's. Furthermore, Washo territory was clearly larger than Kroeber's estimate. The Washo land claim case against the government in 1951 comprised a total of 9,872 square miles. This, in turn, appears to be an overstatement in terms of what is currently meant by aboriginal territory (cf., Indian Claims Commission 1959). The Washo had knowledge and some use of approximately 12,000 square miles in their "nuclear" and "peripheral lands". They made intensive use of less than 2,000 square miles, while their "nuclear" territory comprised about 4,000 square miles. Thus, population and territory figures suggest a density that is high for the Great Basin: 1,500 persons in 4,000 square miles or 2.7 square miles per person.

Physical Type

The published physical description of the Washo Indians consists of a few photographs and a series of anthropometric measurements made by Gifford (1926). These measurements were published in "Californian Anthropometry" along with several other samples. The accuracy of the description of any particular group presented in "Californian Anthropometry" is questionable on the grounds of the small sample sizes. For example, cephalic indices were listed for 48 groups, but 1/2 of these groups consisted of a sample of 8 or less with 10 groups represented by only one individual. The mean sample size for these 48 series with data on cephalic index is 16.3. In spite of its negative aspects, "Californian Anthropometry" is the only primary source on Washo anthropometry.

The physical types found by Gifford for the California Indians are listed below with the criteria that he used. Facial index (FI), nasal index (NI), and cephalic index (CI) should be read as 80 or lower (80-) and 80 or higher (80+). Stature (St) is given in centimeters so that 170 would be equivalent to 5 feet and 7 inches.

	Washo		No. Paiute		C. Miwok		Great Basin
	Sa		Sa		Sa		141
Face length - women	5	120	5	117	7	118	
Face breadth - men	6	151	6	150	9	152	
Face breadth - women	4	145	5	140	7	143	
Nose length - men	6	55	6	57	9	56	52.60
Nose length - women	5	52	5	51	7	53	
Nose breadth - men	6	43	6	44	9	45	43.57
Nose breadth - women	5	40	5	40	7	41	
Ear length - men	6	69	4	67	3	73	
Ear length - women	5	67	5	66	3	72	
Ear breadth - men	6	34	4	34	3	35	
Ear breadth - women	5	35	5	30	3	35	

Although the use of such small samples in the above data limits the level of confidence we can have in any theoretical statements, a few tentative remarks may be made. In spite of linguistic and geographical barriers, the Washo appear racially very similar to their neighbors to both the east and west of the Sierra Nevada. [114]

The close similarity in the indices and measurements of these groups is an indication of a relatively large inbreeding population. On the other hand, the Washo sample showed a low degree of variability from one individual to the next, an indication that a small homogenous gene pool is present. There is ethnographic evidence to support both views. The Washo did intermarry with the Northern Paiute, in Antelope Valley and probably at the Honey Lake area as well. The Washo also carried on trade and social intercourse with the central valley Californian peoples. In fact, part of Gifford's sample (not included here) contained Washo individuals who had one non-Washo parent. One also hears of the social conservatism of the Washo and their past fears of Miwok and Northern Paiute raids, factors against outbreeding. 582 141 161 [143] [439] [648]

Social Organization

Compared with primitive peoples generally, the Washo kinship system is neither elaborate nor extensive. There is little emphasis on lineage or ancestors. "The Washo lacked sibs, lineages, and clans" (Freed 1960, 361). Reckoning of descent is bilateral. Certain behaviors that are rigidly prescribed in many primitive societies are absent in Washo society. There is no mother-in-law avoidance. Monogamy, polygny, and polyandry (fraternal) are all practiced, although monogamy is most common and polyandry is rare. Sororal polygny and the levirate occur, but neither the sororate nor the levirate are required. This writer has knowledge of only two apparently polyandrous marriages.[1] 61 611 602 606 595 58.7

Residence after marriage is usually bilocal (that is, patrilocal or matrilocal), but the couple may move in with relatives other than the parents. Inheritance 591

community, although a few men were respected and listened to more than others. 622
Men like the Captain Jims, Captain Pete, and Captain George, who were [648]
spokesmen to the Whites in historic time, undoubtedly had a rather wide influence in their geographical locales. D'Azevedo (personal communication) regards Gumalanga, the Washo spokesman called "Captain Jim" who traveled to Washington D.C. to appeal for the pinenut lands, as a rare instance of a person who acquired a degree of tribal-wide acceptance as a leader in late historical times.

Fifteen Washo Households

The household, defined as the people who regularly occupy a single galis dangal has been described as the most important social and economic grouping in aboriginal Washo society. The composition of 15 galis dangal are presented below with the number of occupants in parentheses. Hank Pete was the informant for all but the first one, which was given by Susie Dick. 592 596

Mountain House around 1885.

1. (11) Susie Dick, her mother (Sally), father, mother's sister (Maggie), mother's sister's husband (Big Johnny), mother's sister's son (Sosh Angl), and daughter, and Susie's four brothers (Charlie, Johnny, George, and Hansen Pete).

Carson Valley around 1895.

2. (5) Dabashaygudi (Jim Pitchwood, Hank Pete's "uncle"), his wife, son, wife's mother, and his wife's "cousin-brother". Jim Pitchwood was a good hunter with his muzzel-loader shotgun.

3. (8) Captain Pete, his wife, son (Hank Pete), daughter, father's mother and one of her sons and two of her daughters. This was just after the family moved from near the cemetary in Carson City, when Hank Pete's brother died, and built in back of the slaughter house by Dangberg's Home Ranch back of Gardnerville where there is a good spring. The family later moved to Truckee following the marriage of Hank Pete's sister to George Howard.

4. (5) D¢dip¢ki¢s, his wife, sister, wife's brother, and a non-related w¢lm¢lti or North Indian. They were all w¢lm¢lti.

Double Spring Flat around 1900.

5. (7) Clara Frank, her step-father (Captain Jim or Gumalanga), mother, mother's sister, mother's brother and his wife, and Clara's brother (Mike Holbrook).

other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

175

William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [921]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881).

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959). [648] ●

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to hawl /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1855 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 200 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 45) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Soko, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, book	Tatu, hand
Taui, knife	Och, hat
Paloat, gun	Opele, water
Etmokapu, percussion cap	Uikes, trousers
Taiuch, hair	Melio, belt
Tiak, teeth	Atago, no
Uike, eyes	Ape, yes"
Anga, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garlund Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [574] [435]

John McMarlin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 385). [721]

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

western Nevada (Thompson and West 1881, 67). Overgrazing depleted Washo food in grass seeds and permanently effected the ecological balance in this period. [175] [648]

1861 - Warren Wasson, U. S. Indian Agent at Carson Valley Agency, in reports to Governor Nye of Nevada Territory in July and August wrote "within the limits of this Agency...the Washoes number 550...have no property of any kind...they have no schools...They have learned that the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them or help to do so at least. There is great justice in this request. The streams in which they formerly fished are now all spoiled for that purpose by the operating of the miners and the washing of the ores and metals. They are indeed most all diverted from their original courses, or dammed so frequently that the fish have disappeared from them. Lake Bigler, lying in the country of the Washoes, and from which they formerly obtained large quantities of the best kind of fish, is now taken possession of by the whites, and has become a watering place, to which large numbers from this Territory and California resort, and from which this poor tribe are virtually excluded. The hills and plains over which roamed plenty of game are now occupied by the Whites, and the game has fled, like the Indians from their presence" (Ingalls 1913, 35). [161] [871]

U. S. Congress approved Nevada Territory under pressure of the slavery question and the wealth of Comstock mining. [175]

1862 - "By 1862 Burke and Company were using a half-mile seine to take tons of Tahoe trout daily from the waters of Boundary Bay" (Scott 1957, 443).

1863 - Silver Mountain (first known as Koenigsberg) was a mining boom town in the 1860's with a population of 3,000. (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959, 3).

1864 - Statehood proclaimed for Nevada, 36th state.

1868 - First transcontinental railroad, Central Pacific, completed through Nevada. With the coming of the railroad new towns sprang up as centers for ranches and farms.

A Washo shot by a homesteader for setting a fish trap on a creek leading into Lake Tahoe (Scott 1957, 64). [648]

1870 - 11,500 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Daws Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments"had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION

John C. Fremont made several contacts with the Washo Indians in January and February of 1844. He described a custom that reveals the essence of Washo economic distribution (Nevins 1956, 345-352).

"A party of twelve Indians came down from the mountains to trade pinenuts, of which each carried a little bag. These seemed now to be staple of the country, and whenever we met an Indian, his friendly salutation consisted in offering a few nuts to eat and to trade..."

And later "...when we reached a little affluent to the river at the bottom we suddenly found ourselves in presence of eight or ten Indians...Our friendly demeanor reconciled them and when we got near enough they immediately stretched out to us handfuls of pinenuts, which seemed an exercise of hospitality."

Gifts, as Fremont experienced, were part of everyday social intercourse among the Washo. Gifts were given in connection with births, puberty ceremonies, marriages, and deaths. As Fremont indicates, gifts also served to establish contact with strangers and to initiate trade.

In the quantitative terms of distributing total Washo production of goods and services, gift exchange was not very important. It was in the sphere of ideal values that gift exchange became important.

The value of sharing and of giving found expression in most of Washo economic distributions. Sharing (mibʔshigihi) obtained at every level of Washo social organization. Sharing also decreased as kinship and residence distances increased. Non-Washo received the least of Washo sharing and yet Fremont and his party, although total strangers, were met with gifts and the invitation to trade. The person who would not share with others of the same household, or who was generally stingy (hutʔ tiki) would not be included in the networks of sharing and might be "talked out" of his household.

With various qualities of the transactions as our criteria, eight forms of economic distribution stand out in Washo society. These eight forms can be analysed in terms of the extent of "primary" and "secondary" social relations involved in each. Primary refers to relations between people with common goals and relations that are ends in themselves, intrinsically valued, "personal" in that the identity of the individuals cannot be changed without disturbing the relationship, "inclusive" in that the range or involvement

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household [291] use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were [433] organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They [621] lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often [463] prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that [251] once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes [628] increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established [648] in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and [871] become friends.

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Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but [301] they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, [439] bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally [439] received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California [114] trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is

[P.357, B]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

central Great Basin. By the end of the 1840's there were a number of rest stations for emigrants, at the foot of new trails across the Sierras, in Carson and Eagle valleys, on the Truckee River, and in Sierra Valley. Thousands of head of cattle were grazed there, and wagon trains paused for months at a time waiting for the appropriate season for the final crossing. By 1859 gold had been discovered in the area, logging and lumber became a major industry, ranches and farms created a network of fences in most of the valleys, and numerous white settlements had sprung up containing a rapidly increasing population of permanent settlers, miners and laborers.

There is some evidence that the Washo may have suffered a drastic decrease in population and some tribal disorganization prior to these events of the 1840's and 50's. Extensive epidemics had raged through the Indian tribes of central California during the first few decades of the 19th century, and Washo legend contains numerous references to the devastation of entire bands by disease before the period of American settlement. There are also legends of early Spanish expeditions, the working of mines in the mountains, and the capture of Washo children. The publication of more of the records of these expeditions may bring to light material of considerable importance with regard to initial Washo contacts with non-Indians.

At the point of first intensive white contact in the late 1840's and early 1850's the Washo also appear to have been under attack from mounted groups of Paiute, and there is every indication that their willingness to cooperate with whites was a response to the need for protection from Paiute raiding. The Washo never adopted the horse for hunting or warfare as did their neighbors directly to the east, and this fact put them at a great disadvantage during the tumultuous years of competition between the newly emergent raiding bands of the Paiute and the white emigrants. That they never surmounted the effects of this initial inferiority of status is borne out by their almost total eclipse in official records during the remainder of the 19th century, and by the neglect of their desperate condition on the part of government and local administrators. This is all the more curious in view of the fact that they appear to have increased in population during the past hundred years, and have maintained viable social groups and cultural continuity.

Though historical documentation and early ethnographic comment concerning the Washo are meager, what resources do exist are of great potential value to the student of their culture. The first phase of the historical record is that marked by the journals and reports of trappers, explorers and emigrants prior to 1850. The initial venture over this section of the Sierras appears to be that of Jedediah Smith and a party of trappers who went into Spanish California by way of Walker Pass in 1825 or 1826. In 1833 Joseph Walker led a party of trappers up the Truckee River to California, and a diary of the trip was kept by Zenas Leonard, a member of the party.

shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
● 648 schools or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroberated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

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158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

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Contact and Occupation

The initial contacts between white men and the Indians of western Nevada were sporadic and appear to have had little effect on the culture of the indigenous peoples.

To what extent either the Paiute or the Washo were aware of white men prior to first contact is unclear. It seems highly probable that the Washo had experienced some effects from the Spanish colonization of California. Certainly trips to the coast for shellfish were fraught with more uncertainty once the Spanish began forcible collection of Indians for missionization. One suspects that in the period immediately preceding direct white contact, groups such as the Ute may have been active in the Basin, taking slaves for the Spanish in the Southwest, which might have contributed to the initial shyness of Basin groups when confronted with white men.

From the 1820's until the 1840's a number of expeditions -- mainly fur hunters exploring new territory or on their way to winter in California -- entered western Nevada. According to Steward (1938, 6) Ogden probably visited the Humboldt River area between 1826 and 1828. The famous mountain man Jedediah Smith crossed Nevada in 1825. Bonneville pushed as far as Pyramid Lake in 1833, and Walker was in that portion of Nevada by 1833 (Steward, 1938, 6). If we are to judge from the nearly complete lack of information, these people had little or no contact with the Indians of the area.

Even in later peiods the Indians of the Basin were given little attention by travelers. Nearly naked, digging for roots, often starving in the winter, with no shelter save brush houses and with almost no tools or accoutrements, they were contemptuously lumped together as "Diggers" and ignored. Early writers, travelers and officials tended to distinguish between those Indians who rode horses and those who didn't, the former being "Snakes" or "Shoshonis," and the latter "Diggers." Upon reading the descriptions of the condition of these peoples one is led to suspect that at least some of the anthropological thinking about the Basin has been colored by a second-hand ethnocentrism. Early writers simply concluded that anyone willing to eat grubs, snakes, grasshoppers and roots must indeed be in the last extremities.

The 1840's mark a second and different phase of white-Indian contact in this area. Immigration into the west began to increase, and the route down the Humboldt and over the Sierras in the vicinity of Walker Pass, and occasionally Donner Pass, brought a number of trains directly through the territory of the Washo and the Paiute.

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Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

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The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i.e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

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Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

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2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

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177 number of people living in these settlements (Mooney, 1896; Kroeber, 1925).
● 648 It is at least possible that a great many Washo lived in the mountains and other
361 areas not generally visited by white men and went unnoticed.
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The year 1857 marks the discovery of the Comstock Lode and a dramatic change in the history of Nevada and of the indigenous populations. The primary activity of the white man shifted from a rather casual form of frontier pastoralism to an intensive exploitation of the mountains for silver and gold. Mining and the servicing of mining populations became the primary occupation. The flamboyant history of the Comstock has overshadowed the other activities of white men in the area at the time. Perhaps of equal importance to the study at hand is the rapid increase of stock raising.

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Angel (1958, 67) reports that 10,000 head of cattle, horses and hogs were pastured in the general western Nevada area in 1860. The poor condition of the animals and the number of carcasses seen on the range is mentioned. This would suggest that the range was subjected to rather serious overgrazing, which must have depleted the grass and brush seed food sources of the Indians, as had Mormon ranching in Utah (Steward, 1938, 14). It is probable that the Paiute suffered more from this than did the Washo.

The Humboldt and Pyramid Lake region lies largely in the Artemisian life zone, which is characterized by xerophytic plants and few grasses or other possible food sources except after relatively heavy rains, or along the margins of watercourses and lakes. Since there are three large bodies of water and three rivers in the area we can assume that the Indians drew much of their sustenance from the edges of the water. Cattle would, of course, seek out the same areas and drastically reduce the supply. Moreover, Indians report that many areas now covered with useless plants were grasslands prior to the introduction of cattle or other livestock (Steward, 1938, 17). Even light grazing in such an area would seriously deplete, if not totally destroy, the food sources of the area. It is obvious that Indians occupying the area during their annual food circuit would be forced to move or make adjustments to the changed conditions. Judging from the population density figures for this area, the migration cycle may not have been too extensive, centering around the three lakes and the river banks, and shifting markedly only in the fall for pinenut harvests. The sudden introduction of cattle would have seriously upset the ecology. It is significant that the Paiute of this area were among the first to begin raiding white herds and habitations.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived in a territory that comprised four life zones, Alpine, Aspen, Pinyon and Artemisian. A depletion in the Artemisian zone due to grazing might be partially compensated by greater dependence on other life zone sources and by utilization of white settlements as a food source.

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as a food source. It is possible that the Washo did not rely as much on the Artemisian sources and therefore were not as seriously discomforted by cattle grazing as were the Paiutes. It is during this early period of white intrusion that we see Paiutes also becoming hangers-on around white settlements and becoming dependents of individual white ranchers (Steward, 1938, 8).

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The above-described alteration of the environment is significant in terms of differential response because it operated fairly uniformly on all the Washo, while Paiutes began to experience inequalities of opportunity in various bands. This, we might postulate, could have led to new band alignments among the Paiutes as families left bands in depleted areas to join bands in more provident areas. Secondly it might lead to interband friction if entire bands attempted to operate as entities in areas where others had habitually gathered and hunted.

This period marks the first distinct differences in response to white occupation between the two groups.

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The Washo apparently continued in the same patterns that they had earlier. Numbers of Washo gradually drifted into the Indian towns on the outskirts of white settlements. Others, in bands, began to reside more or less permanently on ranches, becoming dependents of individual white ranchers. In return for odd jobs and, perhaps, as a bribe to prevent theft, the Indians received handouts. Their hunting activities were appreciated by whites because they helped reduce the wild animal competition with domestic animals for grazing. An additional factor may also have been that a band of Indians made women available to cowboys and ranch hands, an important element in a woman-short frontier area.

Property lines, railroads and lumber flumes interrupted the migration trails of the Washo, upsetting the traditional band-land relationship. Although gathering and hunting continued, it appears to have lost its quality of organizing Washo life.

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In the bands that squatted on the property of ranchers, women appear to have become the foci of social organization. This is probably because they were able to earn money as housekeepers, kitchen help and casual prostitutes while remaining with the family unit, but men were forced to leave the family to earn money in seasonal farm labor, lumbering, woodchopping, construction, hunting and fishing.

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The 1850's mark the beginning of Paiute hostility toward the white man. Bands of mounted Paiute under the leadership of war chiefs began raiding herds, attacking outlying ranches and harassing wagon trains.

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Zoological evidence tends to corroborate such secondary evidence as geographic locations with "buffalo" names and the traditions reported by Indian informants (Steward, 1938, 14).

Roe (1951, 282) felt the evidence did not justify establishing the western range of the bison in California. However, it would seem his caution is no longer called for in view of Riddell's information. Haines (1940) argues that the bison was not present in California and far western Nevada, but in light of later evidence and because of the limitations of his own argument it seems justifiable to discount his position. Haines accepted only historic documentation and discounted the opinions of zoologists and naturalists as well as some admittedly scanty but nonetheless real ethnographic suggestions. Having found no documentation, he was then forced to explain away Indian tradition and the existence of bison skulls. This he did with two separate and contrived suppositions (Haines, 1940, 397-8). Not only does he convert negative evidence into positive evidence, he attempts to explain away existing positive evidence in order to support assumptions based on negative evidence. Considering the nature of the evidence available it would seem that the only truly valid argument against bison's existing in the area would be one put forth by a biologist that it was impossible on ecological grounds for bison to have existed there. To my knowledge no such argument has been advanced. Thus it would seem, after an examination of the existing positive evidence, drawn from history, zoology, archeology and ethnography, that it was highly probable that the bison ranged from northwestern Utah to northeastern California down to 40° N latitude in comparatively recent times.

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If we add the bison to the ecological picture previously painted for the Paiute we can postulate a far more rewarding subsistence level than was known in post-Caucasian times. The pursuit of buffalo, and the common patterns of gathering suggest that the relationships of the Shoshonean-speaking peoples were closely connected to their common ecology. However, by perhaps 1800 or shortly afterward the bison had disappeared from Nevada except possibly for small groups. This disappearance created an area of ecological imbalance in the southern portion of what had been the bison range. The Paiutes of this area were forced to seek alternatives to the buffalo and were probably oriented in the direction the buffalo had retreated. This may explain in part why the numerically inferior Washo were able to maintain themselves surrounded by the Paiute. The points of friction in the Pine Nut Mountains seem to be the only evidence of Paiute attempts to encroach on Washo subsistence save for occasional hunting and fishing forays into the Sierras.

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The introduction of the horse into the Basin in the late 18th century, through the agency of Comanche-Shoshoni trade (Ewers, 1954, 11) gave the

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northern Basin people an ecological alternative on one hand and increased the destruction of buffalo west of the Rockies on the other. Thus the horse-owning Shoshoni and Bannock pursued the bison across the divide and adapted to a life as mounted nomadic buffalo hunters. The colorful and dramatic population in the Plains may have obscured the relationships maintained between these groups and the "miserable Diggers" of the Basin. One must remember, however, that although buffalo were plentiful on the Plains the area was sparse in other food sources. The Basin offered a far wider variety of plant foods and fish as well as small game.

There is ample evidence that the Shoshoni, particularly as people armed with guns entered the Plains, were forced to move westward, and spend at least part of the year in a modified Basin existence. However, these people were essentially Plains Indians in attitude and had developed the war complex, with its emphasis on personal glory, coup counting and horse raiding as well as the larger band organization needed to support military activity of this nature. For whatever reason individual Plains Indians found themselves in northern Nevada it seems completely logical that they would go on acting like Plains Indians. There were no bison to hunt, but cattle ranged widely and there were many horse herds owned by whites. Such people were probably high prestige figures among the Paiute, who were suffering from want and were without large numbers of horses. The behavior of these visitors served as a model of alternative behavior for Paiutes, who had in fact been seeking alternatives since the disappearance of the bison.

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This behavior, however, presented a different picture to the white man than had the inoffensive scavenging and begging and pilfering of the pre-raiding band days. Large bands of Indians riding down on ranches, harassing wagon trains, waylaying travelers and running off stock could be viewed only as enemies. Enemies were met with force and, once defeated, were contained on reservations.

The White Man: Culture without Society

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In discussing Paiute and Washo we have spoken of two social systems bearing distinct yet generally similar culture, and in examining the changes that took place among these peoples we have discussed both cultural and social changes. However, in speaking of the white men who entered western Nevada in the first half of the 19th century it seems that we cannot meaningfully speak of white society and its impact on the culture or society of the Indians. Certainly Jedediah Smith and Zenas Leonard were not extensions of American society nor were the hordes of rootless fortune-seekers who entered the

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country after the discovery of the Comstock Lode. Essentially these people were social fragments bearing the ideational systems of American culture. American society as a real entity ended roughly at the Mississippi River. Needless to say, these men did not exist outside the social level of human experience but formed small, often short-lived, social systems to meet the exigencies of frontier life or, as did many of the mountain men, they joined existing Indian societies. The important issue is that the culture borne by these intruders set the pattern of their social organization. When social groups formed they were created along lines directed by American norms but those lines were adjusted to fit the situation as it existed in western Nevada and were a far cry from the social lines drawn in New England or Ohio. Illustrative of the above argument is the behavior of the volunteer regiment called up by Nevada to fight the Paiute. The organization was formed of companies drawn from the various settlements in the area. In keeping with American volunteer military tradition of the 19th century each company elected its own officers. However, so fiercely did each settlement prize its independent existence that the entire regiment refused to elect a colonel and marched to war without a leader, a loose alliance of the military elements of a number of small "societies" (Angel, 1958, 153). One might suggest that the acceptance of federal troops as an agent of defense against Indians marks the inclusion of a frontier settlement in the broader framework of American society from the position of a culture-sharing social isolate. Thus, in these crucial years of white-Indian contact, what was affecting Indians was not white or American society but American culture as brought west in the minds of fur trappers, ranchers, farmers and gold seekers. This argument becomes significant if we continue our attempt to relate the behavior of the Washo and Paiute to explain the differences in white response.

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The Washo failed to take hostile action in any concerted form against the white man and are said to have voluntarily turned in their weapons during the Paiute wars to avoid being mistaken for hostiles. Others of the Washo joined the white forces as scouts. This alliance was in part a result of the Washo's -- as well as the whites' -- having suffered raids by mounted Paiutes (d'Azevedo, personal communication).

The white response to this behavior is of two sorts. First, because they were not a threat and continued to live in the manner to which the whites were accustomed to seeing them -- as dependents and squatters, day laborers and root diggers -- there appears to have been no development of a white consciousness of the Washo as a tribe or any kind of a real social unit. They were simply "Indians." A second type of reaction was that of despising Washo because they had not fought. Here we see a culturally determined attitude. Although Paiutes fought and killed white men they were responding in a way the white men felt they would act themselves. The Washo, because

they did not resist white intrusion, were viewed as less than people, cowardly, without pride and unworthy of consideration. Because the Washo failed to demonstrate their unity as a people by military action they were not considered a unit, and it was not until the last decade of the 19th century that land allotments were made for them. W 175 648

The foregoing discussion of differential responses on the part of the Indians and on the part of white men toward Indians explains in large part the differences in acculturation subsequent to 1870 when the war-like Paiute were contained on reservations. N 175 177 648

As has been pointed out, the Paiute-Plains Indian relationships may well be due to the subsistence activities the two groups had shared in the past. The relationships as of 1858 served to give the Paiute a model of alternative behavior toward the white man, a model based on Plains Indian values and attitudes.

The Washo, however, lived almost entirely outside the buffalo territory. One suspects from this situation that the environment of their area was one that had never included food sources besides those present at the time of contact. We might then say that the Washo were in ecological balance. They did not consciously or unconsciously turn toward peoples with a markedly different ecological adaptation as models of alternative behavior. This is one way of saying that the Paiute were ecologically oriented toward the north and east, and the Washo were ecologically oriented toward the west. Gathering may have been better in California and game animals more plentiful, but essentially the subsistence patterns were much the same as those of the Washo. Thus Washo peoples felt little or no influence from the Plains groups. They continued to look at the horse and cow as food animals to be eaten when possible, but saw no advantage in adopting the horse. The Washo did not totally reject the horse but accepted it only as a convenience in transportation. Many Washo eventually owned wagons and teams and rode horses but used them only within the framework of aboriginal Washo culture patterns and developed neither a new way of life based on the horse nor new values that they attached to the horse. (For a more detailed discussion of Washo response to animal husbandry and agriculture see Downs, 1961a.) N W 177 182 22

In the years subsequent to 1879 the Paiute response pattern continued to be colorful, and in many ways, effective. In the early 1870's the first Ghost Dance was initiated at Mason Valley (Gayton, 1930, 57). This early movement elicited no interest among the Plains tribes or the Washo but was adopted by the seriously disorganized California groups. Shortly after this development the Paiute began to farm both on the reservation and off. A second nativistic movement, originated under Jack Wilson at Walker Lake in N 175 177 648 668

N 175 177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination 648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to 668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How- W [668] ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

W 177 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although 182 the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made 648 what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, [666] the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be sin- W [ ] gularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and [ ] other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion [623] and disunity than elements of cohesion.

W 177 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of 648 avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A 178 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the 619 war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour- 621 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

Northern Paiute NR13

N W 105 of plant food such as the pinenut also provided a basis for the coming together of large numbers but without the creation of special leaders.

N 106 177 178 648 The entry of white men was met in much the same manner by the two groups: avoidance on one hand and an attempt to exploit on the other. In the 1850's the Paiute developed a new social structure, based on the horse, and territorially oriented mounted war bands began attacking the white man. This hostile activity went on until 1870 when the Paiute were finally defeated and contained on reservations. After a short-lived nativistic revival the Paiute, on and off reservations, began to farm and raise livestock. Another nativistic revival occurred in 1890 and spread throughout the Plains tribes. Since that time the Paiute have continued to develop as farmers and ranchers, rather rapidly abandoning many Indian practices. On the other hand they have retained a strong indentification as Indians and tend to emphasize the more colorful aspects of being Indians through the retention of dances and ceremonies, many of them of Plains inspiration. The relation of the Paiute to the white man has been largely friendly since the cessation of hostilities and the Paiute is generally tolerated, and a few exceptional individuals respected by the whites in Nevada. There has been a steady increase in the degree of tribal political organization over the entire period of contact.

W 105 177 178 ● 648 The Washo appear to have attempted to continue the first response pattern with only a shift in emphasis during the past quarter century. Avoidance and exploitation have gradually given way to dependence, economic involvement and segregation of the Washo. The aboriginal band-land relationship broke down, but attempts to maintain modified bands as squatters on individual ranches continued until the 1920's. Hunting and gathering continued and still goes on. However, tribal organization, however alight it may have been, seems to have been lost. The failure of the Washo to unite against the white man seems to have resulted in the latter's failure to take notice of the Washo as a group. Since the reservation system was never instituted for the Washo, they remained squatters until the early 1900's and then were assigned scattered allotment lands. The attempt to adjust individually to the new situation appears to have led to a general fragmentation of Washo society. Certain ceremonies and shared cultural values identify Washo but a high degree of suspicion and disunity are characteristic of the group. Factions spring up over every issue: how to deal with the white man, the creation of a tribal council or a Peyotist movement. There is a general tendency to attempt to hide or deny specifically Indian traits. In general the relation of the Washo to the white man is that of avoidance wherever possible, and of ill concealed hostility and suspicion on both sides of the fence.

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N W 105 177 178 Materially both groups have accepted a great deal from the white man. Wooden houses have replaced native shelters. Factory clothing is worn.

W 105 177 182 obtaining lands on which to farm, and allotment lands, scattered and unsuitable for farming, were obtained only after the turn of the century as a result of a single short-lived period of semi-unity under a single head.

N W 105 177 648 What is suggested is that the Plains Indian relationships of the Paiute provided them with a model of behavior which influenced white men's attitudes and actions toward them in such a way that the opportunity for reorientation was presented. The Washo, without models of alternate behavior, made attempts at adjustment which were successful to some extent but caused the whites to ignore and despise them.

W 105 177 178 Thus the Washo remained scattered on allotments and continued squatting on public and private land totally unsuitable for agriculture and stock raising. Without a reservation, or at least relatively undisturbed occupancy of extensive lands, the Washo were unable to seek alternatives in stock-keeping or farming and were forced to attempt adjustments in terms of interacting with white society as an ethnic minority.

Notes

N W 114 1. The ideas in this paper were first expressed by the author at the Third Annual Meeting of the Kroeber Anthropological Society, May 16, 1959, Berkeley, California. In a more complete version it was later presented in the Seminar on Acculturation given by W. L. d'Azevedo in the spring of 1959 at the University of California, Berkeley. Subsequent to that time the author has conducted field research among the Washo, supported by the Woodrow W [122] Wilson Foundation and the Department of Anthropology, University of California. The present form of the paper has been developed since that time. I am particularly indebted to W. L. d'Azevedo for his encouragement of my Washo studies and for access to his extensive field notes and observations. The concepts developed here are, however, those of the author.

DDD 2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information conerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

WASHO RESPONSE TO ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

by James F. Downs

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In this paper I will discuss Washo response, or more properly, lack of response, to a single aspect of white culture, animal husbandry. The data herein presented were gathered in 1959 as a continuing study of the impact of animal husbandry on human culture and society in which the Washo serve as a negative but nonetheless important example. The Washo were selected because reference to the literature and discussions with W. L. d'Azevedo suggested that the Washo response to the introduction of livestock was very different from what has come to be accepted as usual in the western part of the North America. This response appeared even more notable when compared to the reaction of the nearby Paiute and Shoshoni groups, which served as a basis for a considerable body of theoretical speculation (Steward, 1955).

By examining a negative case I hope to demonstrate at least some of the adjustments and adaptations necessary in a society, previously without animal husbandry, before animal husbandry can be successfully incorporated. I shall not attempt to explain why the Washo failed to make such adjustments except by a general reference to the arguments outlined elsewhere, which, although they suggest a reason for a difference in response between the Washo and their neighbors, do not offer explanations for the exact course of the Washo response.

In the interests of brevity and clarity of argument I shall not attempt to reconstruct the entire process of change as it has taken place since the 1840's, but shall limit the discussion to the immediate question of animal husbandry.

Contemporary Washo

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The Washo today can be viewed as a socially assimilated people. That is, the Washo have not developed institutions within their own society in response to the changes brought about by white occupancy of their territory. Law enforcement is carried out by the county officials in the counties where the Washo reside, and offenders are tried in local and state courts (although, in theory, crimes committed in the Dresslerville community should be dealt with by the Federal Government). Education for Washo children is provided by local schools in Nevada and California. Old age and blindness pensions are paid by the states involved, and, in fact, the choice of a homesite often

is made in reference to the benefits paid by either Nevada or California. Unemployment compensation is paid by the respective states, as is compensation for injuries received on the job. The destitute receive assistance from state and county funds. Employment is sought in the same channels, public and private, as it is by white workers. The Washo drink in integrated cocktail lounges, gamble at integrated gaming tables and eat in integrated restaurants (although in all three instances certain establishments refuse to serve Indians).

The Washo tribe as a socio-political entity cannot be said to exist. A tribal council of members elected from the various Washo communities is largely ineffectual. Tribal consciousness, insofar as it exists, centers on the possibility of sharing in an eventual settlement of the Washo claim against the government. Several claims and suits in the name of the tribe actually have been instigated by individuals. Except for the 40-acre Dresslerville community, there is no tribal land. The pinenut allotments are owned individually, although the tribe holds a power of attorney to lease the land for grazing. This responsibility has in fact passed into the hands of the Indian agent at Stewart, Nevada, who receives and disburses the income from the leases.

There is no distinctly Washo economic occupational role, nor is there a separate Washo economic system. These statements should not be interpreted to mean that the Washo are enjoying all the benefits of modern white society without restriction or hindrance. The assimilation of the Washo by and large has been into the lowest and least privileged rung of the white social structure. Nor are the statements referring to social assimilation to be construed as an argument that the Washo have become totally acculturated. Although the Washo no longer exist as a compact social group, Washo culture, particularly in its less tangible aspects, has retained much of its viability, and the Washo form a clearly identifiable ethnic minority in western Nevada and eastern California.

Agriculture and Animal Husbandry

I did not discover a single family, indisputably Washo, that supported itself by raising livestock or growing crops, although a number of them live on holdings that would at least provide garden produce. One man near Woodfords does plant and care for about 2 acres of corn, but he is considered "half-Maidu" by his Washo neighbors. His grandfather had indeed married a Maidu bride and the family has been considered deviant since then. Although he identifies himself as a Washo, he tends to participate only minimally in tribal affairs, and is a member of an American Indian organization long since abandoned by other Washo.

grasses or other plants. The Washo were well aware that pigweed, an important seed crop, grows profusely in areas that have been burned over, but apparently no attempt was ever made to burn areas to encourage growth of the plant. 241

Domestic Animals

We must assume that the Washo knew of domestic animals among the Spanish and Indians of the coast (see Cook 1960, 243) on Indian horse tribes in California), and in all probability among the Shoshoni, Ute and Bannock to the east. However, Washo tradition is without mention of the introduction of horses. A specific incident, which could not have occurred earlier than the 1840's, was related by my informants and was reported to Lowie (1939, 3). A cow, or ox, strayed from a wagon train and was found by a party of Washo. The Indian response was characteristic of Washo response to livestock ever since. The animal was led, ridden, packed, teased, and then slaughtered and eaten. This single incident constitutes the only reference to domestic animals in the folklore of the Washo. 177 231

Questioning informants about Washo use of livestock proved to be one of the more tedious and unrewarding areas of investigation. Informants described long journeys undertaken in the past century, and only the most persistent questioning revealed that the trips were made with a wagon and team. The Washo still take great pride in their own and their ancestors' ability as pedestrian travelers. Even today, 5, 10, or 15 mi. walks are undertaken quite casually by many Washo, particularly middle-aged and older people. The earliest mention of Washo in connection with white livestock in the historical sources is a newspaper account of an incident that occurred in the 1850's. A group of Washo ran off a number of horses belonging to some white people attending a dance in Washo Valley. The guests broke off dancing, mounted the remaining horses, and set out in pursuit. Less than 2 mi. from the dance hall the posse found the horse thieves busily engaged in eating the stolen animals. Shots were fired and the Indians scrambled into the darkness. There is an undertone of humor in stories of this nature. White men are revolted by horse eating and are contemptuous, disgusted, amazed, or merely amused by a people who see horses only as meat on the hoof. Moreover, a lack of concern with the possible punishment for thievery seemed so unusual to white men that it was humorous rather than enraging. Nonetheless, the whites in Washo Valley tended to view the Washo as being more hostile than in other areas. During the last half of the 19th century, scattered newspaper references make it clear that at least some Washo owned and rode horses. Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still [124] [492] [484] 175 177 231 648 [262] 231 [175]

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Washo NT20

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[47] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[48] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[47] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[48] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[49] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

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Washo NT20

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods--acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318-321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua Franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

" See Appendix III for statistics.

" Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings." Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction." For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue." Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains."

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped." The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[84] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 18131–18141, 18202.

[85] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[86] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[87] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 58) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and is a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[88] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[89] La Barre, 72.

[90] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

Washo NT20

42) Daolulahlahk - means "Fire Makes Red Rock", the name for the eroded bluffs of red colored earth which can be seen from Highway 395 at the Red Rock turn-off. W 103

43) Daogépaha - means "Like a Cut-bank", and is the name for Dog Valley grade where ice water springs are located on the county road.

Harry Wilson, in his interview, tended to proceed geographically from Doyle to a point south and east of the Nevada State Prison in his place names. This is particularly true for items 31 through 40. It was neither possible to get him to be more precise, nor to get him to go to the places physically. For these reasons these geographic places are not more accurately located. He could not give a name for Long Valley or for Long Valley Creek which flows into Honey Lake. W 103 .24 W N

These notes on Northern Washo ethnogeography tend to substantiate the contention of the Honey Lake Paiute that their territory extends to Doyle and that of the Washo begins at Doyle and extends southward. Had Harry Wilson known of Washo villages north of Doyle there is no reason to believe that he would have neglected to mention them. In fact, special interrogation was made at the time to urge him to give any information concerning names for villages and physiographic features in the Honey Lake region. The result was limited to his providing a name for Honey Lake, Hot Springs Mountain, and Fort Sage Mountain, all prominent physiographic features near his home. Village names and locations are conspicuously absent in his presentation. This does not deny the fact that the Washo used portions of the Honey Lake Valley, but it very strongly suggests that their use was with the consent of the Honey Lake Paiute who held title to the region. 114 131 W [124] N [423] W N [648]

[P. 377, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

968 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[224] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l—a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1930's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
764 abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
768 government. No longer permitted to move about the
178 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
[656] justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
[177] by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospi-
tal seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mib$^{\varphi}$shigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

[P. 397, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
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the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
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other Indians rather late. The Washo never kept horses until sometime after 1850. In 1844 the Fremont party (Nevins 1956, 348) put a Washo on a horse and "enjoyed the unusual sight of an Indian who could not ride. He could not even guide the animal, and appeared to have no knowledge of horses." Fremont was given a Washo guide, a boy they called Melo (meaning "friend"), who was selected because he had seen Whites. Later on in the same year Hamilton's trapping party met Paiutes on the Carson River that had a few horses, understood a little Spanish, and had a few Spanish flintlock guns (Sieber 1951, 155-6).

In 1852 a band of Washo were reported in the possession of several American horses near Eagle Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147) while Major G. W. Ingalls (1913, 26) wrote that the Washo had no horses in 1859. Lowie (1939, 302) collected the following story about Washo contact with Whites.

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"According to Dave, the first whites from the East reached the site of Wadsworth in the fall of the year on their way to California, driving mule, ox, or horse teams. There were many of them, and they did not halt. Women were in the emigrant wagon. One ox got away and was tended by the Indians, who rode and packed him, finally killing him for the meat, which they divided among the band."

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In the late 1800's sweeping changes of the natural and social scene were wrought by mining, lumbering, farming, grazing, commercial fishing, tourism, and the growth of towns. By 1900 the Washo were culturally "reservation Indians," but without a reservation or a treaty with the U.S. Government. They had been alloted about 64,000 acres of land in the Pine Nut Hills as a pinenut reserve. In addition, about 30 Washo families each received trust lands in California, especially in Alpine County, under the General Allotment Act of 1887 and other later acts. The usual size for these "Indian homesteads" was 80 acres. These lands in California totaled 2,600 acres in 1945.

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In 1917 the site of the Dresslerville Colony was obtained and in 1938 and 1940 three ranches were purchased adjacent to the colony for the Washo. The ranches were run by the Washo for several years. Political troubles within the tribe forced them to lease to White ranchers. In addition, the Carson Colony of 160 acres was purchased for the Washo in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency).

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Today Washo income comes mainly from wage work along with some rentals, social security, relief, and craftwork. Most of the wage work of the Washo living in Dresslerville and Woodfords is connected with farm and ranch work. With 100 years of association with Nevada ranch life, many Washo Indians are skilled ranch hands. However, none of the Washo own sizable farms or ranches today. With military service and World War II defense plant experience a number of Washo, particularly those residing in Carson City and Reno, have moved into skilled trades.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Daws Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668]

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

200 acres at $34,000; and the Frank J. Judd ranch, 190.57 acres at $20,000 for a total of 795 acres valued in 1938 at $94,000. The Judd ranch was actually purchased in 1940 (Realty Office, Carson Indian Agency, Stewart, Nevada). 175 657

1940 - 67% of the 40 old age pensions in Douglas County go to Indians (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

Electric power line extended to Dresslerville (Record-Courier, January, 1960).

1951 - By 1951, 528 "pinenut allotments"had been made. The area of the total alloted land was 62,713 acres. With the previous death of many of the original landholders and the subsequent division of the original 120 to 160 acres apiece among the heirs, 454 of the original 528 had been split up into smaller pieces. The process of fractionalization of the ownership of these lands is such that today it costs the Government more to administer them than is received by the Washo who collectively lease them to the Pinenut Stock Growers Association.

The area owned by the Washoe Tribe as a corporate body is the 795 acres of the three ranches and the 40 acres of Dresslerville. The Tribe also has some ownership of the colonies at Carson City and Reno. [423]

In addition to these lands, "Indians homestead allotments" under various U. S. Acts (June 25, 1910 being one) have been taken out by individual Washo Indians, principally in California.

In 1951 the Washo had a claim against the Government for the lands that were taken from them without a treaty. They claimed 9,872 square miles and asked $42.8 million ($7.8 for the land, $10 for the fish and game, and $25 for minerals and timber). The claim has been decreased and is still in the process of litigation in 1962. 175 [648]

Northern Paiute NR13

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177 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination
648 of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to
668 Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items
of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. How-
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[668] ever, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once
again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

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177 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although
182 the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian
648 tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made
what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This
adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by
the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of
the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, be-
came another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in
order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was
gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity.
Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without ref-
erence to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained be-
came a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could
take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on
travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass
disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo
society.

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[622] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened,
[666] the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to repre-
sent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on
W
[18] another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be sin-
[623] gularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and
other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion
and disunity than elements of cohesion.

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177 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of
648 avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo
as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude to-
ward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform
to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N
177 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A
178 greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the
619 war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encour-
621 aged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This in-
creased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a piñon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think those are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at noon, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (?). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

[P.393, A]

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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[P 373, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many *I heard dealing with* competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

● 668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1898), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 791 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

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MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the

825 789 778 skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763 825 The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 ● 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

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5:Kroeber E-5 (no date)1925 NT20 Washo NT20

tions—is put on a boy's cradle, of rhombuses on a girl's. Occasionally the cradle and hood are covered with buckskin, as in the eastern Great Basin.

DRESS AND IMPLEMENTS.

Sinew-sewed deerskin clothes for women are mentioned, but may possibly have had the same recent and eastern source as the small sweat lodge. Their description as consisting of a separate waist and skirt sounds rather unaboriginal.

Rabbits were taken in nets of a 3-inch mesh, 1½ or 2 feet wide, and as much as 300 feet in length. These were hung loosely on stakes or bushes. Sometimes two were set at an angle. When the animals were driven, they became entangled in the sagging net, and had their temples crushed by hunters that sprang out from concealment. All hunts organized on a large scale were under the direction of the chief of the rabbit hunt, *pelew-lewe-tiyeli*, whose position was hereditary.

The bow was sinew backed and had recurved ends. The arrow was foreshafted, the quiver of deerskin had the hair side turned in. This indicates the usual north and central Californian type of weapon.

Piñon nuts, *tagum*, usually ground and boiled, were a commoner food of the Washo than acorns, *malil*, although these could also be gathered in some tracts and were obtained by trade from the west. The mortar was a hole in a bowlder, used without basketry hopper; the pestle usually an unshaped cobble. The metate was called *demge*. The mush-stirring paddle was called *k'a'as;* the looped stick which was used for the same purpose Yokuts-fashion, *beleyu*.

BUILDINGS.

The house was of poles joined in an oval dome, thatched with mats of tule, much as among the adjacent Northern Paiute. In the mountains leaves or bark were used for covering. The winter house was a cone of slabs of bark, about 8 feet high in the middle and 12 feet in length, with a projecting entrance. It must have been very similar to the Maidu *Aŭbo*.

The Plains Indian type of sweat lodge, a pole frame temporarily covered with skins or mats, just large enough to sit in, and heated by steam, was used instead of the earth-covered Californian sweat house, it is said. This form is likely to be a recent one, introduced with the horse, or possibly a reflex of a ghost-dance movement.

The dance or assembly house with roof of earth was known to the Washo, who call it *dayalimi;* but whether they built and used it, or had merely seen it in the west, is not clear.

1880 - "During the year 1880, 70,000 pounds of trout moved down the toll road from Tahoe City" (Scott 1957, 445). 175

1880's at Tallac, "An uprising was narrowly averted when friendly tribesmen from the nearby Washoe encampment were forbidden to spear and net trout in streams flowing into the lake. The Indians threatened retaliation and apparently won their point." (Scott 1957, 156). [648]

1887 - Pinenut allotments totaling 64,000 acres to be given to individual Washo Indians under the Dawes Act of this year. [657]

1891 - Indians reported to be destroying the fishing at Lake Tahoe. (Genoa Weekly Courier, June, 1891). Also see the same newspaper on October 9, 1891 for an article on "The Indian as a Rancher."

1892 - The Ghost Dance was led by Jack Wilson on the Walker River Reservation and Washo went there to attend. [668] ●

About 250 Washo gathered to hear Capt. Jim and Dick Bender near Carson City upon their return from Washington, D. C. (San Francisco Chronicle, May, 1892). [648]

1899 - The Carson Indian Agency presented deeds to 400 Indians for land in the Pine Nut Hills (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [657]

1910 - In the early 1900's "The titular head of the Washoe tribe 'Indian Ben' James headed hunting and pack trips into the Desolation Valley area." Scott 1957, 163). [622] [224]

1916 - Washo caught many wild ponies in the Pine Nut Hills this year (Record-Courier, February, 1956). [231]

1917 - On March 16th William F. Dressler gave the Washo tribe, "in trust" with the U. S. Government, the 40 acres that today constitutes the colony of Dresslerville. The deed provides that the gift will become null and void if the tribe quits residing at Dresslerville with the property reverting to the heirs of Dressler. [657]

1919 - The first Washo applied to the Douglas County clerk for a marriage license (Record-Courier, January, 1959). [177]

1937 - The Corporate Charter of the Washoe Tribe ratified, Feb. 27. [642]

1938 - Three ranches were bought by the U. S. Government for the Washoe tribe "in trust" under the Wheeler-Howard Act of 1934. They are the Karl Heidtman ranch, 404 acres at $40,000; the Louis Falletti ranch, 175 657

344 was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine
177 sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of
[668] the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that
[425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed.
[782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and
[685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized
[768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had
[431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory,
423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wagaléya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an
756 insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
● 668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[987] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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[For generalized information on the Washo-Peyote cult, see entire source, category 116, pp. 615-640.]

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[64] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[75] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
[754] But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
[178] would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the
[19] remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

Washo society. In other words, the fact that particular Washo become alcoholics indicates certain personality problems of a stressful nature. Once having become alcoholics they are faced with further problems. Other Washo tend to look down on the alcoholics, who then become the subject of malicious gossip for giving a "bad name" to the Washo. In this way, alcoholism, which has been shown to be related to hypertension, may seem to reflect stress.

In contrast to education in white schools and alcoholism, membership in the Peyote cult is seen to be related to normal blood pressures, or an absence of hypertension. Here one can speculate that membership in the Peyote movement tends to be stress-reducing. The psychological and social functions of reform movements such as Peyote have long been noted. For example, Voget (1956, 259) states that these movements:

> ". . . perform a number of important functions in the continuing development and adjustment of the Indian. By providing Indians with a legitimate base for the evaluation of Indian ways, a new dignity and self-confidence emerges. The sense of inferiority and unworthiness which grips the Indian gives way to a bolder and more confident outlook, and he is enabled to face contemporary issues without immobilizing anxiety."

Our own observations among the Washo support Voget's contention. The Washo Peyotists did appear more stable and considerably less anxious than non-Peyotists. Thus the finding that the Peyotists have significantly less hypertension than the other Washo is of some interest.

On the basis of the limited data presented above it may be stated in summary that (1) variables related to social stress are also related to hypertension, and that (2) variables related to attempts to counteract such stresses are also related to an absence of hypertension. This interpretation must, of course, be considered tentative, particularly in view of the failure to find significant relationships between hypertension and some of the variables thought to be important, such as type and continuity of employment.

Studies of social factors in hypertension are currently underway in several societies throughout the world. It is hoped that findings from these studies shed additional light on the nature of the relationship of culture to this disease.

Northern Paiute NRB

N 175 177 648 668 1890, was joined by the Basin and Plains tribes until the bloody termination of the Ghost Dance at Wounded Knee Creek. At this time, according to Mooney (1896), the Paiute were still living in brush houses with very few items of white material culture except metal pots, guns and factory clothes. However, they had adopted both livestock-keeping and farming. The Washo once again rejected the Ghost Dance and only a few individuals joined Paiute groups.

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W 177 182 648 This double rejection of nativistic movements suggests that although the Washo were often considered an almost extinct fragment of an Indian tribe, hanging around the edges of white towns, they may in fact have made what was in individual terms an adequate adjustment to white intrusion. This adjustment, rather than taking the line of changing orientations displayed by the Paiute appears to have been of a continuous attempt to take advantage of the new situation in terms of the old patterns. The white man, I suggest, became another item of the environment which could be exploited. However, in order to carry out this kind of exploitation the old band-land relationship was gradually abandoned and with it any real behavioral evidence of social unity. Working for the white man was an individual activity carried out without reference to the band. Gathering in the areas where native foods remained became a competitive enterprise rather than one in which an entire band could take part. The demands of white employers and the restrictions placed on travel by barbed wire, private property and American concepts of trespass disrupted the old cycle of movement and increased the fragmentation of Washo society.

W [622] [666] Only once, in the early 1900's when the pinenut range was threatened, the Washo were able to achieve enough unity to select a tribal chief to represent them. However, at his death the Washo were never able to agree on another chief. Modern field workers agree that the Washo appear to be singularly unable to agree on any unified action. Even the tribal council and other such modern innovations appear to be more focal points of suspicion and disunity than elements of cohesion.

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W 177 648 The Washo attitude toward the white man still seems to be one of avoidance and repressed hostility. In return, the white man treats the Washo as a nuisance and an outcast. This is in marked contrast to the attitude toward the Paiute, which is one of relative admiration for Indians who conform to the accepted and romanticized view of Indian behavior.

N 177 178 619 621 The Paiute direction of change appears to have been two-fold. A greater tribal identity appears to have developed, partially because of the war bands and partially because of the reservation situation, which encouraged the Indians to live and act as a unit with responsible leaders. This increased identity has accompanied a continued political unification locally

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The automobile is used by both groups. Only a few old women among the Washo still weave baskets. Gathering lore is still passed on among Washo women, although there is a tendency to hide this from whites. Only the bedrock mortar, basketry, pinyon picking tools and rabbitskin blankets seem to have survived as useful items in modern Washo life. The colorful paraphernalia of the Peyote Church is, of course, inspired by modern Peyotists and does not represent aboriginal Washo survivals. The Washo have turned to day-labor and odd-jobbing for economic support and have rejected agriculture or ranching, although there is a growing admiration for the cowboy. The Paiute have become to a large extent relatively successful farmers.

Washo change, then, can be characterized as an attempt to adapt aboriginal patterns to the new situations created by the entrance of the white man.

The Paiute, on the other hand, must be described as attempting to find new orientations of social and cultural behavior to meet the changing situation. We see three major shifts in Paiute activity over the past century.

The differences in response have been related to historic relationships with other Indian groups which have their basis in the distribution of the buffalo.

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It has been suggested that the buffalo once extended much farther south and west than they did in the 1840's and that the Paiute shared a common ecological adaptation with other peoples in the northern part of the Basin. The withdrawal of the bison created two environmental zones but did not break off intertribal relations based on the former common subsistence patterns. Thus, when the Paiute were further impoverished by the introduction of white livestock into their gathering areas they responded by taking up the horse and a modified war complex, as revealed to them by visiting Shoshoni and Bannock, and entering into hostile actions against the whites. This led the whites to treat Paiutes as a unit, and, after their final defeat, to assign them to reservations. The reservation system not only emphasized Paiute unity and encouraged political development but also provided land for farming.

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The Washo, on the other hand, lived largely outside the area of buffalo range and therefore suffered no loss or ecological imbalance because the big animals became extinct in the region. Their response to the white man was simply to attempt to utilize what he brought into the new area and to modify the relatively successful Washo adaptation as little as possible. As a result, Washo organization, based on ecology, broke down as the ecology changed. The Washo lost even the minor tribal structure they had once had; bands changed and finally disappeared. The lack of unity prevented this group from

3. This success must be viewed in relative terms. It is more accurate to say that the Paiute think in terms of stock raising and farming but most Washo do not.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

N W 157 177 795*

differently from the majority in joining the cult, finding individuals in the cult with very unlike histories, in addition to people with apparently similar backgrounds opposing the cult, weakens generalizations based on psychological factors.

The James family is a case in point. If only the mother and one son were considered, it would seem obvious that they joined to be cured, the mother of goiter, the son of trachoma. Furthermore, the son may have felt inferior to his three exceptionally capable brothers and therefore sought comfort, self-aggrandizement, and approval in the new religion. A good case might be built up were it not for the fact that the most talented and successful of his brothers also joined the cult. The two hardly joined for the same reason. If such personality studies provided an authentic basis for generalization, the three successful brothers should have reacted alike, instead of one joining with the inferior, weak member. In this family the mother, two sons, a daughter, and two granddaughters are active members of the religion; the father, two sons, and a daughter-in-law are nonmembers but tolerant of the cult; a daughter, a granddaughter, a son-in-law, and a daughter-in-law are severe denouncers and critics of peyotism."

N W 177 795*

The theories of cultural compatibility and disintegration receiving little support from an analysis of participation according to social and economic position, we must conclude that, in spite of a belief that type of culture and degree of cultural integration influence behavior, their effect on the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo-Paiute is not significant.

N W 171 177 668 ● 795*

Since percentage of population converted to a transplanted religion is a crucial datum in evaluating theories propounded to explain its diffusion, it seems worthwhile to apply this criterion, where possible, to other cases of the diffusion of religions. Kroeber knew that the 1870 Ghost Dance was not accepted by all individuals in groups to which it spread, and that it had a very different reception among tribes having almost identical cultures and in similar conditions of deprivation. He reasoned a priori that the differential acceptance resulted from variation in cultural disintegration." Du Bois, in her exhaustive study of the same movement, confirmed the disproportion between conversion and culture or disintegration, and stated (p. 136): "Once an idea or complex has been introduced into a group there are factors making for its acceptance or rejection." In like manner, the modern Shaker cult has, according to Barnett, been partially accepted in northern California.

Mooney's data on the 1890 Ghost Dance show that in every tribe there was some opposition to it, varying from a majority in some to a minority in others. He often repeated the theory of cultural disintegration to explain what occurred, yet described tribes in identical circumstances reacting differently. For example, he wrote (pp. 902–906, 1044) that the Comanche had been "close confederates of the Kiowa for perhaps 150 years" and that the two were together when finally defeated and made "prisoners and paupers" in 1874–1875. The Kiowa, at least temporarily, accepted the Ghost Dance enthusiastically, but the Comanche as a group had nothing to do with it. The same general conditions which Mooney gave as adequate reasons for acceptance of the Ghost Dance by the Kiowa (and other Plains tribes) existed among the Comanche, yet the Comanche did not take up the cult.

The diffusion of the peyote cult in other areas was also thought to have resulted from cultural compatibility and disintegration, which Shonle (p. 59) called "the restless and almost despairing need for reorganization of religion to meet the needs

[11] Appendix IV shows the status of other families of members.
[12] 1925:868–873.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

N W 171 177 668 795

of a new type of living."[3] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

N W 177 795 797

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

N W [171] [668]

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[3] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[3] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[11] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it."[12] And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters." The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[11] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[12] Tom Garth, field notes.
[13] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

NWA 755

	To	K1	K2	Kn	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Ig	Wd	K1	Ar
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	•	•	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	•	+	+	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	•
NWA 756 789 2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	•
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	•	–	•	–	–	+	–	+	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	•	+	–	–	+	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
NWA 754 2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	•	–	+	•	+	+	•	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharsi	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[N 786] 2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
NWA 756 2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	•	+	+	•	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	–
● 681 755 2570a. New doctor assists old ones	•	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	•	+	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
NWA 776 782 2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamima)	+	•	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tsaawu)	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
● [683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

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Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

[a] Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

[b] Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

[c] Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

[d] La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

Washo NT20 ●
Akhomawi NS5

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

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Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

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Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

344 177 [668] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p. 47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teūbčýū (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teūbčýū for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teūbčýū) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas.[a] A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety.[b]

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9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4,5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20
Northern Paiute NR13

Thus the area in which the Washo lived was somewhat more varied than the territories of other groups, encompassing four life zones. This contrasted to the condition of the Paiute as a whole, where some bands existed in relative luxury for gatherers, and others occupied extremely inhospitable areas. The Washo, as a whole, enjoyed a fairly favorable area for hunting and gathering. In aboriginal times there seems to have been little effort to drive other groups out of the area when they entered it to hunt or gather, suggesting that the Washo felt they were amid plenty and that added exploitation would not deprive them. This does not hold for their view of the pinenut areas they utilized. They defended these with vigor, as they also defended fishing sites. There appears to have been a sufficient supply of nuts to permit very large gatherings in the fall at the beginning of the harvest season.

As with the Paiute, the Washo family appears to have been the primary unit of social organization. Families combined into bands that may or may not have had more permanence of membership than did those of the Paiute. Informants insist that families decided the course of their yearly movement independent of any band activities, either joining other bands or going on hunting and gathering treks -- often as far as the Pacific coast -- by themselves.

Band leaders had little, if any, more authority than did their counterparts among the Paiute. When bands gathered for antelope or rabbit hunting a shaman or rabbit boss took charge of the actual hunting operation as was true elsewhere in the Basin. Mountain sheep and mule deer were hunted in small informal groups, the latter occasionally in communal hunts.

The Washo recognized different areas within their territory but to what degree people or bands remained within these territories is not known. Lowie (1939, 301-52) sees incipient moiety formation in this division, but its only expression appears to have been the selection of members of teams to play games during the annual pinenut festival. Certain groups living in the mountains near what is today Woodfords were viewed by other Washo as "crazy," i.e., particularly brave, unpredictable and fierce. This was because, according to informants, these people had a great deal of association with California tribes (Downs, 1961b). The Woodfords group appears to have served traditionally as Washo "shock troops," being called upon for help whenever it was necessary to fight neighboring Indians. Freed (1960, 353) reports that a leader could assemble fighting men by sending a knotted deerhide string to his supporters. My own informants corroborated this but made it clear that no one was compelled to respond. There is no record of interband hostility even to the degree mentioned above for the Paiute.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'o'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[a] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[a] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

721 row all of you shall go and catch fish, then make nut soup. We men are going to hunt deer." They had tried to capture a young Digger squaw, but she refused to come, so they knocked her over the head and killed her. Another woman swam across the creek and climbed up a hill unclad; the Washo laughed at sight of her nakedness. Another band of Diggers was sighted, so the Washo came home with the body, dancing at the site of Reno.

727 In the celebration the warriors hung their booty all over themselves in the dance and carried bows and arrows. The scalp was tied to the top of a peeled eight-foot willow pole, which everyone, including women but not young girls, seised and shook. The people hallooed and danced, finally removing the hair and burning it. After the dance they would disperse and go home. "The Washo used to be the best marksmen and the best fighters" (Dave).

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

● 724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [754] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [344] house copied after Miwok structures and described as [177] "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. [177] She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.394, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for almost any group activity. The most common motivation for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[535] [721] [224]

[956] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer appears to have been one of the important factors in attaining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

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Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 178

Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Antelope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

[224]

787 825

One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[1] Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[211] [721] 622 222 527 791 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It

[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

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William T. Hamilton (Sieber 1951, 227-9) claims contact with 150 horse riding Indians at "Biglow's Lake", one of the early names for Lake Tahoe.

Donner Pass was considered the best route into California for the wagon trains and many White camps were established along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

1850 - Territory of Utah created which included most of Nevada.

Abner Blackburn ran the trading post at Genoa until winter.

1851 - John Reese and party built and operated the trading post at Genoa. It was called Reese's Station, then Mormon Station, and then Genoa. This started the settlement in Nevada with a number of people deciding to stay east of the Sierras.

"The first eastbound mail, carried from Sacramento on mule-back, reached Carson Valley on May 17, 1851...on its way to Salt Lake City and points east" (Nevada 1940, 37).

Clark Ranch established in Carson Valley (Thompson and West 1881, 29-30).

1852 - Washo near Eagle Station (later known as Carson City) reported having several horses. [231]

The Washo made raids on the stock in Carson Valley and one Indian was shot (Ingalls 1913, 38). [921]

1853 - Isaac Roop settled in Honey Lake Valley (Thompson and West 1881). [648]

The present Washo land claim against the U. S. government will be awarded on the value of property in this year in California and in the year 1862 for Nevada (Indian Claims Commission 1959).

1854 - "In 1854 a road was cleared across the Sierra and a four-mule team began to haul /sic/ mail and passengers between Salt Lake City and California. By 1857 there was tri-weekly passenger service across the mountains and travelers could use stages the whole way from the Missouri to the West Coast" (Nevada 1940, 38).

Asa H. Hawley established a trading post in Lake Valley. "I was the only white man near the lake with the exception of another trader (Martis Smith) located some four miles north toward Lake Bigler (Tahoe)... The Indians would not allow white men to fish in the lake" (Scott 1957, 180).

1851 - Orson Hyde organized the town of Genoa. At the close of the year there was a population of about 200 at Genoa and about 100 at Gold Canyon. 175

Jules Remy and Robert Brenchley (1860, 41) collected the following Washo vocabulary from "Three ragged Indians" they met after two days of travel eastward from Genoa (13 1/2 hours actual travel time) along the Carson River. 175 192

"Buhp, horse	Chuiep, nose
Pacha, hook	Tats, hand
Tsui, knife	Och, hat
Paiuti, gun	Quaip, water
Tinchapy, percussion cap	Vikes, trousers
Taiuch, hair	Malip, belt
Tiak, teeth	Ateeo, no
Vika, eyes	Ape, yes"
Aeee, mouth	

1856 - "Snowshoe" Thompson began to carry the mail from Genoa to Sacramento (Nevada 1940, 37). 175

Garland Hurt in a letter to Brigham Young said "There is another small tribe called the Was-saws, who live mostly on the Sierra Nevada mountains, but claim the Carson as their land, and have made several attempts to collect rent off the settlers, but being not very numerous, have found a mild course the better policy" (Hurt 1856). [648]

1857 - Samuel Brannan led a Mormon party that sailed around the horn to San Francisco, assembled at Placerville, went over the Sierras past Woodfords, and on to Salt Lake City.

Capt. Jim of the Washo organized a gift enterprise in which the Whites were invited and brought one or two sacks of flour ($8 a sack in value), there was Indian entertainment, and then the White guests were each given one buckskin ($1 in value). 648 175 [577] [435]

John McMartin and James Williams were killed by Washo while on their way to California in charge of separate pack trains from Mormon Station (Thompson and West 1881, 147). Some historians claim that the two men were killed by Whites. Also see Hopkins (1883, 64). [431]

A Washo raid known as the Potato War occurred when Washo harvested, without permission, the three acres of potatoes of William Morehead who lived 2 1/2 miles northwest of Milford, California (Farris and Smith 1882, 391). [721]

7756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his supernatural, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some 7756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains 178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism 468 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture 756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. [178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine, and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). 622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo [114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special 624 headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit [224] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; [78] the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is 178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu- 623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com- 642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, [578] the council handles them quite inept1y. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective [887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

203 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader- 211 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his 622
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[P.353, B]

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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'lé·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained. 622 [203] [211]

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows. 721 535 [40] [825] [834] [262] [263]

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies. [843] 726 756 739

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare. 727 [783] 726 [234]

SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegelévu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegelóyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[715] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-28) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegelóyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegelóyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. SURVEYS.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ya	Kl	Kd	Ka	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Ki	All
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2146. For rabbit drive	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2145. For antelope drive	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2147. For sud-hen (or duck) drive	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦
2148. For pine-nut trip	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦
Chiefs (wehaweni or wimawi)														
2149. Head chief (tuvia[-wimawi) (leader of named and localized group)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2151. Community approval required	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2153. Chief's announcer (wavvimawa)	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2154. Chief's messenger	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagwa wimawi)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2156. For rabbit drive (kamawimawi)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2157. For antelope drive (tamawimawi)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2158. For sud-hen (or duck) drive (mihawimawi)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦
2159. For fishing	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Head owned hunting territory	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2165a. Head owned valley in which lived	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2166. Head owned pine-nut territory	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦
2167. Head owned fishing stream	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2168. Disputes settled by fight	◦	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2171. Chattels all privately owned	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2172. All destroyed at death	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2173. Eagle aeries privately owned	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2173a. Cold springs public	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2173b. Hot springs public	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2174a. Protection only	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦
2175. Warfare rare	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦
2176. War ritual	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦
2177. Captives	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	◦
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Belochin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	◦	–	◦	–	◦	◦	–	◦
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Named village house	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180a. Regular house	◦	◦	–	–	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 20	–	◦	–	–	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	◦	–
2181a. 30 ["month"]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2182. Ground excised	–	–	–	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	◦	◦	–	–	◦	◦	◦	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.407]

N 624 535 captains at Pyramid Lake. Even in the old days, men became dance captain merely by taking an interest in occurrence of dances.

2158. Ts: Band chief acted as captain of mudhen drive.

N [B21] 2159. K + (Lowie, 306): "The Pyramid Lake Paviotso celebrated the kuyu'i^{i}-nö°ga (kuyui dance), for which there was also a special master of ceremonies."

N [B21] 2160. Wa: Hunt-chief had considerable authority, and conducted harvest dance just before piñon-nut gathering (Curtis, 96).

W [B22] 2162. Wa: + (see note 2142; Curtis, 96).

PROPERTY

N 621 423 2165. Ts: Indians claimed piñon-nut areas and other places because their parents went there. It was not private ownership. It is like saying 'my home town,' or 'my favorite fishing stream' (MD). K1, K2: All bands claimed certain areas, streams, mountains, valleys, and so on; still any Paiute could get food any place without fear of payment or trouble if he would ask permission. Even "Digger, Washo, and Shoshone would come to Pyramid Lake for kuyui fish." Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [226] 2166, 2166a. K2: The piñon-nut area was owned by the band, yet it was subdivided among the individuals who claimed certain spots; notwithstanding this, everyone got piñon nuts where he wanted without payment or permission, unless "owner" was on the spot.

N [425] 2166a. Pa: DW said his father paid a horse for a certain piñon-nut range.

2168. Ts: The Tövusi protected their piñon nuts and intruders' baskets were broken when they were chased away. Each family had several "claims" which could be used if crop failed in one place. These "claims" inherited from both parents.

N [776 712] 2173b. At: The hot spring was paid with bone beads and other things, which were thrown into it whenever one took a bath in it.

WARFARE

N 721 ●[W 721] 2174. Ts: Individual encounters between Washo and Paiute resulted in some deaths; no war. Only real war was between Paiute and Sai (Pit River Indians). K1: The last war, with the Pit River Indians, was fought near Suttcliff, on W edge of Pyramid Lake. K2: Discoverers of eagle aeries owned them and had exclusive right to them. Trespass might result in fight.

N [425] Aeries descended from father to son. K3: The

N 721 175 only Paiute war was against the Sai, the original owners of Humboldt River and Humboldt Sink. At that time Paiute all lived at Stillwater. As a result of the Sai's killing several Paiute who came to Humboldt Lake to hunt, the Paiute

raided them and drove them out of the country (GN). To: Paiute killed Sai in Lovelock Cave (LP). LP said his grandmother was Sai. BS and MW agreed that LP had Sai blood in him which accounted for his meanness. To: The Tövusi joined Toe when they chased Sai from Humboldt Valley. This explains why so many arrow and spear points have been found around the now dry lake. Pa: The war against Sai is only one about which DV knew. "The Sai were from around Klamath River and raided Paiute, who finally struck back so hard that the Sai never recovered. All Paiute bands aided in battle. This happened three generations ago." Wa: Only one war between Washo and "Digger" was remembered by LR. One person was killed. Washo and Paiute did not fight. The Paiute was a big tribe, but they did not like to fight. The Washo was a small tribe of good fighters. Neither wanted to start anything." At: The real Sai lived in Oregon and they were the ones killed near Lovelock. The Pit River Indians (igigawe) only called Sai because it came to signify anyone bad or warlike. The Atsa joined Kuyui in war against Pit River Indians (PS). Sa: The Indians in American army really won the World War. The Indians showed generals how it could be done. They formed a circle around German trenches (JM). Tg: The Pendleton Indians are the real Sai. The Tagö had trouble in old days with Araitsi (Warm Springs, Oregon), Sai, and Shoshone. Ki: Charlie Washo's father went to Pyramid Lake to fight against Pit River Indians. He got scared, however, and ran away (JB). AE: Two wars with Paiute are recounted by Pit River Indians. One was generations ago, the other was in historic time and occurred in Achomawi territory.

2177. Ts: In the last great war with the Pit River Indians, ND's grandfather went around and killed all the girls who had been taken captive to prevent their escape and to prevent trouble at home. There were many people killed, "maybe 4000."

BIRTH CUSTOMS

2178. Ts: Mole flesh was dried, powdered, mixed with ocher and replaced in the moleskin, the whole to be used as a sex and gambling charm. It is dangerous to possess such a charm because it might enter one's body through a sore or something and kill owner. It causes sickness like blood poisoning. TS: A mole charm is dangerous medicine. One made an Indian boy sick a little while ago, and he would have died if the Indian doctor had not treated him. The boy was painted and father was forced to throw away his mole charm. Wd: Denied by SC and said by BJ to be very dangerous.

2179. K2: DM had never been a father and denied any knowledge about childbirth customs.

2181, 2207. K1: During 22-day confinement 5 baths are taken. First bath 5 days after

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

Government—Property

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (tɛ.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsetaini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolalčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

7:Freed E-8 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

INFORMANTS

The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume'li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of piñon wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'o'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women* and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

* On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

721 row all of you shall go and catch fish, then make nut soup. We men are going to hunt deer." They had tried to capture a young Digger squaw, but she refused to come, so they knocked her over the head and killed her. Another woman swam across the creek and climbed up a hill unclad; the Washo laughed at sight of her nakedness. Another band of Diggers was sighted, so the Washo came home with the body, dancing at the site of Reno.

● 727 In the celebration the warriors hung their booty all over themselves in the dance and carried bows and arrows. The scalp was tied to the top of a peeled eight-foot willow pole, which everyone, including women but not young girls, seized and shook. The people hallooed and danced, finally removing the hair and burning it. After the dance they would disperse and go home. "The Washo used to be the best marksmen and the best fighters" (Dave).

[P.353, B]

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band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'ld'go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

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After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

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SUMMARY

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Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ka	To	Tr	Pa	Mo	At	Im	Tg	Md	Kl	Al
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Chiefs (wihinavi or wiinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvizi-wiinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2152. Chief's assistant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (nawoinaamo)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2155. Special chief: for dance (nagwa wiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kwawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tuwawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saipawiinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2160. For hunting generally	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2161. For pine-nut trip	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2162. Village chief	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2167. Band owned fishing stream	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2169. Family owned seed plots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2174a. Protection only	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2177. Captives	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Baleskin, stuffed, for chaps (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2180. Domed willow house	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2181a. 30 ("month")	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2182. Ground warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 407]

[P.372, A]

824 795 778 ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172] There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172] Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539] "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731] Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754 Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[illegible] E-8 (rev date) 1981 NTIS Washo NTIS

[P.399, A]

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a survey, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, to some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

[731]

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-37) --Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

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More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

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Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] [825] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789]

> "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

Minden around 1895.

6. (7) Susie Dick, her husband, son (Sammy Dick), brother, sister, and sister's husband and daughter. This is possible the same galis dangal and family seen in Plate V. 592 596

Truckee around 1900. This includes all the Indian residents of the area at that time.

7. (13) Captain Pete, his wife, mother (Minnie Zidoa), two sisters and two brothers (George and Little Jake), son (Hank Pete today, but called Will Morris at that time.), daughter and her husband (George Howard) and daughter (Lillian Hopper). One of Captain Pete's brothers (George) had a wife (Maggie) and a boy (Zenito). Little Jake was a "cousin-brother" to Hank Pete. Captain Pete's two sisters washed dishes at the Truckee Hotel. One of the sisters died from some dope called y¢nshi that had been given to her by a Chinese cook. [464] [165]

8. (4) Susie Howard and her two boys (Pete Howard and John Howard). A widow with no children who was "just a good friend" to Susie also lived with her.

9. (3) Tom Nanga ("pretend" or "comedian"), his wife (Maggie Nanga), and her sister (Susie). Tom did not marry his wife's sister.

10. (6) Truckee Dick (D¢b¢mu sh¢¢sh¦can count"), his wife (Minnie), and their four boys: S¢bil ("walks zig-zag"), W¢g¢l (sounds made as a child when he was asking for m¢g¢l which means "mixed up", referring to the mixture of snow and pinenuts), S¢l¢bitok ("left handed little boy"), and Deodama l¢we ¢s ("does not behave or obey parents").

11. (6) See below.

12. (6) This was an extremely unusual case where two galis dangal were built right next to each other. The two galis dangal were located on the opposite side (south) of the Truckee River from those previously mentioned and were inhabited by about 12 "rough" Washo Indians. Both of these galis dangal burned down when all of the occupants were in town and they then moved to Reno. [361] [731]

13. (6) Jack Pash (had a Maidu father and a Washo mother) had two galis dangal about 100 feet apart. He married one woman who was barren of children. She asked him to marry one of her sisters so that he could have some children. He married both of her sisters and had three sons (Jack, Shiput, and Mat) by the middle sister and a daughter by the youngest sister (Annie). Jack Pash, the oldest and middle sister, and the middle sister's three sons lived in one of the galis dangal. [361] [595]

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 575

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'we'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory. Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [575] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (dryŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

224 [125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [818] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

233 825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

231 241 311 177 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agriculture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

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shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

Discussion

The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view.

Two reactions appear common to both groups. One is avoidance; Washo tradition tells of watching wagon trains from hiding. Similar evidence from the Paiute supports the notion that they too were unwilling to associate with the travelers.

The second aspect of contact behavior was that of exploitation. The Paiute and Shoshoni in particular found wagon train livestock excellent sources of food. A hidden hunter would shoot several arrows into a straggling horse or cow and flee before he was located by the white men. After waiting until the white men were well out of the area the Indians would descend on the wounded animal, which, of course, had to be left by the travelers.[2] The Washo report that their first view of a cow was when they found one strayed from a wagon train. They packed the animal, rode it, generally examined it, and eventually killed and ate it. This suggests that the Washo had been watching passing wagon trains or had in other ways learned about riding and packing (Lowie, 1939, 302).

The 1850's marked still another phase of the contact situation, that of permanent occupation. The wagon routes provided incentive to establish posts in eastern Nevada, and one was set up in Eagle Valley in the 1850's. Prior to 1852 a man named Clark had set up a ranch in Carson Valley. This he abandoned in fear after he killed an Indian, probably a Washo. In 1853 another family occupied the Clark Ranch. When a group of Indians -- again apparently Washo -- appeared demanding food, the householder shot one of their number (Angel, 1958, 145-9). I am inclined to think that the hostile intent of the Indians was small and that they were begging food in a manner that became common in later years. This suggests that the Indians viewed the apparently bountiful supplies of the white man as simply another source to be exploited by gathering (i. e., begging). In addition it reveals a distinct conflict in cultural attitudes. Sharing among these peoples was a common characteristic. It appears that in hard times there was no obligation to feed a visitor, but asking for food was certainly not considered a violation of norms.

Between 1849 and 1851 Mormon colonists, sent out from Utah, established an agricultural community at Genoa. It appears that during this period Washo Indians established settlements around white habitations, utilizing the trash heaps as a source of food and building materials, and receiving handouts in return for odd jobs. An important unanswered question is whether the population of these settlements was permanent. I suspect that although the settlements remained at approximately the same population level there was a great deal of moving in and out by individual families going to other parts of Washo territory to hunt or gather. Estimates of Washo population appear to have been generally very low and often based on the

2. I am indebted to Professor R. F. Murphy for information concerning Basin Indian "hunting" of wagon train stock (see also Angel, 1958, 145-9).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumiaseum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 39) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story, the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of aggression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness. But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Heliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

769 114 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843 844 [854] 846 844 [842] [828] Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 [431] [751] [461] [431] The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] [514] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

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302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dipek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

[751] The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (ma?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." [531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act. One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry [754] with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

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847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu'suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

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A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

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Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

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Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

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When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

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Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

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Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755 825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

756 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him be-
778 gin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which
[278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was
[752] poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

756 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacu-
789 lar displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the
[114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

821 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among
791 the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed
789 to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by
[756] individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

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There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wṭgaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

[224]
[424]
[752]

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tíša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] from Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.

[752] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men go-
[783] ing to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second men-
[178] struation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

[P 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibé shigihi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved.

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade s recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal".

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade".

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange.

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman.

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication).

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are [824] abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that 965
the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is 178
to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard [302] to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. [551] The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to 755
the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used in- 178
stead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelé́yu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelé́yus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelé́yu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelé́yu. It is interesting that only water wegelé́yu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

[834] Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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[158] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill
[753] Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegelé́yu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 bear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[92] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans;

755 When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in
756 which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The
775 shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient
[787] wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

● 753 Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting
756 from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a per-
[778] son either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second
[787] illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

721 Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power
756 played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served
[752] two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep
[789] the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

726 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in
756 warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the
789 neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band
821 of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

721 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held be-
754 cause the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany
756 them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisāsum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu' 'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu"suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] **The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.**

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] **One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."**

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

[P.372, A]

824 795 778

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT

(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

> "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754

Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P.372, B]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [344] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [177] house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley; attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P. 395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the 789 afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

[178]

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

[845] [843]

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

[263] [856]

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[262] [302] [178]

222 Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally
527 clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon
[178] and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies
[791] are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to
222 have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic
527 cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations
791 to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each
622 other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was
222 filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during
527 this period as a shattered remnant of a former society
114 eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white set-
178 tlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies
[211] concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide
[721] string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come
622 to their aid.
222 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings
527 at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words
791 of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be
222 held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most
754 frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It
[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[P 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
●[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particu-
[177] larly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.
[801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she
222 had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.
789 There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and
[182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin.

The yellow (waltsataini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

342
[181]

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is teshmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegelé́yu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegelé́yus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegelé́yu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegelé́yu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegelé́yu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegelé'yu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegeléyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the
[593] husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister. The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The
[461] parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
754 witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give [778] food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in 224
deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According 778
to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the
first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a med- [783]
icine called mugâlu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete
says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before col-
lecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The
hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail
the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in 756
his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared 224
as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral [787]
of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe [417]
and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part
of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close [824]
the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power 778
and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number 775
of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they 182
give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the [152]
fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which
the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups,
the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the corre-
lation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A 888
statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one 592
factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household
composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the 778
fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would 754
live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement
today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old 152
people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of
the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor
in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly 152
less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon 178
which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617).
However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

WASHO WITCHCRAFT: A TEST OF THE FRUSTRATION-AGGRESSION HYPOTHESIS[1]

by Philip E. Leis

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The belief in witchcraft has frequently been interpreted psychologically as a socially approved means for releasing aggressions. The very nature of group life requires that individual desires be restrained -- "frustrated," and the aggressive responses toward the frustrating objects, such as parents, redirected to a sorcerer or some other scapegoat-like being. Whether individuals actually indulge in witchcraft is beside the point; the fact that members of a society believe in its existence is sufficient for them to vent their spleen against the real or imaginary sorcerers. The relation between frustration and aggression was stated as a hypothesis by Dollard and his associates (1939, 1) as follows: "The occurrence of aggressive behavior always presupposes the existence of frustration and, contrawise, that the existence of frustration always leads to some forms of aggression." This statement was later modified by one of its authors, who recognized that there were several different types of responses to frustration (Miller, 1941, 338), but the point with which we are primarily concerned here is that aggression may be a response to frustration and this reaction may be in the form of beliefs in witchcraft. [114]

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Several studies have supported this view. Kluckhohn's analysis of the Navajo indicated the "adjustive" value of their beliefs in witchcraft for maintaining the integration and stability of the community. Prior to governmental controls, the Navajo were able to release their aggressions through warfare, but with this activity blocked, Kluckhohn found that the incidence of witchcraft accusation had increased; his entire thesis pointed to the significance of such beliefs for disposing of the personal and socially disruptive effects of aggression (1944). The Saulteaux and the Ifaluk, studied by Hallowell (1955) and Spiro (1950), respectively, displayed very little overt aggression in their social relations; yet, there were frustrating experiences in childhood and these were reflected in the covert release of aggressions through hatred and fear of supernatural forces. The early socialization of the Hopi, according to Eggan (1950) and Goldfrank (1945), was one in which frustrations were kept at a minimum, but in later childhood frustrating situations occurred frequently. Accordingly, aggressive behavior patterns of adult life were apparent in the constant Hopi "guerilla warfare" (Eggan, 1950, 234) of gossip and witchcraft accusations against neighbors.

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These examples agree on two points. First, every society, so far as we know, places certain regulations or restrictions on the individual, particularly at some time during childhood, which can be called frustrating. Second,

1 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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114 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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[178] The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this difference in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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154 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening variable between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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[683] The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

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[152] applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

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668 Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of
[154] natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of ag-
[75] gression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness.
754 But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor
776 would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there
191 was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 [787] Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.'... Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2 [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášaʔ ʔí·s) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[2] from Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

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[431] [605] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

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302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîbek).

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854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.[5]

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk.
[757] The hood or sunshade (ma?yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

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847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ta	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AK
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijume-nimma)	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavu)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

through their use the Indian performs as a doctor, good or bad. Inasmuch as this concept is foreign to other peyote cults and is close to the local shamanistic pattern, it is possible that it was taken into peyotism from the indigenous culture. One must bear in mind, however, that this concept is held by only a few members, Ben and several others denying it, and is most often expressed by ex-shaman Sam Dick. Sam judges his own songs good; those of a person he dislikes are bad songs. On the other hand, Sam is accused by others of having evil songs. It is quite possible this is an example of insertion into the peyote cult of an earlier Washo-Paiute culture element. However, whether we consider this concept as integral to peyotism or not, aboriginal Washo-Paiute beliefs have found very little place in the ideology of peyotism.

The peyotists' belief in good and bad songs is close to their belief in witchcraft. Opler reports that witchcraft was practiced in the meetings of the Mescalero Apache, but it is certainly not typical of peyotism, being contrary to the universal doctrines of the cult. Nevada peyotists have become increasingly concerned with sorcery from interpreting visions. When fellow peyotists are accused of practicing witchcraft, they are also accused of general malfeasance, for it is believed the correct use of peyote destroys evil powers. Witchcraft here, however, is not fundamental to the religion.

The recently converted Washo and Northern Paiute duplicated nearly every attitude that La Barre found in the entire Plains and in Mexico. To psychological insecurity La Barre attributes the claim that peyote is a cure for alcoholism, assessing it as "counterpropaganda" against arguments alleging that peyote is harmful; but since peyote's first arrival in Nevada this claim has been accepted as doctrine. La Barre believes that the assignment at Taos to the peyote of power to bring rain and to protect from sorcery is due to the intense opposition and insecurity of the cult plus the aboriginal culture pattern. Both these "powers" are assigned to the peyote by some of the Washo and Northern Paiute. The Washo-Paiute peyotists also manifest contrasting attitudes such as La Barre presents for Taos and the Plains: the extreme seriousness of Taos, the occasional levity and joking about the peyote of the Plains.

The following attitudes concerning the peyote plant, assigned by La Barre to particular tribes, are all expressed by Nevada peyotists:

Tarahumara: Peyote feared by uninitiated; must be properly cared for to be protected.
Tarahumara and Apache: Peyote renders invulnerable.
Cheyenne: Peyote tricky.
Lipan Apache: Dangerous; sometimes scares; if used properly, courageously, it is all right.
Delaware, Arapaho, Taos: Vomiting is punishment; vomiting cleanses.
Caddo, Osage, Comanche, Winnebago: Suffering for peyote is virtue.
Taos, Mescalero Apache: Protects from witchcraft.
Plains: Peyote protects; warns of enemy; predicts results of battle.

According to Radin, public declaration of faith and confession of sins were introduced by Rave because they were part of the old Winnebago pattern; yet we find confessions common among the Washo and the Northern Paiute peyotists.

In conclusion, Ben Lancaster's cult has remained similar in ritual and doctrine to the type cult of the Kiowa-Comanche.[11] Changes are minor and could have occurred in Oklahoma, for, as La Barre (p. 63) points out, "The leader has full authority to change the ceremony in any way he wishes ... and rare is the man who

[11] Appendix II shows that the Washo-Paiute cult differs in 64 elements out of 265 reported from other tribes. Since the elements are of unequal importance, these figures suggest a greater distinction than actually exists.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

does not introduce some change." Except for the survival within the cult of the aboriginal ideas concerning the power of songs and concerning witchcraft, other distinctive features of the Washo-Paiute cult can be attributed to Ben Lancaster. His reason for changing the cult is clear: expediency, to facilitate its introduction and to maintain complete control for his own financial benefit.

REACTIONS OF PEOPLE

Although only a relatively small number ever espoused peyotism,[46] its effect on the group is considerable, for peyotists and nonpeyotists alike are caught in a mesh of experiences, prejudices, and gossip, which leads to new interests and suspicions, accompanied by every degree of vituperation or praise. The vehemence of divergent opinions causes a distinct rift in Washo-Paiute communities. Old friends and neighbors are separated, families broken up. Old John Walker (W,2) grieves because his son will not bring his grandson to see him; Sam Dick is accused of calling Old John a witch. Leanna Tom (P,5) and Ennie Cornbread (W,9) refuse to associate with their unconverted daughters, and Ennie persuaded another daughter to leave her disapproving husband. A family, such as that of Ben James (W,2), whose members remain on speaking terms when only part attend meetings, is rare. Whole communities are divided. Half the residents of Dresslerville presented a signed petition to the Indian agent asking that meetings be prohibited on Indian communal land.[47] In the letter attached, Hank Pete said, "If the peyote meeting continues much longer, we will all be enemies." Sam Dick, confident of supernatural protection for peyotists, suggested that the members and nonmembers line up and "shoot it out." Failing to secure official assistance, opponents got drunk and forcibly stopped all meetings in or near Gardnerville, discouraging meetings in Carson Valley in the summer and fall of 1938. Moreover, mob action has been used or threatened in most communities until now the places of impending meetings are kept from nonmembers. This practice of nonintercourse and suspicion might easily interfere with community effort, such as that proposed under the Reorganization Act."

An interesting by-product of this social dichotomy is the revival of a belief in witchcraft. Although Ben Lancaster refers to God, Jesus, and Peyote as the rulers of the universe, he fosters a belief in other powers by insisting that peyote destroys or removes them. Each peyotist, of course, denies he has any personal power, considering himself protected by God's power, which peyote directs for his benefit. Nonpeyotists, however, hearing talk of power, accuse devotees individually of causing trouble, especially sickness, through witchcraft. Washo shamans have been busy

[46] Carson Agency: 5 per cent; Indians in villages where meetings were held: 14 per cent. See Appendix III for full statistics.

[47] This petition, in the Carson Agency file, is dated April 20, 1937, and carries signatures of 75 Washo Indians. Four of the signers changed their opinions and were active members in November, 1938. Some Yankton Sioux and Goshute also petitioned the Federal Government to put a stop to the cult on their reservations.

[48] A schism such as that which developed in Washo-Paiute society, due to divergent attitudes, is not unique in American Indian history, but since ethnographers usually do not record opposition to cults, it is not surprising to find only scant mention of others. Du Bois (pp. 23–24) records, "Undoubtedly, factors for resistance among the Yurok were strong enough to cause a schism in Yurok society for the duration of the [1870] Ghost Dance." Gifford (p. 369) found that only about a third of the Clear Lake Pomo participated in the Maru phase of 1870 Ghost Dance, "thus bearing out the informant's statement that many individuals disliked the maru ceremonies." Parsons' description (p. 67) of the situation at Taos illustrates the social results of opposing views regarding peyote. A dangerous feud has developed because the pueblo officers raided a peyote meeting in 1921 and took the shawls and blankets of the devotees. The unfriendly council ordered the payment of $25 for the return of each piece of the confiscated property, but after eighteen years this property is still unclaimed and is a source of much local discord. Another time, the American courts were resorted to, when a Taos governor fined peyotists from $700 to $1000 for singing a song.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

protecting and treating patients diagnosed as "infected by peyote" or some illness sent by a "peyote boy." Members have also increased their belief in sorcery through personal interpretations of their own hallucinations. Seven members thought their visions were of individuals causing sickness and death, and fellow converts believed these interpretations. Although peyotists usually thought of opponents as witches, one inactive believer was so branded. This came to light when one of Willie Smokey's friends finally agreed to name publicly the persons who had accused him of causing the death of one member and the illness of another through use of "devil power." Miss Bowler, superintendent of the Carson Agency, invited me to the conference at which accused, accusers, witnesses, and a "victim" were present. The witness said Sam Dick had charged Willie Smokey with witching in a meeting attended by Ben. Sam insisted he was being falsely accused, "just like Jesus was," that he loved his cousin Willie Smokey and always prayed for him. Ben denied teaching or believing that anyone could harm anyone else or that such was part of the peyote religion. He admitted, however, that such beliefs existed, even among peyotists, attributing their presence to weakness; maintained that he preached that all should be brothers. Miss Bowler, nevertheless, charged him with full responsibility to correct specifically and immediately his followers' wrong ideas." A danger in such situations is that some fanatic might decide to shoot the accused person, for old Washo culture contains both the pattern for witches and for killing them in revenge or for safety."

A few converts accuse fellow members of evil use of individual powers, which are said to be retained by partial use or misuse of peyote. In visions Dewey Charles (P,8) saw some old Indians who had falsely joined peyotism trying to kill younger Indians, especially "lighter-colored ones." Sam Dick accuses Jim Street, and likewise several accuse Sam Dick.

In spite of some personal jealousies, Washo-Paiute active peyotists form a closely united minority. Increased travel throughout the area of distribution has taken place. Where formerly the gambling ground was the scene of nearly all social contact, peyotists now visit each other in their homes and gather at night to learn and practice the special peyote songs, united by their new ideology and by the resentment of outsiders toward it. At Leevining, near Mono Lake, converts built a new settlement away from their neighbors and near the highway where winter snows would not keep them from meetings. Several families who formerly were not friendly have united in this group.

To many members the cult represents the return to a real native faith, containing the teachings of all religions in an understandable Indian form. Indian foods—acorn mush, piñon-nut mush, jack rabbit, fish—are considered preferable for religious meals; consequently, there has been increased use of old Indian foods by peyotists, and some young people have tasted this aboriginal fare for the first time."

Since Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo attend meetings together, English is the principal language spoken, and several desire to improve their English so their prayers will "sound good." Sam Dick affirms he hardly spoke English until he joined the cult." This close association of Shoshone, Paiute, and Washo is new, for

" Opler reports (1936, 166) bloody feuds and reprisals arising from witchcraft among Mescalero peyotists, which Indians asked Agency officials to stop.

" Lowie, 1939, 318–321.

" Practices comparable to the increased use of aboriginal food, visiting, and song practices among the Washo-Paiute were not found in the literature, but from my own experience I know all were stimulated by peyote among the Ute and Goshute.

" La Barre mentions (p. 113) the "use of English as a lingua franca," facilitating the spread of peyote.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu"auki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *log.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

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A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'eŋ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

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Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

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Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a"umatapa"li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

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A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

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Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a"ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

[224]

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The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

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On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

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Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

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One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

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Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

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Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

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Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

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A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

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A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

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[P.367,A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[3]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Lämedel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

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2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

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3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

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5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[3] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navajo witches is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 131).

[p. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da?man?li? has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[5]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, 115 and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti- [871] cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone [237] whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[5] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2489-2541)

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

"I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

"Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.

"These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

[P. 370, B]

758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [177] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke [755] in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock
[424] at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doc- [787] tor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

[P. 393, A]

668 177 [756] [182]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

756 668 178 [276] [237] [755]

Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

756 668 578 691 [648]

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

[P.393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

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old, prewhite culture survives most strongly in language, ceremony, and, as we shall see in the next chapter, social structure. The most important change with reference to this study has been the lessening of coöperative activity. This trend has progressed farthest in economics. Although the economic unit has always been the nuclear family, aboriginal economic activity emphasized group coöperation much more than it does today. The modern Indian works for wages; he is part of the larger society where economic activity is impersonal and one's coworkers may be relative strangers. If an Indian family so chooses, it can be economically independent of relatives and friends. This same trend is visible to a lesser extent in ceremonials. The prewhite curing ceremony was a group affair; but modern, white medicine is essentially a relationship between doctor and patient. There is no longer a large group of friends and relatives standing by to lend moral support. Some ceremonies, such as the pine-nut dance, have disappeared completely.

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Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
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Though some say that this reveals disrespect for "the medicine," rival Peyotists do boast of their prowess by comparing the number of "buttons" they were able to eat during a single night.

The concept of disease also appears to stem from traditional beliefs. Thus it is said that the roadchief, like the earlier shamans, can "look into a person and see what is wrong with him—just like X-ray" (see also Siskin 1941:105). With the aid of Peyote he can track down the disease and remove it with prayers. Disease-objects are often vomited out during meetings and are described as having the form of snakes, insects, stones, etc. The roadchief treats the afflicted part of a sick member by fanning it with smoke or by "switching" it with eagle feathers. Leaders conduct small curing sessions for individual Peyotists and non-Peyotists for a subtly defined fee. There is a tendency to "try" various leading Peyotists during a serious illness, calling on them in rotation to conduct meetings "until the right song or prayer makes a connection."

Other changes also suggest the increased integration of the sect into its Washo setting. English is no longer used in prayers or for the conduct of ritual. If a non-Washo is present, important sections of the proceedings are translated for him by one of the roadchief's assistants. Christian elements have diminished considerably; the Bible is no longer a part of the leader's paraphernalia, and biblical references in prayer or conversation are rare.

II

The ethnological data and tape recordings upon which this paper is based were collected by Warren d'Azevedo over a period of nine months among the Washo Peyotists in 1954 and 1955. Alan P. Merriam made the musical analysis and is responsible for the major portion of the final organization and writing of the paper. Recordings were made in the summer of 1954 on a portable Magnecorder loaned by Radio Station KPFA of Berkeley, California.

The musical sample consists of five song cycles sung by three Washo members of "The Tipi Way" sect described above. One of the singers was the founder and original roadchief of the sect, and all three have been active participants in the religion since the early years of its introduction by Ben Lancaster. Their songs are therefore fully representative of the type and style current among Washo Peyotists. All five cycles were recorded at a single session in the cabin of a leading sect member in Woodfords, California. The occasion was an "open prayer meeting"—one of the informal social gatherings of Peyotists and their non-Peyotist friends for the purpose of singing practice and religious discussion.

To "The Tipi Way" Peyotists, singing is a measure of prestige and spiritual eminence. The most admired singers are the most influential Peyotists, and the degree to which a Peyotist has found "the Way" through the "medicine" is demonstrated by his competence with song, drum, and rattle. It is of equal importance to knowledge of the intricate ritual procedure of meetings, and excellence at both are requirements of leadership. A large repertoire of songs is

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabáʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
● 755 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
756 a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
[262] Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears ON p. 39 -- Analyst]

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears. 776 [789] [821] [754]

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams. 778 787

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing. 978 [755]

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[785] Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelḗyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelḗyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelḗyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelḗyu. It is interesting that only water wegelḗyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated
[834] the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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[158] Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill
[753] Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegelḗyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

753 775 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the bear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 775 787 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams. Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 [92] [551] Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie, 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle
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774 over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still
75 unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
757 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

DREAMS RIAS. REPORTS.: KEY—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	K1	K2	K3	Yo	Yb	Ya	Wa	A1	Ga	Ty	Wi	K1	A2	
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	●	○	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	NWA 756
2472. Any time	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2473. Power inherited from father	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	
2474. From mother	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	
2475. Before relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	NWA 787
2476. After relative's death	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	–	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	○	●	756
2478. Dwgbl in mountains	–	○	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2481. Shaman interprets vision	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	–	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2483. Power may be refused	–	●	–	●	●	–	–	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2484. One doctor has several powers	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2485. Vision gives: songs	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2486. Shaman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	
2487. Paraphernalia	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2488. Paint	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	–	
2489. Methods	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2490. Doctor's assistant	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2492. Feathers	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2493. Eagle down	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2494. Fire	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2495. Clay	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2496. Lumlee rattle	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2496a. Rawhide rattle	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	–	–	●	●	–	–	–	
2497. Coconn rattle	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2498. Flute	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	●	
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	NWA 755
2500. Curing Performances	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	–	–	–	●	–	●	–	–	–	●	●	●	●	●	
2502. In house	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	–	●	●	●	–	
2503. Doctor sings	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2504. Audience joins song	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2505. Doctor smokes	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	
2507. Pipe passed to right	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	
2507a. Left (clockwise)	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2508. Doctor talks	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	
2509. Assistant interprets	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	
2510. Doctor dances	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2511. Doctor walks	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2512. Doctor cures out of patient:	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2513. Blood	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2514. Snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2515. Flint	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2516. Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2517. Worm	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2518. Other or various objects	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2519. Doctor cures through: mouth only	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2519a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2520. Stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2521. Feather	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2523. Doctor goes into trance	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	●	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	●	●	●	●	●	–	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2526a. Rubs object on head	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2527. Doctor blows away disease	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ya	Ki	Ki	Ha	To	To	Pa	Sa	At	Sa	Yg	Wa	Ki	At
2529.	Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530.	Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531.	Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532.	Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533.	Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2533a.	Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534.	Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535.	Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540.	Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541.	Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	Special Powers of Shamans														
2545.	Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2551.	Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2553.	Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557.	Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
	2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
2558.	Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562.	Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stukapuhara	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	2564. Power from various animals	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+
2566.	Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	Miscellaneous														
2567.	Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2568. Killed for declining	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2569.	Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2570a.	New doctor assists old ones	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2571.	New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 2 times or more	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2574.	Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumatma)	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577.	Offerings to 'nature'	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2578. To ghost (tsaawi)	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N35

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of non-acceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [756] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Ku: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). Tō: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Ku: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. Tō: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Ku: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. AE: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [735] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Tō: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

[p. 443 (E)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

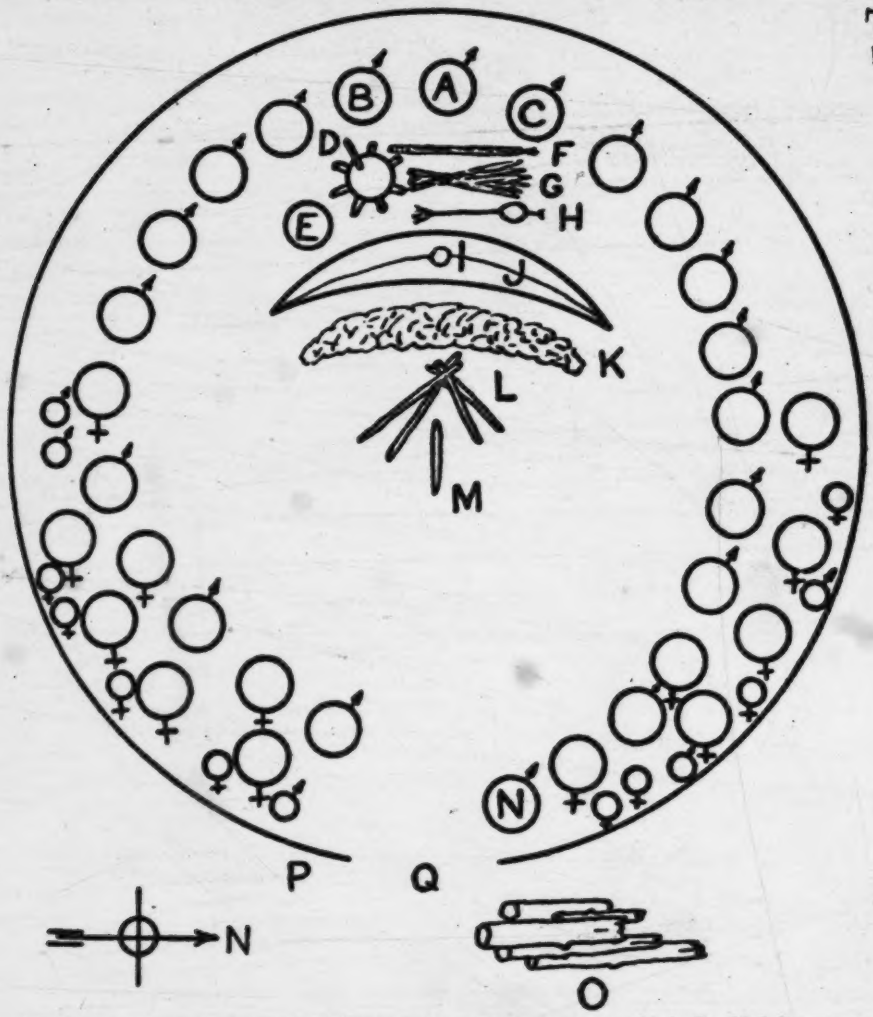

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.*

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.* The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

* See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

* See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

N W 159 *795 797

Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

N W 159 755 *795 797 [276]

Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[10] The In-

[10] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Colville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[n] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[n] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[n] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[n] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[2] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[2] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

" See Appendix III for statistics.

" Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring ... in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[a] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[a] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[b] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[c] Steward, 1933, 318.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

III. RELIGION

Shamanism

756 787 Shamans became such through dreams. However, not all dreams were interpreted as a transfer of supernatural power, even though they had a flavor of uncanniness. Thus, a Washo dreaming of a deceased sister or cousin would feel bad and refrain from talking about it, but this was not a call to shamanistic office.[*] Similarly, Bill once dreamed of many people of a kind unknown to the Washo and wearing no clothes. They were all big men and made fun of Bill, who got scared, thinking they might kill him, and woke up. Sometimes he dreamed of rattlesnakes and bull snakes.

756 The type of dream that leads to power is illustrated by Dave's report of an experience described by his grandfather in Dave's youth. A Washo might be somewhere in the valley when a west wind is blowing. He hears a sound . . . "zii . . . i." He thinks about it and in the middle of the night the little bit of noise enters his head and talks to him. As yet the prospective shaman tells nobody about his experience. Then he will again get a call in the dead of night from the place where he first heard the whistling. Waking up, he puts on his footgear and runs toward the rock or hill where he heard it. As soon as he gets there, this thing speaks as follows, in a whisper: "Now be a good man, doctor your own people and save them always as long as you live. Go back to where you were sleeping. Wake up before sunrise, drop yourself into the water, bathe. Do this on four mornings. Then begin to doctor some man, but do not charge any fee the first time, see what you can do for him. Treat him for four nights. If you cure him, it means that you are to be a doctor always. The second time you cure somebody, you may accept a buckskin, and thereafter you may ask for anything you wish."

This pictures a benevolent shaman without making it clear whether Dave had a particular person in mind or an ideal character. The medicine man he described would tell the people about his protector: "I do nothing that is wrong, I do what is right; he [my familiar] bids me doctor people and cure every one of them." All who were sick would accordingly go to him, saying, "Let us treat the old doctor well and make him treat us well. He has already cured four or five persons, and perhaps he will do better [?]." They gave him 756 good food, beads, or a buckskin to keep him satisfied.[*] When he died, all the 766 people for twenty miles around—possibly 400 to 500 of them—assembled and cried aloud. They dug a big hole, put him in, and buried him. If Dave's data on the disposal of ordinary persons' corpses are correct, this suggests differential treatment of shamans (see p. 310).

756 The nature of the familiar remains obscure. Bill said, "I don't know, I think it must be God who talks to the doctor in his dream." This "God" tells his

[*] For other dreams about dead persons, see p. 323.

[*] Another Indian mentioned a nice basket as a possible fee. He said that nowadays (1926) one would-be doctor charged $20 and more, but he did not really know how to cure and was merely cheating his patients.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (titɔ'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɛhɛ"tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (al'yɔs kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (mo'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(a)

kalo'kaɔu ai'yɔu, kohamo'moyɔum, kepi"cuk, kapa"cuk ma'ɔala. kalo'kaɔu'ɔu, ma'ɔal keke'le, latamala'"wa . . . kula'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(b)

wa'diɛ kaya'tuka'ɔu, kaya'tak temeɔui i'ke li'eul. wi'kin k'"doc kime"kayaktek i'ke ke'au, t'aiyaɔa ga'mayɔa. mi"le ke'wa temi'ku. gaya'ɔu a"ai. hak tikumoo"cie i'ke mikla a"caiya. kiki"ket a'ɔam k'o'ieke tiya'mle. i'ke layaɔeye'a nake' akna.ito'a heliki ke'le wadiɛe'e"iɔa. i'ke mi"ya, i'ke le'aic kutina'ɔa hat'a"eya untamala'a-heliki le'aic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

" This last word is spoken when all the antelope got into the pen.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

IV. MATERIAL CULTURE

Economic Life

433 184 114 Barrett has properly stressed the economic differences due to the contrast between a Sierra and a Basin habitat. The following fragmentary notes are corroboratory and supplementary.

262 [171] Acorns (ma'ləɣ) were associated with California, and even the Antelope Valley people did not live on them to any great degree. However, the Washo prepared a dish called mɑgi"'gɑla by mixing acorns and venison.

222 [462] [413] [251] [252] [415] Pine nuts (t'a"gəm) were gathered by men and women coöperatively, the husband knocking ripe ones off the trees with a big hooked pole and the wife gathering them. The women would pick them out, put them in a basket, and let them dry. When dried, the nuts could be kept for about a year; in the spring a pit was made for storage, in the winter they were taken out for consumption. The Washo made a pine-nut "soup," which was eaten with spoons. According to Bill, people went for pine nuts in September.

226 [343] [131] [501] Along the Walker River the Washo constructed many "fish houses,"—a statement that extends their boundaries appreciably toward the east. Trout (a"t'abi) were speared with shafts about seven feet long. Fish were also taken by nets and clubbed to death. Sometimes fifteen were caught in a day. On Lake Tahoe, a group of Washo would go after fish in rafts (see below).

224 [624] ● [756] Antelope, deer (mendɑ"wi), and jack rabbits were hunted communally, the first-mentioned under the guidance of a dreamer (p. 324). Jack, possibly expressing a local difference, said that deer were hunted by only one or two men and only in the mountains. According to another statement, four or five hunters would mask themselves with deer heads in stalking the game. They would shake up dirt to determine the direction of the wind so as to forestall being scented, thus sneaking up to shooting range. A communal deer hunt was organized in September, when the deer were fat, but not every year. The leader, who did not derive his office from dreams, would say, "Get together, we'll try to kill a few deer." Then the men assembled on the day fixed, bringing their blankets since they were to camp out for about a week. Possibly as many as fifty Washo from Douglas County would travel afoot about thirty miles [484] toward, say, twenty miles from McKinney, California. It took them two days, camping according to their leader's instructions. The next morning, he spoke to them. He remained in the middle, his followers dividing so as to form two arcs of a circle flanking him and finally connecting again. When they sighted deer, they killed up to ten or fifteen a day. The next day, they moved to another spot; and so on, for about a week, thus covering altogether many thousands [482] of acres. At last they stopped and returned, carrying by means of tumplines loads almost too big for them. For deer no corrals were built.

624 224 The communal rabbit hunt was also purely secular. Barrett mentions a hereditary chief for rabbit hunting" and all other coöperative hunting and fishing operations. "He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the

[a] *Op. cit.*, 12.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT30 Washo NT30

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

[795] [756] [787]

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block house, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyel, from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[342] [177] [434] [177]

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[611] [581] [1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilocality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P. 369, A]

776 over, general agreement among informants that the
● 756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

The various powers and activities of the Water Babies are perhaps best described in the following stories recounted by informants:

776 539

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Almodel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[782] [755]

[778]

2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

[782]

3. "There is this woman called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here (indicating his genitalia). I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making his patronage known.

776 787 539

5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for putting a curse of Navajo witches to often the life of a relative (1940, p. 386).

[P. 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a seeminystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

[776]

775 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[124]

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

[756] [192] The Washo word da'man'li' has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisticated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939). [756] [115] [87]

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] [237] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 369, B]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2489-2541)

gratified and smiled. "Oh well, it's all psychological anyway," he answered, confirming Lowie's description of him as a sophisticate.

He is noted for his rather atypical practice of tending a garden, which consists mostly of fruit trees, and for his open liking for old-fashioned foods, which he collects, including fly grubs and locusts. I was not able to observe his curing procedures, but they were described to me by another informant, a seventy-five-year-old woman, considered one of the most progressive of the residents of Dresslerville.

> "I took my granddaughter to Rupert after the white doctors didn't do nothing for her. He don't doctor in the real old Indian way [a phrase I later learned meant that he did not hold a series of four one-night sessions but only a short ceremony]. He don't give you nothing, just sings and prays and talks over you for a while. He has a rattle and a whistle and a band on his head. After we went to him my granddaughter got well."

Another informant, the man who was cured by his mother—curiously another graduate of the Stewart School and outwardly a progressive Indian—was a veritable fountain of shamanistic knowledge. His father and maternal uncle were both well-known shamans. Although he insisted that he had no particular power himself, other Indians generally claimed that he had certain hunting medicines which assisted him in taking game. There is little doubt that he believed he had been approached by spirits offering him shamanistic power. His life story was a long recital of ailments and mystic occurrences. The ailments, coupled with his attitude about spiritual power, suggested strongly that his suffering had been due to a rejection of the power offered (Whiting 1950). He supplied the following account about the process of becoming a shaman.

> "Young fellows sometimes have dreams but usually they don't pay no attention to them. But when you get older and keep having dreams you begin to pay attention. Maybe you see a bear or a rattlesnake or Water Baby or anything. It tell you that you are going to be a doctor. The next morning you go out and bathe and pray. This thing keeps coming [in your dreams]. It may take any form, a skeleton or an animal but you know it's always the same thing as the first time, just taking different shapes.
>
> "These dreams keep coming for four, sometimes eight, years to get you to be a good doctor. But during all this time you don't get no song. But they do give you your water. It tells you some certain place up in the mountains where there is a spring. You mebbe think there isn't no spring there, but there is. Then it tells you where to gather tobacco. Later it will tell you to make a rattle out of cocoon. Mebbe at first you only make a rattle with one cocoon. Later it says for you to add more. Finally it will give you a song. You dream this song. But you don't really remember it. You just begin singing it like you had known it all the time. For a while you may get a new song every year. Sometime you have

[P. 370, A]

● 756

a dream that tells you how to handle your paraphernalia. Sometime a dream tells you that you have to be all alone in your house. I don't know what happens in there but some of them doctors, I think, go over to visit the dead for a little while.

"After you been dreaming for a long time maybe you try to cure somebody but you don't ask for nothing. You never tell them dreams or what your spirit is but other doctors, they know. If your dreams are right you can cure people and then you can ask for something [payment]. The real Indian way was to doctor for four nights. Then he'd lay out all his stuff and give it a drink by sprinkling water on it. Then he'd shake his rattle and sing and touch the patient with his hands. He'd talk to the sickness, like he knew it . . . like maybe he was friends to it . . . he'd say 'now you behave and don't bother this person no more. If you don't behave I'm gonna take you out and show you to everybody and then you'll be embarrassed!' Then he'd suck at the patient (some of these young doctors suck on a stick with a feather on it that they pointed at the sick person, but the old ones didn't do that), and get out the sickness, it would be a feather or a stone. Sometime that sickness come out and go into the doctor so hard they can't get it out and have to get another doctor to help him. Sometimes it hit them so hard that they defecate. I seen them doctors just fill their pants. If it's real tough they get all stiff and fall over. Sometimes fall right in the fire and their clothes all burn off but it don't burn them none. You can't touch them then or it will kill them. But when they begin to shake a little and that rattle begins to go then you can pick them up. If he can, the doctor will vomit out the sickness. When it's out he puts it in his hand and rubs it with dirt and throws it away toward the north; that kills it."

[787]

This recital of the process of becoming a doctor shows clearly the ideal situation, the receiving of powers, unsought, from supernatural sources, the guardian spirit watching over its protégé's career, providing him with the wherewithal in the form of songs, spells, and paraphernalia. In fact, however, it would appear that the process of becoming a shaman was far more a conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual than would be supposed from the foregoing story.

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Doctoring power clearly seems to have remained within certain families. The informant who gave the foregoing account was himself the son of a woman curer and a famous doctor and the nephew of another doctor. From his childhood he was familiar with the procedures of curing, with stories about dreams, spirit visitations, trips to the afterworld, mysterious and sacred locations. He somewhat proudly admitted that as a boy he "used to shake that rattle" himself. In short, until his shamanistic education was interrupted by white man's schooling, he was a shaman's apprentice.

This view is supported by the statements of other informants: "Of course them people that is from a doctor family, they have dreams and get curing power," said one rather assimilated woman of about seventy-five. Another informant, a man of sixty, who repeatedly indicated his fear of "power" but at the same time was reputed to be an important curer in the peyote church said: "If you come from a family of dreamers there ain't nothing you can do. You're trapped by it."

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Young shamans appear to have undergone a period

[P. 370, B]

● 7758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [177] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness [755] couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
[424] a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed [787] to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quarts toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER
(2567-2593)

Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING
(2553-2556, 2566)

There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Susie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
[648] Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain
dances" on their property in return for handouts of
food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because
white men were the victims of the fraud it was con-
sidered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231)
[437] The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers
were extremely valuable and could be traded for any-
thing including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour
or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up
until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doc-
tor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and
released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description
of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One
old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept
them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such
experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers
were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but
still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by
chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked
up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather
suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders'
describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually
from the upper arms and thighs of particularly power-
ful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable
of handling the immense power, are made of eagle
feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but
nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Mer-
riam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
● [756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette
casually during conversation. In prewhite times the
tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the
shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced
the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed
delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote
ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, A]

824 795 778 ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

754 756 778 [172] There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172] Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

> [539] "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731] Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754 Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

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754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the diviner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 2562).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

721 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes: thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly men- [754] tions a month-long period during which doctors ga- [344] thered and made medicine against the enemy before launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Wood- [177] fords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance house copied after Miwok structures and described as "where the young mens learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley: attributed to the Maidu, it fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

● 756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the [177] curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

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One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

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Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

[P.374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

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Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are [756] dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit [624] boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe [828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of [178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In 787 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set- [756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance [621] of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1920's, as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and [178] fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at [539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my husband about the dream the next morning and he said I [828] should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

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DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

[535] [721] [224] Until very recent times a dream was justification for almost any group activity. The most common motivation for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

● [756] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer appears to have been one of the important factors in attaining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[6] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

791 622 Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 178 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Antelope dreaming is no longer important because there are [224] no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 825 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[6]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
775 for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
[782] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[551] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were [648] camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented [789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism [795] is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Stewart, and for the Owens and Walker Mountain Paiute ● [756] by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 244, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P.382, B]

222 527 787 791 [211]

"This prayer[1] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during these four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less. if you have a big family you get more."[2]

[782]

"Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791

Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, mugal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114

Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of [illegible].

● [756]

Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527

Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[1] Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used nominally.

[124]

[2] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

[P.383, A]

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine cutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come to their aid.

[210] [721] 622

222 527 791 With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

[756]

9. Fish hook of bone with fiber cord.
10. Tule boat and long wood pole.
11. Snares.
12. Traps (itpakmal¢t), especially the rockfall type for small rodents.
13. Wooden club, for rabbits primarily.
14. Rabbit and fish net (diqush) of fiber cordage.
15. Antelope drive fences (mugigush) and corral.
16. Obsidian or cane blade knife (tagil).
17. Broken cobble chopper.

E. Food processing implements.
1. Bedrock mortar (lam) and stone pestle (bits¢k), see Plate III.
2. Metate (d¢mg¢) and mano (gamum).
3. Seed storage pits (damyeo) and mounds, particularly for pinenuts, Plate II, B illustrates a pinenut cache.
4. Roasting pit, Plate II, A shows pinenuts roasting.
5. Digging stick (dishu).
6. Hooked (beyugum) pinenut gathering pole (bih¢?).
7. Sticks to lift hot cooking stones (golang) into the cooking basket.
8. Looped (baleo) or paddle (kaas) stirring stick used to remove stones from the cooking basket.
9. Skin and animal stomach bags (tash¢p).
10. Soaproot brush (itgumbeyut) or comb (itwega).
11. Carrying net.

F. Other manufactures.
1. Stone pipe (de¢k) used with a skin tobacco bag (bankush tash¢p).
2. Bone and willow whistles.
3. Coccoon rattle (diyu angal).
4. Shaman's kit.
5. Puberty ceremony staff of elderberry wood (ba du? cuhu?).
6. Ball of skin (mugishua) filled with sagebrush bark used in a football game.
7. Bat and rope used in a game.
8. Dice (boko?), counters, and small sticks used in hand games. See Plate V, C.
9. Top made of a stick and pine pitch.
10. Toy sling.
11. Buckskin calendar string with a knot to be untied each day until specific event begins (balogo).

For information on food, water, and medicines see pp. 20-21.

Clothing and Ornamentation

Most of the year the Washo went barefoot and practically nude. A breechclout for the men and a front apron for the women was universal. Beyond that

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks. 342 226 [223] [224]

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,E) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal. 342

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting. 756 177 343 [787] [515]

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water. 342 515 [756]

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance" 344 177

1/1 [See cat. 16, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

463

There were no full time craft specialists in Washo society. Every household produced the major amount of its own food, clothing and shelter. There were some individuals who were better at making bows and arrows and other crafts who specialized to a degree.

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Particularly successful hunters became leaders of deer hunting parties. Leadership was somewhat specialized for rabbit drives, antelope drives, mud hen and duck drives, dances, pinenut gathering, and cooperative endeavors generally.

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The shaman came the closest to being a full time specialist since he spent much time at his trade. There was a great proliferation of specialization among shamans.

This specialization involved the source of particular supernatural abilities (wiqaleyu), what songs or paraphernalia were used, and what curing or other services could be rendered. Some individuals were particularly expert at "charming" antelope in the antelope drives. Others had the ability from the rattlesnake spirit to cure snake bites. In addition, there were herbalists and midwives who practiced without shamanistic ritual.

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[752]

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits. 224 433

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives. [756] [622] [223]

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream. 226 433

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting." [592] [470]

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (lagum gumm bey?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance. 222 433 [782] [788]

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity 571 431

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343). [175]

Trade

Trade and gift exchange were not clearly separate in Washo society. However, the language does distinguish between sharing (mibʔshighi) and trading (damalu).[1] In trade there tended to be immediate reciprocation while gift exchange often involved a time lapse. Trade also tended to be competitive and to increase with less intensive social ties. Trade involved explicit negotiation and social status was secondary as a factor in the transaction. Trade involved an impersonal relation which focused on the economic goods rather than upon the social relations of persons involved. 431 438

Washo trade was an estimated one or two percent of the total distribution. Four types of trade are recognized: (1) silent, without face-to-face interaction; (2) personal, where personal ties are relatively important; (3) administered, based on governmental rules; and (4) market, which is relatively free from personal and governmental ties. Washo trade in this framework was "personal". 438 [433] [656]

Hank Pete maintained that women would often trade under circumstances in which men would ordinarily give gifts. Trade proceeded with little haggling. The transaction was initiated by either a buyer or a seller. It took the form of propositions, questions, and answers such as "I'll trade you this for that. This one? No, that one! I need more for that one. Then I'll include this, too. We can trade then." Trade with non-Washo was conducted through gestures and a few key words understood by both parties, such as damalu for "trade". 437 438 [439]

The Washo lacked rigid standards of reference, that is, the valuation of two materials to be traded in terms of a third material. Goods were traded without reference to their value in other goods and without a traditional exchange rate. For this reason it was difficult to collect data on equivalencies of value or rates of exchange. 435 438

From descriptions of actual transactions, and by insisting on some relative values of objects, the following scale was established by this writer. Hank Pete said that rabbit nets were never traded. They were too valuable. Many things, because of tradition or personal desires, were not traded. Such things might be a shaman's paraphernalia, a bow that had killed a number of deer, or food and clothing needed for survival. Freed and Freed (n.d., 10) state that the loss or destruction of a shaman's curing implements was a cause of illness to the shaman. [753] [756]

Certain things were near the top of the value scale. A double rabbit skin blanket, a large coiled water tight cooking basket (giuleu), a whole buck deer, and three tanned deer skins were roughly equal in value. Hank Pete said he had never heard of anyone who had three tanned deer skins, and a

1. A loan word from Miwok, according to William H. Jacobsen, Jr. (personal communication). [192]

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a load of fish back to the valley to help feed those who had been left behind. In the fall, groups of Washo would travel into California to gather acorns. These trips frequently took them as far west as Placerville. The Washo then returned to the Pine Nut Mountains for the pine-nut season. In the years when there was no crop of pine nuts, a family might choose to winter at Lake Tahoe or in one of the valleys east of the Sierra Nevada.

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The Washo no longer lead a migratory life. The shores of Lake Tahoe are now privately owned, and the Washo may not fish there. They still obtain acorns from California, but they no longer have to travel in groups for protection. The trip takes only a day or two in an automobile and may be made by an individual or a single family. The only noteworthy survival of the old seasonal migrations is the fall trip to the Pine Nut Mountains to hunt deer and gather pine nuts. Many families, especially those headed by older people, still spend a month or longer in the Pine Nut Mountains.

ECONOMIC LIFE

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The major game animals were deer, antelope, and rabbit. Deer could be hunted individually or communally. The leader of the communal deer hunt was a secular officer; that is, he did not derive his authority from dreams (Lowie, 1939, p. 326). He divided the hunting party into two groups. One group built fires and drove the deer toward the other hunters who were lying in ambush with bow and arrow. The captured deer were divided among all who participated in the hunt. Deer provided, in addition to food, hides for clothes and sinews for use in the manufacture of bows and arrows.

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Deer could be hunted by small parties of four or five men. When pursued, deer follow a certain route; and as the Indians knew which way the animals would go, some of them chased the deer while others took a short cut and lay in wait. Disguises consisting of the horns and hide of a deer were sometimes used to approach a herd of deer and lure them close to a group of concealed hunters (Curtis, 1926, pp. 94-95).

Deer remain a fairly important item of food for the modern Washo. Today deer are hunted by individuals armed with rifles; the old, coöperative methods of deer hunting are no longer practised.

[178]

Antelope were hunted by a technique known as antelope charming. The leader of the antelope hunt received his power through dreams. He communicated with the animals in his dreams and told them not to be afraid of him. When antelope were sighted, the Washo built a corral of sagebrush. The antelope charmer approached the herd and talked to them, gradually leading them into the corral. This was accompanied by a slow drive by the rest of the Indians. Once the antelope were inside the corral, the Washo rushed upon them and killed them with clubs and bows and arrows. The animals were divided among all the hunters. This method of hunting must have disappeared very early, for no antelope chief was living in 1926 (Lowie, 1939, p. 324).

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Rabbits were hunted by a communal drive under the leadership of a secular rabbit chief. This officer was distinct from both the leader of the deer hunt and the antelope charmer. According to Barrett (1917, p. 12), he was a hereditary officer; according to Lowie (1939,

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[114]

dance give a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegelélyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegelélyu.

The word also denotes the implements used in curing.

A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites were the same each night. For the first three nights, the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wagwéiya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them. The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303). Each settlement was politically independent. Washo informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is more complex. They have adopted a written constitution and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new complexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters, the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

Warfare seems to have been waged under the leadership of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his

[P. 353, B]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ha'lǒ·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits. Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

[P.361, A]

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýŭ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýŭ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýŭ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

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Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman
(Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively
unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing ill-
ness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears
headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re-
[262] vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their
livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go
to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance in-
dicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its
disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to
organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and
the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman
can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect
upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut
dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present
for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's
curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaf-
fected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The cere-
monies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty
dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes
have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The
old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female.
He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and re-
quires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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562 The apparent relationship between specialists and the disappearance of Washo ceremonies focuses attention upon men, for men were usually the specialists in Washo society. Washo specialists were few, but almost all were men. The leaders of communal deer, rabbit and antelope hunts were men, as [756] were the leaders of war parties. The leader of the pinenut dance was a man. Shamans could be either men or women, but male shamans were probably more common. The two shamans practicing in the early 1950's were both men, and most of the shamans of former days mentioned by informants were men.

Modern conditions have affected the male role more than the female. Cooking and the care of babies, for example, retain their importance while hunting, fishing, and warfare have disappeared or have been considerably [177] reduced in importance. Men have of necessity taken to wage work. As a result the overwhelming power and authority of the larger society impinge more on men than on women and seem to have had the effect of undermining male [554] self-confidence. All specialist roles in Washo society were achieved rather than ascribed and a person attained office through a combination of skill and personality traits. But males may have become reluctant to try to achieve such statuses, knowing the prevailing attitudes of the larger society toward Washo culture. (Compare with Freed, 1960, 370, and Freed and Freed, 1963.)

Women seem better adjusted to modern conditions than men. They are less exposed to the larger society, and much of their interaction is with relatives where they feel sure of themselves. Two of the three surviving Washo ceremonies are life cycle ceremonies, which a woman arranges. No special personality attributes are required and the necessary arrangements involve mainly relatives.

Conclusion

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105 This paper has described the ceremonies of the Washo and has suggested a reason why some appear on the point of disappearing while others seem capable of surviving, at least for the immediate future. One factor that may be important is the vulnerability of the aboriginal specialist under modern conditions. Therefore, ceremonies dependent upon specialists can disappear suddenly when specialists are no longer available. The surviving ceremonies, all life cycle ceremonies, require no specialists. Most Washo specialists were men, and the vulnerability of the specialists is in accord with the more disruptive effects of the larger society upon men than upon women.

These conclusions are highly tentative because of the few ceremonies involved in the analysis. They are only suggestions about possibly significant factors in Washo acculturation, and their validity will be determined by examining the course of acculturation in other simple hunting-gathering tribes of western North America.

Notes

1. This paper is based upon data collected during about six months of field work in the summers of 1952, 1953, 1956, and part of the winter of 1956-57. Our principal informants were Nancy Emm, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete of Dresslerville, Nevada. We wish to thank the Department of Anthropology, University of California, Berkeley, for financial assistance.

2. For a brief description of the war dances see Lowie, 1939, 329-30, and Freed, 1960, 353.

3. Since we made our last field trip to the Washo Indians in 1956-57, we have learned that this shaman has died.

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Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegelé́yu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegelé́yus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegelé́yu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegelé́yu. It is interesting that only water wegelé́yu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

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Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukű́shkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukű́shkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukű́shkush. Welukű́shkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukű́shkush had the water-baby for his wegelé́yu. Welukű́shkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukű́shkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukű́shkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights. 756 [171] [755]

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath. 755 756 [262] [263] [515]

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery. [783]

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● 756 When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The
775 shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient
[787] wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

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756 Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting
[778] from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second
[787] illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

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756 Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served
[752] two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep
[791] the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

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756 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the
789 neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band
82 of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

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754 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held be-
756 cause the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman
[755] failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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● 756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans [683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers being the objects of aggression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness. But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

178 668 756 1957 Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 82). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

177 178 756 Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

178 754 756 It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

154 178 756 The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[3 [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

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"...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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Washo NT20
Ashumawi NS5

N 524 NWA 436

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ta	K1	K7	Ka	Ts	Tu	Pa	Wa	Ji	Ha	Ng	Wa	Ji	Ad
1887. Pegging	•	•	–	•	–	–	•	–	–	–	•	–	–	–
1888. MONEY (location)	–	°.	°.	°.	•	•	•	°.	•	–	–	–	–	•
1889. Bowls: shell dish	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
1890. Glass	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	•
1891. Measuring: around head	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	–	–	–	•
1891a. With middle finger	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1892. With thumb	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	–	–	•
1893. With head to elbow	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	•	–	–	–	–	•

TOBACCO AND SMOKING

NWA 276

Pipe

°1894. Tubular bowl	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	°.	•	•	•	–	•	•
1895. Of stone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1896. Convex sides	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1901. With stem	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1901a. Round bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	–
1902. L-shaped bowl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	°.	–	–
1903. Of stone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–
1904. With stem	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–
°1905. Monitor, of stone	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1906. Stem of wood	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
°1906a. Bone	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•
1907. Cane	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–
1908. Elderberry	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	–
1909. Recessed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1910. Pipe smoked by: men	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	°.	•	•	•	–	•	•
1911. Primarily old men	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•
1912. Women	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1912a. "Doctor"	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1913. Pipe passed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•

Cigarette

°1914. Case filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
°1915. Elderberry filled with tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–
°1916. Chewing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

Miscellaneous

1921. Smoking any time	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	–	–	•
1922. Bedtime	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1923. Occasional only	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1924. At gatherings	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1925. By shamans	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
1926. As offering	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	°.	•	•	•
1927. To spirit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	•
1928a. Sun lights pipe	•	•	•	•	°.	°.	•	–	•	–	–	–	–	–

NWA [754]
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°Tobacco (pul'gwee)

1929. Tobacco gathered wild	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1929a. Plots burned to make grow	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
1930. Leaves dried and thrashed	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•
1931. Tobacco greased with rabbit fat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	–	–	–	°.	•
1931a. Tobacco mixed with another plant	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	•

N 249 276

[p. 402]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRICT: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kd	Kn	Te	Ti	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	El	wf	
1939. Leaf of kinikini (unascertain?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	?	+	N
1940. Root of teasp for suds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	W
1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
1941. Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	249
1942. Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	276
1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	304
MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS															N
Rattles															W
?1944. Gourd rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	A
1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	534
1947. Used by shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	W
1950. Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	[736]
1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
?1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
1953. Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1954. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	N
1956. Used by shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	[736]
1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
1957. Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1958. Used by shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
?1960. Deer's-ear rattle (wihawiga)	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
1963. Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
?1965. Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1965. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
?1970. Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1971. Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	N
1972. Used by shamans	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	A
?1973. Notched stick (mihumagi)	-	?	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	?	?	-	-	+	[736]
1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	
1976. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	
1978. Used by antelope shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	
1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	
1981. Bagpipe (tom'ohiaga)	+	+	-	-	-	?	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1981a. Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	
1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1983. Buckskin disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	
1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Bull-roarer															
(See Games)															
1985. Drum	+	+	+	+	?	?	-	-	+	-	+	?	?	+	
1986. 2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
1988. 1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1989. Body of wood	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1990a. 24	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	
1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

NWA 764

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Yo	Kl	Kl	Ka	Io	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	Al
	2399. Purified by washing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2401.	Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404a. West	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
2412.	Cremation	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	7416. Witches	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
[766] 2417.	Cremation in house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2418. In pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2419. On pyre	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2421.	Funeral speech by old man	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2424.	Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2426. House burned	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2431.	Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
2432.	Female relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2434. Throw away hair clippings	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2438a. Smear faces	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2441.	Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 8	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
	2444a. 9-12	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2446. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	2447a. 12	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2448.	Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2450.	Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
	2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'amo)														
2469.	Male shamans (mana pohari)	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470.	Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kl	Kn	Yo	Yo	Pa	Mo	At	Ha	Tg	Wi	Kl	Ast
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2474. From mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2475. Before relative's death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2476. After relative's death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2477. Source of power is natural dreams (unsought)	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2482a. Youth does not disclose dreams	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2483. Power may be refused	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision given: songs	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2486. Dances	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2495. Clay	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2496. Lumalas rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2497. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2498. Flute	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2507a. Left (clockwise)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor dances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2514. Smoke	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2515. Flint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2516. Stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Worm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2520. Stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2522. Feather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL ARCHIVES

	Ta	A1	A2	Ab	Tr	Th	Th	Ab	A1	Ab	Tr	Ad	A1	A2
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2530. Blows water from mouth	•	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2534a. With eagle feathers	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2535. Doctor handles fire	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2536. Places hands in fire	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2537. Picks up fire	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2538. Stands in fire	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	•	•	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shamans														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2548. Power to handle snakes	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2549. Curing by sucking	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2549a. By tying with horsehair	•	•	•	•	•	–	–	–	•	–	•	•	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	•	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	–	•	•	•	–
2554. Power to make rain	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2555. Make rain stop	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2556. Make wind to remove snow	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2557a. Female	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	•	–	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2562a. Poisoners called stumaphurai	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2563. Power from coyote	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2566. Vowed to foretell future	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	•	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	•
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2572. By free doctoring	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (tjumaitum)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2575. To nature	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	•	–	–
2576. To sun	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2577. Offerings to 'nature'	–	–	–	–	•	•	•	–	•	•	•	•	•	•
2578. To ghost (tsaava)	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 414]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 328 N [114]

1196. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

CRADLES

N 354 482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 776]

MUTILATIONS

N 304

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kn: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GW). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. KE: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obW [135] tained in mountains near Topaz.

1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 772] 1906. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [792] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tütsikwökwa, or Tai Hida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1928a. To, TÜ: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{wp}.

1931a. AE: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Grey, was mixed with Nicotiana.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

N 534

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians W [534] when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [172 756] 1963. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyra- N mid Lake. K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on [179 759] skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

N 534 Tg: Notched stick borrowed from north about 30 years ago.

Buzzers

1981. To: Plaything brought in by white folks.

Drum; Musical Bow

N [177] 1985. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): yet Owens Valley Indians said Walker Lake Paiute used drum. To: - (LP). To: Before white people, drum was unknown to Paiute. Wd: - (BJ). Single-headed drum obtained from Bunipui before white people arrived (SC). Ki: - (Kelly, 147): says drum was recently acquired, but my informants insisted it was always known. Paviotso: Drum not found (Curtis, 71).

W [539] 1994. Mono Lake: + (Steward, 278). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Whistle; Flute

N [156] 2002. Paviotso: "The medicine men used also bird-bone whistles" (Curtis, 71). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2003. To: Whistles also used by Indian doctor. Wa: Whistle was double type; used only by Indian doctor.

W [756] ●

N [177] 2004. To: Flute known since white contact. Wd: - (SC). Owens Valley: + (Steward, fig. 9, p. 277).

2005. Paviotso: - (Curtis, 71).

N [172] 2007. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 39).

MARRIAGE

2018. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 295).

2019. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

2020. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N [684] 2023. To: If a husband learns that his wife has been with another man, a fight always follows, after which both men leave the woman and will have no more to do with her.

N 595 [177] 2027. At: A polyandrous marriage in McDermitt now with woman married to two men who are not brothers. "In old days people would not allow a woman two husbands at once." (See Stewart, 1937.)

W [583] 2037. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 591 2039. Ki: Kelly, 166, reports "initial matrilocal residence was the rule."

2040. To: Residence variable; however, usually it is matrilocal.

N 684 2041. Kd: Al said women were stoned to death for infidelity in old days. To: Wife is beaten if caught in the act by husband.

2041, 2042. To: - (LP).

N 586 548 2045, 2046. To: - (LP).

2047. To: No divorce (LP).

2050. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 80).

[p. 439]

N 756 781 taken once to a special deep lake where he was given a series of tests, and so on. An especially capable man was tutor. Boy was tested in swimming and hiking and was given a special method of drinking. All boys prayed and fasted for special powers desired.

2481. Kl: If a boy is sick, an old shaman decides if the sickness is a result of non-acceptance of power. The boy is given a willow to hold; if it shakes he is supposed to be a doctor, if it is steady, illness is due to other causes.

2483. Kl: If boy does not want to be a doctor, the old shaman sucks "power" from boy's forehead in the form of a stone, bullet, and the like. As the shaman exhibits the power, he asks the boy again if he does not want to keep it; if not, it is thrown away.

W [754] 2491. Wa: Indian doctor has pipe and special, small, feathered basket.

N 756 2492. Pa: Used eagle-wing whistle also.

2495. Kl: White clay sprinkled on paraphernalia (Lowie, 294). To: Jack Wilson used sand as ammunition to shoot rabbits. He also had power to melt the lead of enemy bullets or to make guns miss fire.

2498. Kl: Paiute doctors never whistled. If someone in room where shaman was doctoring were to whistle, shaman would drop dead.

Curing Performances

N 755 2505. To: Cigarettes have replaced pipe in doctoring; dreams tell how many cigarettes to use.

W [755] 2511. Wa: Shaman makes a fire and walks around it 4 times.

2514. Kl: Objects, such as snakes, flints, worms, were sucked out of patient after they had been shot into him by evil shaman. Ki: + (Kelly, 192).

A [755] 2526. Al: Big shaman places new medicine in disease objects and dispatches them into bad shaman who sent them into patient.

2540. Kl: One shaman rolled dust in cigarette paper and it turned to tobacco. Another put snow in his pipe and it changed to tobacco.

W [755] 2541. Wa: CR never saw "doctor" return soul of dying; he just heard about it being done by Washo.

Special Powers of Shaman

W [755] 2545, 2546. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2549. To: - (LP). Te: Rain water used to cure snake bite and the shaman caused rain.

N 755 756 2549a. To: - (LP).

2551. At: Old Chief Winnemucca was attributed magical as well as political power by the Paiute in Idaho, Oregon, northern Nevada, and California. PS said he could suck shot from a wound and stop bleeding.

NK13 Northern Paiute NK13

Washo NT20
Washoan NS5

A [756 789] 2552. Al: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. Al: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wi: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 756 [53] 2554. To: See note 2549.

2555. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CK and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [178] 2569. K2, To, Wa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. Al: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

W [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

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Washo NT20

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study." To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote." Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times." Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans. Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

" The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

' See Appendix III for statistics.

Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

' Willie Sumkey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

" Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[7] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[7] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[8] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1923, 188–200, and many others.

[9] Steward, 1933, 318.

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Washo NT20 ●

TABLE 2—(*Continued*)

Tribes—(*Continued*)	Peyotists (percentage)
Chippewa (Leech Lake Agency)	5
Yanktonai Sioux (Lower Brule Agency)	0
Omaha (Omaha Agency)	90
Little Osage (Osage Agency)	50
Oto and Missouri (Oto Agency)	50
Pawnee (Pawnee Agency)	20
Northern Cheyenne, Brule Sioux (Pine Ridge Agency)	5
Kaw, Ponca, Tonkawa (Ponca Agency)	60
Prairie band of Potawatomi (Potawatomi Agency)	16
Rosebud Sioux (Rosebud Agency)	0.7
Eastern Shawnee, Otawa, Quapaw, Seneca, Wyandotte (Seneca Agency)	2
Absentee Shawnee, Mexican Kickapoo (Shawnee Agency)	10
North Arapaho, eastern band of Shoshoni (Shoshoni Agency)	7.5
Sisseton and Wahpeton Sioux (Sisseton Agency)	0
Capote and Moache Ute (Southern Ute Agency)	5[b]
Sioux (Standing Rock Agency)	0
Northern Cheyenne (Tongue River Agency)	35
Uinta, Uncompahgre, and White River Ute (Uinta and Ouray Agency)	50
Capote and Moache Ute (Ute Mountain Agency)	90[b]
Winnebago (Winnebago Agency)	33
Ponca, Santee Sioux, Yankton Sioux (Yankton Agency)	20

[b] Corrected by letter from S. F. Stacher, Superintendent, dated at Ignacio, Colorado, October 28, 1938, which agrees with personal observations made in January, 1938.

columns on the right contain total population figures and the number of converts in each community. Irregularity is the characteristic feature revealed by table 1.

Table 2, above, presents the available information on the percentage of the Indian population of various tribes and agencies who have become members of the peyote cult.

In the following table (table 3) the percentage of peyotists and nonpeyotists in the several cate-

[text continues on top of p. 125]

TABLE 3

PARTICIPATIONAL STATUSES AMONG 1000 INDIVIDUALS IN ANALYZED TOWNS AS OF NOVEMBER, 1938
(In percentages)

Categories	753 Nonpeyotists	247 Peyotists	247 Peyotists	
			83 Active	159 Inactive
Prosperous	5.3	5.7	10.2	3.8
Poor	3.4	4.1	3.4	4.4
Energetic	5.4	5.6	9.0	3.8
Lazy	2.8	3.6	4.5	3.0
Heavy drinkers	6.6	7.7	10.2	6.3
Never drink	1.7	2.0	3.4	1.3
Active Christians	6.0	4.4	4.5	4.4
Shamans	1.3	2.0	2.3	1.9
Councilmen	1.0	0.8	1.1	0.6
Mixed-bloods	13.1	10.9	8.7	13.8

[B 393, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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178
[753]
[782]

These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated--moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

[623]
[276]

For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

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II

Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukúshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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[756]
[787]

Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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[787]

Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dɔ́·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen [824] and cottonwood tree bark (tášaʔ ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844 After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844-[842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil).[3] Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178 [431] [777] 846

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawášan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (náwnan ?émluhaya?).[4] [757] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2579. To spirit (sumppo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	782
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	757
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															NW
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	N
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NWA
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	787
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
"Wuipo" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															NWA
2614. Circle Dance (mugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall piñon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	N
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NW
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[789]

[p. 415]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.
[752]

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second men-
[178] struation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 595

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of present to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicity said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [593] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1910. 177 585

Death

Death (deyŭliyi?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

765

Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775] It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

765 824 789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result. [787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764 775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content [782] to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.[d] Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."[e]

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy."

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals." Except when persistently

[14] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[15] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, "... a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

In 1942 the average annual income of 40 families at the Dresslerville Colony was $664 (Program of the Carson Agency 1944, 184). Incomes have since increased substantially above the 1942 figure. For example, in the summer of 1961 there were three electricians and a painter that commuted from Dresslerville to Reno every work day.

Washo reside today primarily in small shacks in Dresslerville, Carson City, and Reno, Nevada and in Woodfords and Coleville, California. A large number of Washo have married out of the tribe and live in the communities mentioned above or in other parts of Nevada and California.

The general figures on the causes of deaths among Nevada Indians is probably indicative of certain elements in current Washo life (Haglund, et al. 1961, 43-43c). Non-Indians in Nevada have a higher frequency of deaths due to heart diseases and cancer while the Indians have higher death rates in the categories of violence, vehicle accidents, pneumonia, enteritis, tuberculosis, homicide, and suicide. "In the general accident category... Nevada Indian deaths are almost twice the proportion of that of non-Indians in this state. Homicide as a cause of death is five times greater among Nevada Indians than among Indians in other parts of the continental United States."

The following chronology is presented to give an overview of the important events in the history of Washo territory. Several of the events listed have not been settled by historians and may be only approximately correct as stated here. There is little of an ethnohistorical character to this outline, but it does provide a framework for relating changes in Washo economics to the facts of White contact.

1826 - (possibly 1825) Jedediah S. Smith brought a party of some forty trappers down the Humboldt, to the Walker River, and over Walker's Pass into California. In the same year he recrossed the Sierras passing Mono Lake on the way east (Thompson and West 1881).

1833 - Capt. B. L. E. Bonneville sent a trapping (and spying?) party under Joseph R. Walker into Spanish California by way of Pyramid Lake, up the Truckee River, and over the Sierras. Zenas Leonard wrote a diary of this trip (Nevada 1940, 289).

1841 - Capt. J. B. Bartleson took an emigrant party, with John Bidwell and Col. Joseph B. Chiles along, to the Carson and Walker rivers and over the Sierras into California by way of Sonora Pass (Nevada 1940, 289).

1844 - Col. John C. Fremont and his survey party, with Kit Carson along, passed Pyramid Lake, proceeded south through Carson Valley and on

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegeléyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. [263]
The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father [784]
and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. [626]
The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the
threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The
father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide
is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no
chance to change her behavior.

762
Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that peo- 626
ple do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men at- 562
tempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal
difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the
fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male
authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was
revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo.
"... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as
clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women
see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as
clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication [157]
that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence...." (Freed, 1960, 370). We
believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and can-
not be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more [154]
difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted
in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48;
Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men
may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of
the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control,
three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by wom-
en that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

762
We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages 273
has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha
Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin 177
drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its
role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. 626
If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness
is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Sui-
cide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of
the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo be-
come hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a per-
son may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken
brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor
consideration.

> "Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[1] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[1] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

762
[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dímeʔ dé·guš).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

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764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them
[765] should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead,
who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a
dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some
noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the
house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by
some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as fol-
lows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't
go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in
Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."
[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was
rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
539 he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and
asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired
for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a
match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there.
Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree
struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes
[763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home.
That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other
Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called mɛtsuŋ'ɛ'. The Washo were afraid
to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw
the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the
shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of
babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the
water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there.
They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them.
A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and
fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet
are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a mɛtsuŋ'ɛ' pulling the line down.
He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft
of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious
in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and
made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the
water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the
fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a
spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to
the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'cca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

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Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825 824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821 789

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

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One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

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Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

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Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

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A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.

[177] [538] [533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

224 789 [533]

● [763] [186] [114] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

[484] [136]

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. [535] Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 There was, however, a special leader who directed 624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack 791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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[832]
cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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[881]
Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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778
763
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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
[782]

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Ki	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	At	
2579. To spirit (sunopö)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	782
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	757
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or nagua)															NW
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	N
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NW
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	A
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	787
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	
"Nuipö" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	276
DANCES															NWA
2614. Circle Dance (nagava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NW
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	[787]

[p. 415]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[p. 377, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
[221] usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l—a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
[657] ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
764 abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the
768 government. No longer permitted to move about the
178 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
[656] justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[9]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

[648]

[9]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this
783 ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
[551] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
[821] winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [648] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bear- [789] skins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The [764] rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
789 eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
[525] powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that
[177] a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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[881]
Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
[782]

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teuboyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

[p.361, A]

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subsequently patrilocal, 8 neolocal, and 1 matrilocal. I have counted a single marriage more than once if the couple shifted residence more than once. For example, if a couple lived for two years with the wife's parents, then for some time with the husband's family, and finally by themselves, they were counted as initially matrilocal and subsequently patrilocal and neolocal. Of the first marriages not initially matrilocal, 11 were patrilocal, 10 matrilocal (permanently and not just initially), and 9 neolocal.

The various kinds of residence arrangements are scattered randomly with respect to the age of informants. This is a critical point, for the neolocal marriages were not specifically reported by the earlier investigators. Although Lowie says that a couple moved after the death of the wife's parents, he does not specify the new location of the couple. Yet the fact that neolocal marriages occur as frequently among older people as among younger indicates that they are not a recent innovation.

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Data on 11 second and subsequent marriages are contained in the genealogies and life histories. Three of these were initially matrilocal; and of these, 1 was subsequently patrilocal and 2 neolocal. Of the second marriages not initially matrilocal, 3 were patrilocal, 4 matrilocal, and 5 neolocal. As was true of first marriages, the various kinds of residence arrangements of second and subsequent marriages were distributed randomly with respect to the age of informants.

To trace the history of a number of Washo marriages, as has been done above, describing them as patrilocal or matrilocal or neolocal without regard for the length of time spent under the various rules, gives a somewhat distorted picture of Washo residence, for it emphasizes unduly the "neolocal" residences. Actually, almost all couples live near their parents or other close relatives the greater part of their lives. Occasionally, a family may live for a few years with no close relatives near by. For this reason some marriages have been classed as neolocal. In the matter of residence rules, the normative statements of Lowie's, Curtis', and my informants give a better picture of the essential nature of Washo residence than a statistical count. Residence may best be described as bilocal. There is no evidence that the rule of residence was different in prewhite times.

DESCENT AND INHERITANCE

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[611]
[764]

Descent was basically bilateral. Personal property was not inherited, for it had to be destroyed at death. Pine-nut picking rights descended bilaterally. A person also had picking rights on his spouse's land, but these rights were terminated at the death of the spouse. Certain offices may have descended from father to son. Barrett (1917, p. 9) says that each village had a hereditary chief. In former times, the office passed from father to the eldest son; more recently, he says, the office was filled by the selection of the most appropriate individual regardless of relationship. Barrett also states that the rabbit chief was a hereditary official, but this is disputed by Lowie. Neither shamans nor antelope charmers inherited their positions.

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The aboriginal Washo system of inheritance fits well with the American bilateral system and has changed only slightly since the coming of the whites. One change is that people can now dispose of their property by a will. This is particularly important with regard to in-

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

● 764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a greek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 178 [768] The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

The funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
754 witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their [778] babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

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[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dime? dé·gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

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764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them
[765] should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787]
[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be [464] valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, [492] which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

NWA 841

NWA 881

NWA 764

NWA [767]

	Ts	K1	K2	Ko	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2351. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2352. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (namadrarai)														
2354. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	•	–
2355. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2356. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2357. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2359. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2365. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	•	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2374. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2378. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2379. Confinement 5 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2380. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
2384. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2384a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2395. Tracks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	–	–
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

[p.411]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
	2399. Purified by washing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2401.	Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404a. West	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2412.	Cremation	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2413. All deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2416. Witches	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
2417.	Cremation in house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2418. In pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2419. On pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2421.	Funeral speech by old man	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2425.	Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2426. House burned	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2431.	Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
2432.	Female relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2434. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
	2438a. Smear faces	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2441.	Male relatives crop hair	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	2444a. 3-12	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2446. Abstain from washing	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2447a. 12	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2448.	Mourning terminated by mourner washing	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2450.	Taboo on name of dead	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2451. Permanent	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'amó)														
2469.	Male shamans (nana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470.	Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 412]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood; and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teūbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us
[627] cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[5]

650 When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[5]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

[P.352, B]

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 178 [768] The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14). 755 178

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[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dime? dé'gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

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764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

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6. Literally "water sweet potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

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It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

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"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	K1	K2	Ku	Te	T6	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	K1	AT
	2399. Purified by washing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
	2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404a. West	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2412. Cremation	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2413. All deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
N	2416. Witches	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
[76]	2417. Cremation in house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2418. In pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2419. On pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2421. Funeral speech by old man	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
NWA	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
763	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA	2426. House burned	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
[76]	2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
NWA	2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2434. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
765	2437. Gash legs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
	2438a. Smear faces	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 8	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	2444a. 9-12	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2446. Abstain from washing	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
N	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
W	2447a. 12	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
A	2447b. 24	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
784	2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+
	2451. Permanent	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2455. Annual Mourning Ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'and)														
NWA	2469. Male shamans (mana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
756	2470. Female shamans (moromi pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 412]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

III. RELIGION

Shamanism

Shamans became such through dreams. However, not all dreams were interpreted as a transfer of supernatural power, even though they had a flavor of uncanniness. Thus, a Washo dreaming of a deceased sister or cousin would feel bad and refrain from talking about it, but this was not a call to shamanistic office.* Similarly, Bill once dreamed of many people of a kind unknown to the Washo and wearing no clothes. They were all big men and made fun of Bill, who got scared, thinking they might kill him, and woke up. Sometimes he dreamed of rattlesnakes and bull snakes.

The type of dream that leads to power is illustrated by Dave's report of an experience described by his grandfather in Dave's youth. A Washo might be somewhere in the valley when a west wind is blowing. He hears a sound . . . "iii . . . i." He thinks about it and in the middle of the night the little bit of noise enters his head and talks to him. As yet the prospective shaman tells nobody about his experience. Then he will again get a call in the dead of night from the place where he first heard the whistling. Waking up, he puts on his footgear and runs toward the rock or hill where he heard it. As soon as he gets there, this thing speaks as follows, in a whisper: "Now be a good man, doctor your own people and save them always as long as you live. Go back to where you were sleeping. Wake up before sunrise, drop yourself into the water, bathe. Do this on four mornings. Then begin to doctor some man, but do not charge any fee the first time, see what you can do for him. Treat him for four nights. If you cure him, it means that you are to be a doctor always. The second time you cure somebody, you may accept a buckskin, and thereafter you may ask for anything you wish."

This pictures a benevolent shaman without making it clear whether Dave had a particular person in mind or an ideal character. The medicine man he described would tell the people about his protector: "I do nothing that is wrong, I do what is right; he [my familiar] bids me doctor people and cure every one of them." All who were sick would accordingly go to him, saying, "Let us treat the old doctor well and make him treat us well. He has already cured four or five persons, and perhaps he will do better [!]." They gave him good food, beads, or a buckskin to keep him satisfied.† When he died, all the people for twenty miles around—possibly 400 to 500 of them—assembled and cried aloud. They dug a big hole, put him in, and buried him. If Dave's data on the disposal of ordinary persons' corpses are correct, this suggests differential treatment of shamans (see p. 310).

The nature of the familiar remains obscure. Bill said, "I don't know, I think it must be God who talks to the doctor in his dream." This "God" tells his

* For other dreams about dead persons, see p. 333.

† Another Indian mentioned a nice basket as a possible fee. He said that nowadays (1926) one would-be doctor charged $20 and more, but he did not really know how to cure and was merely cheating his patients.

		Yo	El	Kl	Ka	Yo	Yd	Pa	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wa	Kl	Al
NWA 764	2389. Purified by washing	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2404a. West	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2412. Cremation	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2413. All deceased	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
N [NWA 764]	2416. Witches	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	2417. Cremation in house	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2418. In pyre	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2419. On pyre	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
	2420. House buried afterward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2421. Funeral speech by old man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA 765	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425. Gifts to deceased	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2426. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2426a. House torn down, moved	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2426. House burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Name taken by relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[NWA 766]	2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
NWA 765	2432. Female relatives cry hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2434. Throw away hair clippings	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2438a. Smear faces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 8	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2444a. 9-12	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2445. Abstain from washing	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
NWA 764	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2447a. 12	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
	2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2451. Permanent	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2452. Annual Mourning Ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (cure'g'and)														
NWA 756	2469. Male shamans (saxa pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2470. Female shamans (morroi pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AZ
2361. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2362. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (nasadrarai)														
2364. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2365. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2367. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2369. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2365. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2374. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2378. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2379. Confinement 5 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2380. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–
2384. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2384a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2396. Tracks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2396a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+

NWA 881

NWA 841

NWA 764

NWA [767]

[p. 411]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 535 574 [177] appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

[291] [439] [534] [114] All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

583 584 About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

591 Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

● [768]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [302] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a [178] good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

[P. 399, B]

764 [178] [177] this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only changes which appear to have developed in Washo death customs are those imposed by direct intervention of the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes in other aspects of the culture.

768 [342] [221] In the past, when a person died the house in which he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if the death occurred in the spring or summer such abandonment was simple; during these seasons the Washo usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death was a more serious matter; it was during this season that the Washo lived in the gal'sdaq'l—a structure made to last through the winter and until the next winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often [342] made these winter homes of brush or tules. In the foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs were utilized. If an occupant died, this home must be abandoned and was often burned down, and the immediate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family which suffered no deaths during the winters might spend several years in a single campground, whereas a less fortunate family might have to move every winter, or even oftener than that.

342 178 [657] A few Washo began building simple rectangular board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the others continued to live in gal'sdaq'l made of boards and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lumber mills which were quite numerous in the area at the beginning of the century. In the 1930's, when most of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for them by the government, the native-style houses were abandoned in favor of the wooden homes built by the government. No longer permitted to move about the country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo adjusted their death customs. The most common adjustment was to prepare for an impending death by shifting seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure, often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or lean-to. This structure could be burned down without loss when its inhabitant died.[7]

764 768 178 [656] [775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occupied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit from bothering the living.

764 [114] Most Washo death customs display a conscious attempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett reports that cremation was practiced, and the bones placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. However, this appears to have been only one of the disposal customs and is not well remembered by Washo living today. The burning or burying of the personal possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized possessions were interred with the body, which was usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or bearhide and placed in a fissure or cave in the mountains. Although there are a number of locations known by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds, [177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days" there was no special cemetery and that these burial spots have developed since the coming of the white man. This may well have been as a result of direct white interference with native funeral customs and an insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[7] The willingness of the Washo to send gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

[P. 378, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us
[627] cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
● [768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[8]

650 When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[648] [8]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
775 for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
[551] murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (Ishin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the saw-mills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager. 175

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from 175 177 492

and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 384

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wɬlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipɬk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelɬl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelɬl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (iombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

344 was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine
177 sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of
[668] the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (pataimi m¢gi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that
[425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed.
[782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and
[685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized
[768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had
[431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory,
423 fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed.

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939).

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered.

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (guml¢sh◊¢sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalate), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket.

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinaya when played by women and hinayaugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games.

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

Descent and Inheritance

Descent is basically bilateral. Because personal property is destroyed at death and houses are torn down and abandoned, they cannot be inherited. Plots of pinenut trees are privately owned and are inherited bilaterally. The plots are marked by lines of stones. If an individual is discovered gathering in the wrong plot, the owner may take the intruder's pinenuts and break the implements he used. A person has the right to pick in his spouse's plot, but this right terminates at the death of the spouse. Barrett (1917) writes that each village has a hereditary chief, teŭbčýŭ (Barrett's transcription), and that the office passes from father to son. Lowie (1939), on the other hand, says that one of his informants reported a teŭbčýŭ for all the Washo; but he comments that this is probably a recent development. His informants did not know whether the chief inherited from his father. Our informants, as well as Lowie's, mention chiefs (teŭbčýŭ) who, in aboriginal times, would call people together on ceremonial occasions and address them, telling them to behave properly. These chiefs had no authority beyond their ceremonial functions; there is no evidence concerning the possible inheritance of the office. Special headmen led the communal rabbit, antelope and deer hunts. According to Barrett (1917), the rabbit chief inherits his office, but Lowie (1939) says he is chosen by the people. Two of our informants, Nancy Emm and Roy James, say the rabbit chief inherited from his father. The antelope chief is a shaman who dreams the right to his office. Shamans do not inherit their positions. Any able hunter is the leader of a communal deer hunt (Barrett, 1917, 9, 12; Lowie, 1939, 303). Inheritance among the modern Washo is bilateral. Family names may be inherited from either the father or mother. Some of the marriages contracted by the younger Washo are of very brief duration, and in this circumstance the child often takes the family name of the mother. The offspring of more permanent unions take the father's name.

Family, Moiety, and Local Group

The nuclear family was the basic unit of aboriginal Washo social organization. The Washo practiced polygyny and therefore had some polygynous families. Whether the polygynous families ever reached a frequency of 20%, a figure that Murdock (1949, 28) uses to distinguish between societies with polygynous families and those with monogamous families, cannot be determined because polygyny is now prohibited by law and the Washo no longer practice it. According to our informants, the aboriginal Washo family was nuclear; none of the published sources contains contrary evidence. The modern Washo family is nuclear, but it sometimes includes a few other relatives.

881 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and
178 they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a
765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year.
764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of
[768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as
178 formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal
[768] property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

The

funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently bewitch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

861
775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

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[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (dime? dé'gul).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764
There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

● 768
764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764
Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lewis (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them
[765] should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweet potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

NWA 764

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Pa	K1	K2	Kn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	K3	Al
	2399. Purified by washing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
2401.	Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2402.	Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2404.	Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404a. West	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
2406.	In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2408.	In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2410.	In mountain	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
2412.	Cremation	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2413.	All deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2416.	Witches	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
2417.	Cremation in house	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2418.	In pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2419.	On pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2420.	Bones buried afterward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2421.	Funeral speech by old man	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2422.	Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2423.	Gifts to deceased	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2425.	Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2425a.	House torn down, moved	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2426.	House burned	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2427.	Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2428.	Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2429.	Some taken by relatives	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
2431.	Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
2432.	Female relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2433.	Burn hair clippings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2433a.	Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2434.	Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
2437.	Gash legs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2438a.	Smear faces	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2439.	Abstain from washing	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2440.	Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2441.	Male relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2442.	Burn hair clippings	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2443.	Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
2444.	Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	2444a. 3-12	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2446.	Abstain from washing	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2447.	Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2447a. 12	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2448.	Mourning terminated by mourner washing	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2450.	Taboo on name of dead	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
2451.	Permanent	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
2452.	Only in presence of kin	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	–	–	–	–
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'ami)														
2469.	Male shamans (mana pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2470.	Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 766 NWA 765 NWA 764 NWA 756

[p. 412]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teŭbĕ'yū, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

[P.378.A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated. "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.*

When the husband of one of my informants died.

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[648]

*The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been exposed from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

RELIGION AND SOCIETY.

The adolescence dance for girls was practiced, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts make this dance in developed form. 535 177

Some form of mourning anniversary was held—"cry" is its English name in vogue—but all details are lacking. 769

The chief, *teubeyu*, succeeded in the male line. At marriage an exchange of gifts is said to have been optional. As among the Northern Paiute, there evidently was no bride purchase, even in form. The dead were cremated. 622 583 764

It is clear that some real information on the Washo is highly desirable. 114

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952; and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance; Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

769 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843
844 Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's
[828] umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two
[514] weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

BOY'S PUBERTY

N 881 2382. Ki: Deer intestines wrapped on hoop which is passed over youth.

DEATH CUSTOMS

N 764 [772] 2402. K: Miss Bowler, Indian agent of Nevada, told of a burial that was unearthed near Nixon during the construction of a road. The body was flexed. Indian went on strike until skeleton properly reburied.

2412. Paviotso: "The bodies of warriors were cremated, others were buried" (Curtis, 81). Wa: + (Curtis, 97). AE: Body is carried to mountains where a grave is dug. The fire is built over the hole so that the ashes and remains fall into it and are covered with rocks and dirt.

A [764]

N [766] 2416. Ku: Witches cremated or thrown to coyotes.

2417. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

N [775] 2421. Kl: Speech by old man or brother of deceased tells spirit to remain in land of dead so that living will not be bothered.

N [768] 2425a. Ki: + (Kelly, 168): said house torn down and transferred more frequently than destroyed.

2429. Paviotso: "Usually a man's entire property was distributed among his relatives" (Curtis, 82).

N [777] 2433. Ku: "It is bad luck to ever burn hair clippings, old clothes, and the like. Just throw them away." Paviotso: Hair buried with dead (Hopkins, quoted by Lowie, 283).

N 784 2450. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 82).

2453. Wa: + (Curtis, 97).

W [769]

RELIGION

Shaman

N 756 787 2471. Kl: Not only must the boy act in accordance with the dream he receives, but his parents also must follow the instruction the boy receives for them. If dream tells parents to paint their faces before breakfast and they do not, the boy will become sick, will die, because parents do not believe. An old shaman tells parents of conditions. If a boy's dream forbids playing with a gun, its barrel will become soft, droop, and curve down.

N 756 2473. Ku: "Shaman's powers are sometimes inherited from father to son" (Lowie, 294).

2477. At: In addition to power through dreams a boy wishing to be a shaman could learn the "doctoring" from an old shaman while acting as his assistant. Even if boy dreamed power he was taught some by old doctors.

N 756 781 2478. Paviotso: "Annie says in the Walker River district there was a mountain where people went in quest of a vision" (Lowie, 294). Ki: + (Kelly, 190): but rarely. AE: Each boy was

[p.443(A)]

WASHO RELIGION

BY

JAMES F. DOWNS

INTRODUCTION

the withering rationalism of civilization the religion of the Washo has simply altered and expanded to serve the Washo in new situations.

In this work I take the broadest possible definition of religion, conceiving it as any institutionalized activity or attitude which reflects the Washo view of the cosmos. In so doing I have included a number of categories which may not generally be considered suitable for inclusion under the heading of religion. Stewart, for instance, includes shamanism, curing, special powers of shamans, miscellaneous shamanistic information, guardian spirits, destiny of the soul, ghosts or soul, and jimsonweed. My own work includes some of these specifically, incorporates some under other headings, and treats a number of subjects not included in the list given above.

The reason for this approach is practical rather than theoretical or philosophical. As anthropological definitions of religions are extremely varied and the activities described as religious under various definitions cover a greater or narrower range, it seems valuable to include as many activities as possible in a purely descriptive work.

The goal of this paper is to make as much information as possible about the religious and ritual activities of the Washo available to scholars who may be interested in religion. The inclusion of as many fields of activity as possible permits them to select information which they feel pertinent to their interests.

Wherever possible I have tried to include direct quotations from informants as well as information about their behavior and attitudes, so that my own interpretations and conclusions can be examined by others in light of the information on which they are based.

Statements made by informants are indicated by quotation marks. I did not have a recording device available and did not attempt to record entire interviews verbatim. However, whenever informants indicated that they considered their statements important I took them down word for word. If I felt some passing remark to have significance, I asked the informant to repeat it and often read it back to him for verification. Other stories, particularly those of a mythological nature, or semilegends, or experiences which were important to individual informants, were repeated voluntarily on almost every occasion of our meeting. Whenever statements are presented in quotation marks the material was gathered in this manner.

This paper contains material from a number of sources. Statements of fact or interpretations taken from published anthropological or historic works are indicated by citations in the customary manner. Information based on conversations or other private communications with other investigators is so designated. All statements of fact which are not credited to these two sources are taken from my own field notes and represent statements of my informants.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

[776]

778 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

4:Downs E-5 (no date) 1961 NT20 Washo NT20

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771

Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842

Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 789 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 754 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844

Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[178] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if
[648] available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears. [825]

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why. [302]

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute. [539] [848]

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation. [124]

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them. [789] [764]

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. [177] However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of 825 771

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaka by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

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If no young or old people were around to receive them, the heart and liver of a deer, antelope, or rabbit were thrown away. The fetus of an animal and the eggs of scavenger birds were never eaten. Coyote, lizard, snake, frog, and eagle meat were also taboo. When a person died all of his personal belongings were abandoned or destroyed. The home of the deceased was torn down or burned. Food produced by the deceased was destroyed or traded off for other food. One informant said that even clothes made by the deceased and given to another person were often destroyed. 768

Downs (1961, 375) wrote that, "Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical." The present writer has a similar impression, but it is difficult to attempt a reconstruction of the role of religion in economy since the data on this subject are so fragmentary today. Economic distribution related to the supernatural, such as the instances of ceremonial disposal described above, appears to be the most intimate, "primary" form of distribution. The importance of the supernatural side of the Washo world view is seen in the mythology collections by Dangberg (1927) and Lowie (1939). 771 ● 433

Gambling

Gambling (gawa) provided the most competitive basis for exchange among the Washo. It was more competitive than trade and was antithetical to the ideal of sharing. Teams that gambled and won together divided the winnings, but the competition between teams was intense and not necessarily proportionate to the value of the objects wagered. 525 433

The Washo would bet on any game or competition. Foot races (guml¢sh¢¢sh) for four, five, or six miles were a favorite subject of wagers. Bets were made on the outcome of the men's football game or the women's stick and rope game. Usually the players themselves would bet. Archery, a ring and pin game, a rock-toss game (umlalete), a quoit game, and wrestling were all the subjects of betting. Sometimes the wager would involve only a hit on the head or hand, but often the stakes would get high, requiring payment of baskets, eagle tail feathers, jewelry, buckskins, or even a rabbit skin blanket. 525 526

The favorite gambling games were those involving the manipulation of small sticks or bones, the hand games (hinsya when played by women and hinasyugi when played by men), stick games (sigaya), dice games, and basket games. These games were often major social events in themselves involving teams of players and dozens of spectators. The men and women always played separately. The games also involved chants, foot stamping, and other tactics to throw the opposing team off. Today men and women gamble together and the hand games have been replaced by card games. 524 525 [178]

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[770]

alcoholic and nonalcoholic. The alcoholics were found to have a significantly higher percentage of elevated blood pressures than the nonalcoholics.

6. Religion. Members of the sample were questioned concerning their religious affiliation and were placed into three categories: none, Christian (mostly Baptist), and Peyotists. Though there was little difference in hypertension between the Christians and those with no preference, both groups had significantly more elevated pressures than the Peyotists. Three variables did not reach the 10% level of significance.

[177]

7. Residence. Of the three Washo communities studied it was felt that Dresslerville and Carson City represented the greatest degree of acculturation to the dominant white culture, and Woodfords the least. Assuming that stress accompanies acculturation (an assumption not always warranted), we predicted that Dresslerville and Carson City would have a higher prevalence of hypertension than would Woodfords. This was in fact the case but the differences among the three communities were not statistically significant. The prevalence of elevated diastolic blood pressure was 38% in Dresslerville and 39% in Carson City, whereas it was 28% in Woodfords.

[4C3]

8. Occupation. Hypertension was related neither to type of occupation (ranch workers or construction workers) nor to the difference between seasonal and full time employment.

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9. Involvement in Tribal Council. Past and present office holders of the Washo Tribal Council showed a tendency to have a lower percentage of elevated pressures than other Washo, but this difference did not reach a level of statistical significance.

Because it was felt that some of the associations between elevated blood pressure and selected variables might be due to relationships among variables, a correlation matrix was computed for the six significant independent variables in addition to the dependent variable, elevated blood pressure. The six variables were again found to be significantly related to blood pressure at or beyond the 10% level. Of fourteen intercorrelations, three other sets of statistically significant relationships were found: sex with age, Peyotism with alcoholism and age with school type. Since the males were found to be older than the females this difference may account for the earlier finding of a male preponderance of hypertension. The correlation between Peyotism and alcoholism is negative, and is expected, since membership in the Peyote church is supposed to preclude drinking. Finally, the correlation of age with school type (younger Washo attended the white schools, and older Washo, no school) is also expected since "integrated" schools are a relatively recent innovation in Nevada. Nonetheless, since it had already been

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, W [825] [771] had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was W [36] not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differ- W N [177] ences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
[77] view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs, 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the
[177] nature of the animals man encounters in this world.
[171]

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 13131–13141, 13202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schulte's' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 89) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and is a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[7] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenon, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[8] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bamhauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[9] Opponents allege that the affirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[10]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[7] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[8] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–102) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "gives you the same effect as whiskey."

[9] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[10] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

| Element | Occurrence | | |

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave, *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

[P.366, A]

MYTHOLOGY

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[114] Washo mythology has been presented in the form of interlinear texts by Dangberg (1927) and in Lowie's Ethnographic Notes (1939, pp. 333-351). There are two versions of the creation myth, one describing the creation of Paiute, Washo, and Diggers from the seeds of the cattail by the Creator Woman, and the second attributing the creation of Indians to the Creation Man, who formed the three groups from among his sons to keep them from quarreling. Lowie also reports the common theme of several previous inhabitations of the earth. The most important myth, or at least the one which is still commonly told and seems to be the favorite among the Washo, devotes itself to the adventures of Damalali (short-tailed weasel) and Pewetseli (long-tailed weasel). These heroes are responsible for many of the natural features of the region so references to this myth are rather frequent. The Coyote, in the form of a rather malevolent and stupid trickster, and the Wolf, a generally patriarchal and protective figure, appear in several myths, as do cannibalistic giants and a giant bird, the ag.

Figures which appear only incidentally in the myths as recounted are elaborated almost infinitely in what might best be termed folk fantasy.

WATER BABIES

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776 Most prominent of these figures are the Water Babies (Stewart 1941, p. 444, 2574). In the mythology, Water Baby figures as the creature responsible for the many lakes of the eastern Sierra. Killed and scalped by the rascally Damalali, Water Baby commands the waters of the area to rise until the weasel returns the scalp to avoid drowning. The waters left in mountain valleys as the flood receded formed the lakes.

776 The Water Baby is not confined to mythology. My informants were able to describe the appearance of a Water Baby in detail, to supply me with population figures, and to recount an almost endless series of incidents in which Water Babies were involved.

All informants agreed that the Water Baby is a creature about one and one-half feet tall, gray in color, with extremely long black hair which never touches the ground but which floats along behind the Water Babies when they walk. In general, these creatures look like small humans. However, they are boneless, cold to the touch, and damp.

Between two and three thousand Water Babies live in the Sierra, according to one informant. They inhabit lakes, streams, marshes, ponds, springs, and irrigation ditches. They speak a language of their own but are always able to speak Washo. With a single exception, every Washo of middle age and over to whom I talked claimed to have at least heard Water Babies calling from some body of water in the night. Several others claimed to have seen Water Baby footprints
[177] (one even reporting that the footprints he had seen were those of a female because the tracks were clearly those of high heeled shoes!). One informant steadfastly claimed to have seen a Water Baby, at least fleetingly, in 1956.

776 787 539 Water Babies lived in a big house made out of that black shining rock [obsidian]. But they didn't go there. The Water Baby said 'we got some girls that want to give you something,' and he took my uncle to a place and there was five girls there. They all sat around my uncle and sang him a song and told him that it was his song from now on. Then the Water Baby took my uncle back and then he said it was like waking up from a dream and there he was laying in the creek down under a bunch of cattails."[*]

776 539 6. "There was this white man up here fishing. He caught a Water Baby but he didn't know what it was. He thought it was some kind of fish and took it to San Francisco and they put it that place where they have a lotta fish [aquarium]. Captain Jim went all the way down there to tell the mayor that they had better let that Water Baby loose, but nobody would pay no attention to him. Well you know they had a big earthquake down there and the water came up around everything. When it was all over that tank where they had the Water Baby was empty."

THE GIANTS

● 773 776 Washo mythology features several creatures which may each have contributed to the wild men I will describe in this section. Both Lowie and Dangberg report myths in which a giant, Hangawuiwui, is the principal figure. Although the myths do not describe him, my informants generally picture him as a colossus who hops on a single leg from the top of one mountain to another. He has a single eye to match his single limb and a proclivity for gobbling up Indians. Several miles southwest of Gardnerville, in the hills overlooking Double Spring Flats, a cave is known by the Washo as Hangawuiwui aŋ?l (the place where Hangawuiwui lives). Present-day Indians tell a number of stories about this giant and display a certain uneasiness when they are near places he is supposed to haunt.

Another kind of giant appears in a myth reported by Lowie. These beings appear to be considerably more human than Hangawuiwui. Traditionally they camped south of Pyramid Lake and terrorized the Paiutes. However, when one of their number attempted to take fish from a Washo the tribe rallied and routed the giants in a battle near Walker Lake. The giants did not have bows and arrows. They fortified themselves behind rock walls and threw stones.

According to my informant on the subject, the mountains are still the home of a tribe of "wild men." These people have managed to hide the location of their camps so that no one knows where they live. My informant felt that they were in fact some kind of Indian. Despite the mythological ability of the Washo to defeat the giants, modern stories about them suggest they have a great deal of supernatural power in addition to their physical prowess.

539 The following stories were told to me as contemporary or relatively recent occurrences:

1. "There is these wild fellas up in the mountains. I guess you call them giants. One time there was an old man who had set up a blind to hunt chip-

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[*] This story very closely parallels one recorded by James Hatch among the Yokuts. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 19, Fall, 1958.

[P. 368, A]

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munks, like I told you yesterday. He was up in the pine-nut hills and he had killed four chipmunks. One of these fellas come along and he snatched up a chipmunk and he ate it. Then he snatched another and ate it. He tried to grab another but the old man wrestled with him and stopped him from getting the chipmunk and then he got away. He tussled with that wild man and got away. But a long time after when he was real old and went around with a long stick [staff], he went out walking and he didn't come back. They went out looking for him and found his tracks leading up the foot of Job's Peak and they ended there. His stick was stuck in the ground and at the end of his tracks it looked like something had snatched him up."

When I asked if the wild men had gotten him my informant said he thought so. The theme of a wild man's attempting to take part of a catch from a Washo recalls the myth as reported by Lowie, although in the version he recorded the incident occurred between Wadsworth and Sparks and the final battle took place at Walker Lake, whereas my informant changed the locale to the Carson Valley area.

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2. "My old grandfather had this happen to him. He was hunting up by the Lake [Tahoe]. In them days hunters just carried little thin rabbit skin blankets. They covered up their front and put their back to the fire. My old grandfather was just laying there when he noticed the fire going down (maybe that wild man did something to the fire). Pretty soon he saw a big shadow. He was pretty scared and just laid there. Pretty soon he felt a hand feeling his feet and in between his toes and up his leg and all around his hole [anus]. Pretty soon it reached his face and tried to put his finger in my grandfather's mouth. My grandfather bit that finger real hard and the wild man yelled and ran away."

I asked if the wild men still existed and my informant replied: "Sure. They are up there in the mountains. They are pretty smart and you can't see them. But us Washo can hear them talking. We can understand their language. I have thought a lot about it and they should have called some Washo over to Oroville when they caught that fella over there. I read about it in the newspaper when I was younger. I know they had a lot of them California Indians come up there but they couldn't understand him. I'll bet a Washo could have understood him." I asked if he thought it had been a wild man and he nodded in affirmation.

The "wild man" of course was the now-famous Ishi, the last of the Southern Yana who wandered half starved into a slaughterhouse in Oroville in 1911.

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THE COYOTE AND OTHER FIGURES

Washo myths contain a number of tales about a bumbling, not very bright, generally malevolent Coyote, who as a companion of Wolf seems to devote a great deal of time to eating Indians and to sexual misadventures.

● 773 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

825
771 the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(253a-296)

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789 Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the [262] Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

> When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

> I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

> I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs, 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

THE SOUL—SPOOKS

775 [787] [821] The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 775 539 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

[763] Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called mɛtsuy'ɛ'. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 539 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a mɛtsuy'ɛ' pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a pifion tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think these are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at once, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (?). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

[P. 399, B]

764 this inevitability. It is less than surprising then that
[178] changes in attitudes and rituals surrounding death
among the Washo have changed very slowly. The only
[177] changes which appear to have developed in Washo death
customs are those imposed by direct intervention of
the whites or as unavoidable consequences of changes
in other aspects of the culture.

768 In the past, when a person died the house in which
he expired was abandoned by his family. Of course, if
[342] the death occurred in the spring or summer such aban-
[221] donment was simple; during these seasons the Washo
usually lived in simple brush shelters. A winter death
was a more serious matter; it was during this season
that the Washo lived in the gal'edaŋ'i--a structure
made to last through the winter and until the next
[342] winter, when it was reoccupied. Valley Washo often
made these winter houses of brush or tules. In the
foothills and mountains, bark slabs and tree limbs
were utilized. If an occupant died, this house must be
abandoned and was often burned down, and the immedi-
ate family moved to another campsite. Thus a family
which suffered no deaths during the winters might
spend several years in a single campground, whereas
a less fortunate family might have to move every
winter, or even oftener than that.

342 A few Washo began building simple rectangular
178 board and batten houses in the 1890's. Most of the
others continued to live in gal'edaŋ'i made of boards
and scrap, begged, stolen, or purchased from the lum-
ber mills which were quite numerous in the area at
[657] the beginning of the century. In the 1920's, when most
of the Washo moved into the "colonies" established for
them by the government, the native-style houses were
abandoned in favor of the wooden houses built by the
764 government. No longer permitted to move about the
768 country at will, and frankly unwilling to abandon the
178 more comfortable white-style houses, the Washo ad-
justed their death customs. The most common adjust-
[656] ment was to prepare for an impending death by shift-
ing seriously ill persons into an adjoining structure,
often a shack built in the native manner or a shed or
lean-to. This structure could be burned down without
loss when its inhabitant died.[1]

[775] The Washo viewed this destruction of a house occu-
pied by a dead person as simply preventing his spirit
from bothering the living.

764 Most Washo death customs display a conscious at-
[114] tempt to avoid association with the dead. Barrett re-
ports that cremation was practiced, and the bones
placed in a stream to prevent their desecration. How-
ever, this appears to have been only one of the dis-
posal customs and is not well remembered by Washo
living today. The burning or burying of the personal
possessions of the dead was common. Certain prized
possessions were interred with the body, which was
usually wrapped in a shroud of matting, deerskin, or
[illegible] and placed in a fissure or cave in the moun-
tains. Although there are a number of locations known
by both Indians and local whites as old burying grounds,
[177] all my informants agreed that in the "real old days"
there was no special cemetery and that these burial
spots have developed since the coming of the white
man. This may well have been as a result of direct
white interference with native funeral customs and an
insistence that Indians concentrate their burials. Some
of these sites have become traditional among the Washo.

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[1] The willingness of the Washo to move gravely ill persons to the hospital seems in part motivated by the wish to avoid a death in the house.

764 [P.378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
[821] sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
775 for most Washo (2804-2809a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informa-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
[782] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[55] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegelfyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 238-60).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyse the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882. Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/ [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [785] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[92] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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II

Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukúshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegelέyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1930, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was sometimes by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a
[775] sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

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778 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
838 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose generalized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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988 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegeléyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the [783] ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
[778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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●775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. [551] There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

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"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo, NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ys	Ki	Kl	Ku	Yo	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wi	Ki	AV	
2579. To spirit (sunyipo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	776
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	782
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	787
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Shamanistic Curing															NWA
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	757
2595. Blood-letting	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kwaipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaava or nagwa)															NW
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	775
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	763
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitumawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	NWA
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	787
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	
"Kwaipo" (possibly Supernatural)															N
2613. Properties and name known	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	276
DANCES															NWA
2614. Circle Dance (nagwa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	N
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	[787]

[p. 415]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

protégé exactly what to do. But this informant did not restrict doctoring to dreamers. According to him, the Man Up in the Air, called by the Washo "This Man-Up-Here" and identical with the being who made the Washo and other tribes come out of a basket (p. 333), made medicines for the Washo to use in treating different ailments. At one time he owned everything—thunder, lightning, and so forth. Doctors would dig up some of the roots created by this deity. "Sometimes I myself dig up roots and give something to God. I say, 'I am giving something. I need this one. Now I am paying you, make it good for me.' If I cut myself and begin to bleed I rub wild parsnip and water on the wound, then it gets better and stops bleeding. I have treated my sons with roots. I would treat a stranger for a fee, but have never done so."

The dream doctor's (tamo'mli) technique consisted largely in smoking, pondering, sucking (tepe'mu''suki) at the assumed place of affliction, and extracting the cause. He would spit out objects, the last one expectorated being the pathogenic agent. Putting it on his palm, he would look at it, as would his spectators. Sometimes it was a bug. The shaman put hot ashes on his hand, rubbed them on the bug, killed it, and threw it away. The patient would get better and possibly in a week feel as well as ever. In the old days a treatment always lasted four nights. Dave said that only old men doctored, but another informant said that some women also treated the sick.

A myth (p. 337) illustrates the essential procedure. Specifically, it suggests the importance of smoking. A messenger is sent to summon Coyote to a patient and asks the trickster, "Do you sometimes smoke for somebody?" Coyote, feigning modesty, replies, "Oh, once in a while I light tobacco for a smoke. That is why they call me a doctor." He brings a mink hide full of tobacco and a big pipe, sings twice on seeing his patient, shakes his globular rattle, and smokes twice. His mouth does not feel dry, so he prophesies the young woman's recovery. Her mother then offers him a buckskin, but he insists on pine nuts.

Characteristically, when the girl of the story dies the bereaved mother suspects the doctor of poisoning her and sends Porcupine and Skunk to kill him. Yet nothing in the report of his activities indicates that he had contemplated more than duping the mother into a payment of food.

Such correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic is prominent in Washo belief, even apart from medical treatment. About forty-five years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926), a race was held in Carson. The half-brother of Dave's father-in-law was refused admittance to the race course. He was very angry and muttered Washo words of revenge. He made magic between his palms, spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then, when the racers in the carts got to the last turn in the course, he opened his fist, thumb separated from the fingers. Two of the racers were upset and killed. The shaman gloated over this result. Subsequently the same man poisoned several Indians. One of the aggrieved relatives went to the shaman's house, talked with him in a friendly fashion, and finally pretended to take leave of him. When the doctor had covered himself with his blanket, the visitor took out a hidden hatchet and cracked the malefactor's skull with it.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
539 he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes
[763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

● 776 A species of evil water-beings was called metsuy'e'. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a metsuy'e' pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Once, an old Indian was walking along a trail by himself when he saw two persons coming toward him—a woman with a basket, and an old man with bow and arrow and carrying a blanket on his back. The Washo sat down under a piñon tree and was wondering who they were. He thought they would reach him soon, but they did not arrive at all. "It was the Devil." Soon the old man got paralyzed. After a while he rose and went on. He said to himself, "Well, I think these are not people. I am going [to die] soon, he has taken my life away. That is the kind my father used to tell me about, and now I have seen it. I don't know whether these are dead people or what." The old man bled from the nose. He said, "Don't take my life away, leave me alone. I do not want to be like you. I want to live as long as I can." Soon he went to a spring, bathed, and recovered.

Sometimes [Dave has heard] Washo Indians would see tracks in the snow showing feet as long as a man's entire arm. They would get frightened and would not follow the tracks.

Once, Dave was staying alone in a house at Tahoe City on Lake Tahoe. He was dreaming about something and felt a heavy weight, like a hundred pounds, on him. He tried to remove his blanket, and finally he succeeded in getting into the open. Another Indian and his wife had a similar experience in the same house. Dave thinks it might be caused by the ghosts of white people who used to live there. He could not see anything, he merely had the sensation of being held down.

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Somewhere two Indians were sleeping in a room in some old house. It was a cold night. Soon they heard a knock at the door. They were awake, opened the door, but no one was to be seen. They went out and around the house, but saw nothing. Possibly dead people were doing it. Soon there was a noise inside of somebody walking around. They could not see anything. They warned other people against ever sleeping inside that house.

Two Indians were going up a mountain with bows and arrows to shoot woodchuck. They met half a dozen dead people who looked as though alive and were hunting with bow and arrow. They were cooking squirrels and other food, sat around their fire at noon, and, because they were dead, would not answer the Indians' questions. They just ate the squirrels, but drank no water. When the Indians spoke, no one of the other group answered or looked at them. One of the Indians, who was old, said, "You dare not come over and talk to us; we belong on the mountains." Still there was no answer. The speaker returned to his companion and said, "Well, we can't do anything with them. They just eat the squirrels they kill." Both hunters were alarmed and quickly went away. It was dark on their return and they lost their way, not finding the trail at first. When they got home the next day, they said nothing.

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The Washo were too close to the Paviotso to escape contact with Wovoka's gospel, but reacted with individual differences to it. Jack, for example, was skeptical and contrasted the alien conception unfavorably with the old Washo belief that souls go south to join the Father of the Indians. The Paviotso say that after a while the souls return. "They dance and the souls come back." A recent (1926) Washo doctor, in the manner of Wovoka, alleged to have visited the dead, reporting he had seen plenty of Indians in the land of spirits, with green grass everywhere, also fire (!). The dead would say to him, "Well, what have you come here for? You have not died; go back. When a man or woman dies, he stays here. Do not come back any more." Jack has no faith in this; old-time doctors never reported visits to the dead. According to one informant, Wovoka prophesied a big storm but it did not come true, and his own Walker River people were going to kill him as a false prophet, so he stopped.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'l'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star ?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

[P.366, A]

MYTHOLOGY

773 [114] Washo mythology has been presented in the form of interlinear texts by Dangberg (1927) and in Lowie's Ethnographic Notes (1939, pp. 233-251). There are two versions of the creation myth, one describing the creation of Paiute, Washo, and Diggers from the seeds of the catteil by the Creator Woman, and the second attributing the creation of Indians to the Creation Man, who formed the three groups from among his sons to keep them from quarreling. Lowie also reports the common theme of several previous inhabitations of the earth. The most important myth, or at least the one which is still commonly told and seems to be the favorite among the Washo, devotes itself to the adventures of Damalali (short-tailed weasel) and Pewetseli (long-tailed weasel). These heroes are responsible for many of the natural features of the region so references to this myth are rather frequent. The Coyote, in the form of a rather malevolent and stupid trickster, and the Wolf, a generally patriarchal and protective figure, appear in several myths, as do cannibalistic giants and a giant bird, the ng.

Figures which appear only incidentally in the myths as recounted are elaborated almost infinitely in what might best be termed folk fantasy.

WATER BABIES

773 776 Most prominent of these figures are the Water Babies (Stewart 1941, p. 444, 2574). In the mythology, Water Baby figures as the creature responsible for the many lakes of the eastern Sierra. Killed and scalped by the rascally Damalali, Water Baby commands the waters of the area to rise until the weasel returns the scalp to avoid drowning. The waters left in mountain valleys as the flood receded formed the lakes.

● 776 The Water Baby is not confined to mythology. My informants were able to describe the appearance of a Water Baby in detail, to supply me with population figures, and to recount an almost endless series of incidents in which Water Babies were involved.

All informants agreed that the Water Baby is a creature about one and one-half feet tall, gray in color, with extremely long black hair which never touches the ground but which floats along behind the Water Babies when they walk. In general, these creatures look like small humans. However, they are hoseless, cold to the touch, and damp.

Between two and three thousand Water Babies live in the Sierra, according to one informant. They inhabit lakes, streams, marshes, ponds, springs, and irrigation ditches. They speak a language of their own but are always able to speak Washo. With a single exception, every Washo of middle age and over to whom I talked claimed to have at least heard Water Babies calling from some body of water in the night. Several others claimed to have seen Water Baby footprints [177] (one even reporting that the footprints he had seen were those of a female because the tracks were clearly those of high heeled shoes!). One informant steadfastly claimed to have seen a Water Baby, at least fleetingly, in 1956.

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

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Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

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This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

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This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies, they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo) -from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him--then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

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[1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work on kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

The various powers and activities of the Water Babies are perhaps best described in the following stories recounted by informants:

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1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ísmodel. There [782] is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed [755] to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. [778] There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave bas- [782] kets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another folla like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt those little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

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5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for passing a canon of Navaho witchcraft is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 126).

[P. 367, B]

776 787 539 Water Babies lived in a big house made out of that black shining rock [obsidian]. But they didn't go there. The Water Baby said 'we got some girls that want to give you something,' and he took my uncle to a place and there was five girls there. They all sat around my uncle and sang him a song and told him that it was his song from now on. Then the Water Baby took my uncle back and then he said it was like waking up from a dream and there he was laying in the creek down under a bunch of cattails."[1]

776 539 6. "There was this white man up here fishing. He caught a Water Baby but he didn't know what it was. He thought it was some kind of fish and took it to San Francisco and they put it that place where they have a lotta fish [aquarium]. Captain Jim went all the way down there to tell the mayor that they had better let that Water Baby loose, but nobody would pay no attention to him. Well you know they had a big earthquake down there and the water came up around everything. When it was all over that tank where they had the Water Baby was empty."

THE GIANTS

773 776 Washo mythology features several creatures which may each have contributed to the wild men I will describe in this section. Both Lowie and Dangberg report myths in which a giant, Hangawuiwui, is the principal figure. Although the myths do not describe him, my informants generally picture him as a colossus who hops on a single leg from the top of one mountain to another. He has a single eye to match his single limb and a proclivity for gobbling up Indians. Several miles southwest of Gardnerville, in the hills overlooking Double Spring Flats, a cave is known by the Washo as Hangawuiwui aq'i (the place where Hangawuiwui lives). Present-day Indians tell a number of stories about this giant and display a certain uneasiness when they are near places he is supposed to haunt.

Another kind of giant appears in a myth reported by Lowie. These beings appear to be considerably more human than Hangawuiwui. Traditionally they camped south of Pyramid Lake and terrorized the Paiutes. However, when one of their number attempted to take fish from a Washo the tribe rallied and routed the giants in a battle near Walker Lake. The giants did not have bows and arrows. They fortified themselves behind rock walls and threw stones.

According to my informant on the subject, the mountains are still the home of a tribe of "wild men." These people have managed to hide the location of their camps so that no one knows where they live. My informant felt that they were in fact some kind of Indian. Despite the mythological ability of the Washo to defeat the giants, modern stories about them suggest they have a great deal of supernatural power in addition to their physical prowess.

539 The following stories were told to me as contemporary or relatively recent occurrences:

1. "There is these wild fellas up in the mountains. I guess you call them giants. One time there was an old man who had set up a blind to hunt chip-

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[1] This story very closely parallels one recorded by James Hatch among the Tolowa. Humboldt Anthropological Society Papers, No. 18, Fall, 1958.

[P.368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

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773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

764 [P.378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
775 for most Washo (2606-2606a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
[782] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[55] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
[648] culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[551] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

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ETHNOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ty	Li	Ed	Ha	Ty	Ha	Ma	Ar	Ha	Ag	Wa	Li	Ind
2529.	Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2530.	Blows water from mouth	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2531.	Doctor presses saliva on patient	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-
2532.	Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2533.	Doctor touches patient with stick	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2533a.	Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2534.	Doctor touches patient with fire drill	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2535.	Doctor handles fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2537. Picks up fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2538. Stands in fire	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2540.	Sleight-of-hand	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1041.	Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Special Powers of Shamans													
2545.	Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	1547. Dream of hazzard	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2550. By sucking out snake	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2551.	Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2552. Power from dream of sleeping bats	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2553.	Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Last Willows only weather-control shamans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2557.	Childbirth shaman: male	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2557a. Female	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2558.	Bear shaman: impersonates bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2559. Transforms self into bear	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2560. Power of rapid travel	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2561. Invulnerable	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2562.	Poisoners distinct from doctors	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stumpsharei	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2563. Power from coyote	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2564. Power from various animals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2566.	Power to foretell future	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-
	Miscellaneous													
2567.	Shaman may decline case	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2568. Killed for declining	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2569.	Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2570a.	How doctor assists old ones	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2571.	How doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2574.	Prepare to personal power (guardian spirit) (Ijumaitas)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2577.	Offerings to "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	2579. To ghost (tsaava)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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CULTURE ELEM. DISTRICT: CITY—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		To	A2	A3	B1	B2	B3	B4	C1	C2	D1	D2	E1	E2
	2875. To spirit (weapon)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2880. To night	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2881.	Offerings at food	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2881a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2882. Game	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2883. Seeds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2884. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2885. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2886.	Offerings at seeds	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2886. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2886. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Guardian Spirits													
2887.	Source: childhood dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2888. Adult dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2889.	Various powers received from spirits	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Supernaturalistic Curing													
2890.	Special herb doctors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2891.	Blood-letting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2892.	Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Destiny of Soul													
2893.	Spirit goes above, to sky	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2894.	Spirit travels south and up	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2895.	Spirit goes along Milky Way (Isaiga)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Ghosts or Souls (Towers or magic)													
2896.	Ghost leaves body: at death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2901.	Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2902.	Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2902a. To doctor only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2903.	Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2904.	Ghost feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2905.	Ghost is whirlwind (pitcamawa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2906.	Dreaming of dead is ill omen	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2907. Call both to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2908. Prayer to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2909. Smoke blown to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2909a. Specularite (pahoga) sprinkled to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	"Rain" (novelty impressive)													
2910.	Properties and name known	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	DANCES													
	2914. Circle Dance (ongwa)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2915.	Brush corral	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2916.	Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2917. At fall pine-nut harvest	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2918. In spring	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2919. In summer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2920.	Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2921. To make seeds grow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NT20
Achumawi A55

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORD

	Ve	KI	KS	Ka	Ts	Ts	Ma	Ar	Sa	Yg	Mo	Li	Ad
Whirlwind (situation)													
2729. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens													
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2732b. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2733a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Guessing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2740a. Coyote call	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)													
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petroglyphs													
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-
2745. Informants had only heard of them	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwɛ'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 *f.*

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkʷe) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba'ʷkumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa'ʷei, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

224 taut, and the lower edge of the net just touched the ground. As the rabbit ran into the almost invisible net it gave somewhat, sagged, and the frightened animal was hopelessly entangled. Men were concealed at intervals along the net, and the one nearest to the ensnared rabbit ran over, killed it by squeezing its temples, and then disentangled it from the net. Under no consideration [177] should a rabbit be struck while in the net, as the blow might break one of the strands, and would surely "produce bad luck for the hunters."

224 624 [428] So important was the rabbit to the Washo that it required a special, hereditary official, the only official other than the chief himself. His duty was to supervise all communal hunting, but especially that of rabbits, and he was called "rabbit boss", pe"leu lewe t'yeli, literally, "rabbit for great (man)." The informant in this case said that the term t'yeli could not be translated as chief, but that it signified simply a man of marked distinction and importance. This "rabbit boss" had no authority over single hunters, who were privileged to hunt with bow and arrow whenever they pleased. However, no organized hunt or drive could be [226] carried on without his sanction. While control of the rabbit drive and hunting in general was the principal duty of this official, he also regulated fishing. He it was who notified the people of the arrival of the particular seasons when certain kinds of fish should be taken and when certain game should be hunted; and all hunting and fishing parties consulted him before starting out.

411 224 The bow and arrow, as above mentioned, were sometimes used in hunting rabbits and formed the chief weapon used for all mammals. For small mammals a headless arrow (plate VI, fig. 7)[1] was ordinarily used, while for deer and other large mammals an arrow (plate VI, figs. 3-6) with an obsidian or other head was employed. [177] Firearms have now almost completely superseded these primitive weapons.

226 [262] As above stated, fish form a very important part of the Washo food supply. Certain species are taken with dip nets (t'gic), especially during their spawning season, while others, such as the larger lake trout, are taken with hook and line.

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

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When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

"I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.

"A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

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Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

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to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or

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dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

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Antelope (37a-73).--There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears

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that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

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horns were placed on the ground leeving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If [777] the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. [262] The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but [431] was given away.

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Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art [431] in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marrieges among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were [583] shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship [834] could be initiated in several ways.

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After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

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The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed [535] to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance [881] (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

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According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

p. 363), an elected official. As many as 200 Indians might take part in a rabbit drive. The rabbits were slowly driven into long nets. During the drive, they were shot with bows and arrows or killed with clubs. Those which evaded the drivers were usually trapped in the nets, where waiting Indians killed them by wringing their necks or squeezing their temples. Care had to be used not to break the net and cause bad luck for the hunters (Barrett, 1917, p. 12). Rabbits provided food, and their skins were used to make rabbitskin blankets. Rabbits have remained a rather important food for the Washo, and rabbitskin blankets are still used by a few older Washo.

Today, rabbits are hunted individually or in a kind of drive which consists of a line of men moving through the sagebrush, shooting the flushed rabbits with shotguns. Nets are no longer used. Another modern hunting method which is popular among the younger men is to shoot rabbits from an automobile.

The principal seeds used as food were acorns and pine nuts. Acorns did not grow in Washo territory. They were gathered in California and carried back in large, twined burden baskets. The acorns were shelled, pounded to flour on permanent bedrock mortars, leached with hot water, and made into soup. Another popular way to prepare acorns was to pour a thick acorn mush into cold water, thus forming jellylike balls about the size of a fist. The preparation of acorn meal by the Washo closely resembles the practices of the adjacent Californian tribes.

Pine nuts were the most important single food of the Washo. They were eaten throughout the winter and stored from year to year. The pine-nut season was preceded by a dance lasting four days. This was the largest social gathering among the Washo. During these four days, they danced, played games, and prayed for a good crop. While dancing, the Washo carried the tools used to gather and prepare pine nuts: the hooked pole, burden baskets, mano and metate, and the paddle for stirring mush. The most prominent feature of the pine-nut dance was the continual round of games and races, accompanied by heavy gambling. After the last night's dancing, the chief made a speech exhorting people to treat children and the aged with kindness and to be good to their wives. Then they bathed in a stream and scattered to their pine-nut plots (Curtis, 1926, p. 95). Pine nuts were ground to flour and made into soup.

The Washo still make considerable use of pine nuts and acorns. Most of the traditional implements used in their preparation have been retained: mortar, mano and metate, burden baskets, hooked pole, and the various winnowing baskets. Although acorns and pine nuts are widely eaten, they cannot now be considered staple items in the Washo diet, which consists largely of modern American food.

Fish were the most important summer food for the Washo. They obtained most of their fish from the streams draining into Lake Tahoe. The importance of fish in the Washo economy is indicated by the variety of fishing techniques: they could be harpooned, taken in conical traps of basketry, or captured by drives into nets or stone dams erected at suitable places in a stream. None of the aboriginal fishing techniques survive today. All fishing is with rod and line and is therefore individualistic as opposed to many of the aboriginal coöperative methods. In fishing, as in hunting, there has been a steady shift from coöperative to individual activity.

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

[868] [777]

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this.

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period.

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire.

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saw·šaan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (n·šwnan ?ém·luhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabost personal communication
4. literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant." 577 605 736

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring. 842 [833] [524]

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumiaheum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

841 881 [753]

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family, he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own. 881 224

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer. [777]

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck. [515] [782]

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways. 584

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it [527]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galɔ'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galɔ'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and pressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a [782] basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ĭsmedel. There [755] is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. [778] There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [782] [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa.
787 He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned
539 all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

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[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navaho witches is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 131).

[P. 370, B]

of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER
(2567-2593)

Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING
(2553-2556, 2566)

There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

[P 391, 8]

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P-372, A]

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ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

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There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

> "One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P. 376, A]

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[271] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat
[262] meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the
[263] same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct
[124] questions and does not reflect special Washo traits.
[262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One inform-
[202] ant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position
[856] in some out-of-the-way place.

[824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms,
[782] and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the
[431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usu-
[178] ally a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few
[302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the
[574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

825 789 778 763. 825

The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

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the individual variation was great. Tailoring of clothing, cutting and sewing to fit the physical shape of individuals, was extremely mimimal for a climate as cold as that of Washo territory. Hank Pete claims that a few men and women had the "power not to freeze" and would go without moccasins in the snow. [778]

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Some hints as to Washo dress in January and February of 1844 come to us from Fremont (Nevins 1956, 351-9). These excerpts refer to contacts with several Washo groups. "During the day a few Indians were seen circling around us on snowshoes, and skimming along like birds; but we could not bring them within speaking distance...The Indians had only the usual scanty covering, and appeared to suffer greatly from the cold...as the poor fellow suffered greatly, shivering in the snow which fell upon his naked skin. I would not detain him any longer, and he ran off to the mountain where, he said, there was a hut near by. He had kept the blue and scarlet cloths I had given him tightly rolled up preferring rather to endure the cold then to get them wet."

The same day "We had scarcely lighted our fires when the camp was crowded with nearly naked Indians...appeared to have been out on the sage hills to hunt rabbits..." Fremont commenting on his Washo guide Melo said "He was thinly clad, and nearly barefoot, his moccasins being about worn out." And "During the day several Indians joined us on snowshoes. These were made of a circular hoop, about a foot in diameter, the interior space being filled with an open network of bark." [481]

Ingalls (1913, 69) wrote that "Their dress, summer and winter, is a rabbit-skin tunic or cape, which comes down to just below the knee; and seldom have they leggings or moccasins. The children at the breast were perfectly naked, and this at a time when overcoats were required by Captain Simpson's party. The women frequently appeared naked down to the waist, and seemed unconscious of any immodesty in thus exposing themselves."

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The most common and important robe or blanket was made of woven rabbit skins. It was light, warm, and made in a variety of sizes from a child's size (dipi? ngaming) requiring 6 or more skins and also used as a shawl by adults, to a large size (ti¢li dipi?) requiring up to 30 skins. A man, his wife, and children and visitors may all sleep under the same blanket. The blanket is generally their only covering at night and they sleep nude except for the breechclout or apron. A single adult size blanket 5 feet square requires about 24 skins. Blankets of any size also serve as robes worn outside the galis dangal in cold weather. Plate IV, C illustrates the use of the rabbit skin robe.

A new blanket is a dayoliti and one about two years old, when the hair begins to fall out, is a magu tal sali. The blanket wears out at the foot end

½ [see end plate IV, cat. 116, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

time with; that's all," to "it is just as important as the drum and the singing. Yes it means something; everything we use has a meaning. Right now I don't know the meaning, but it is a symbol."

The drum used by the Washo in Peyote ritual is usually made from a three-legged iron pot of a type formerly used by miners; these pots are approximately eight to ten inches in diameter and about six inches in depth, including legs an inch and a half long. The drum is considered a sacred object of great importance to song; thus the ritual of tying the instrument before a meeting or singing practice is carefully observed. The kettle must have been tested for timbre before it is chosen for use; the deerhide must be "Indian cured and tanned," and it is preferable that it not come from a deer which has been shot. At the beginning of the evening, the kettle is filled one half to three quarters full of water; seven pieces of glowing charcoal are added and the hide is then wetted in the water and stretched over the top of the pot. At this point it is the special task of the drumchief to fasten the drumhead by an intricate "star" design of thong or rope fastened from each of the seven pebbles (which should be naturally polished and not "made by machines") placed under the edges of the hide. The tie is referred to as the "star" because its completed design resembles a star shape viewed from the bottom of the pot. The hide is stretched taut in this way and seldom has to be retightened during the evening; it is kept wet by occasional shaking.

The drumstick is usually a carved, highly polished piece of hardwood, and individual Peyotists like to make and keep their own drumsticks which become potent with the power of drumming and singing after long use. During a meeting, drumsticks sometimes get out of hand and cannot be controlled; drummers say that the stick "drummed by itself," and that they no longer had a sense of holding it.

In performance the drum is ordinarily held between the knees and tipped slightly away from the player; the drumstick is held lightly between the thumb and forefinger of the right hand, and the wrist is kept flexible. On occasion, arm and wrist are made rigid so that the drum can be struck with full force; this seems to be reserved for high points in the song when specia' emphasis is required. The drum is held by the four fingers and "worked" with the thumb of the left hand. The thumb is used for stopping the drumhead; it is pressed firmly over the surface of the hide until just the right pitch and timbre are achieved. Every drummer, during each song and with every drum, has to experiment anew for the right "place." To achieve a particularly "tight" sounding tone, the drummer sometimes lifts the drum to his lips, drinks a bit of water from it, and then blows air through the hide until the pressure from within distends it; bloated drums give an especially hard and desirable sound. Two or more drums are never used at one time.

Questioning about the problem of "good" drumming brings forth a varied response; two typical answers are:

The drummer is supposed to follow, but he carries the singer. He has to tune the drum according to the singer's pitch. He might have to shake the drum now and then to

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

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creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

[821] [778]

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

[177]

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

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It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed.

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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A CONFIGURATION OF ABORIGINAL WASHO CULTURE[1/4]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

Beliefs in supernatural power (wegeléyu) and in ghosts are two elements that occur in several patterns of aboriginal Washo culture. These two beliefs are prominent in culture patterns concerned with the etiology and cure of diseases; they also occur in war, social control, funerals, child rearing and hunting. Ghosts and supernatural power are usually associated with the psychological condition of fear. Because these culture elements are widely distributed among the patterns of Washo culture, they function as a unifying or integrating force. Such relationships among culture patterns arising from the presence of common elements Nadel calls "logical consistency" (Nadel, 1951, 258-65).

If a cultural configuration is defined as a statement of a cultural regularity, usually with accompanying psychological states taken into account, which serves to integrate many of the culture patterns of a society, then fear of supernatural power and ghosts is a configuration of Washo culture. Because the individual Washo can manipulate power, and to some extent ghosts, for either good or evil, the fear of supernatural power and ghosts is often a fear of people who are known to have, or suspected of having, power; therefore, the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, is often equivalent to a fear of people.

This paper will describe the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts in Washo culture; it will analyze the functions of these two elements in all culture patterns where they occur, thereby showing that they give logical consistency to Washo culture; and it will indicate how recognition of the configuration, fear of supernatural power and ghosts, helps to explain features of Washo behavior the reasons for which are not otherwise easily perceived.

The Washo culture here described is a reconstruction of aboriginal conditions. It is based primarily upon the statements of elderly people whom we consider reliable informants. Their testimony is usually internally consistent; they generally agree with each other, and their descriptions of Washo culture patterns closely resemble those of neighboring tribes which are also thought to be aboriginal (see especially Park, 1938, and Whiting, 1950). Bertha Holbrook and Henry Rupert claim to have been born in 1885 and Hank Pete in 1882; Nancy Emm did not give her age but looked as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 to mark the end of the aboriginal period in the region. This means that when Emm, Holbrook, Rupert, and Pete were children, some Washo who were still living were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture.

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 54 -- Analyst]

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

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Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegeléyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegeléyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegeléyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegeléyu. It is interesting that only water wegeléyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. [834] Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegeléyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

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756 When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in
775 which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The
[787] shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

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756 Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting
[778] from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second
[787] illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

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756 Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power
[752] played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep
[789] the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

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756 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in
789 warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the
821 neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

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754 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held be-
756 cause the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story, the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman
[755] failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

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754 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was sometimes by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a
[775] sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

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778 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
838 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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888 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegeléyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
• [778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

applied to those Washo who had "achieved varying degrees of sophistication" (1941, 82). Elsewhere in his thesis he again says, "Every layman's testimony bristled with a cynical and resentful awareness of the grasping character of shamanistic practice" (1941, 121).

Siskin's main concern was with the reasons behind the rise and decline of the Peyote Cult during his period of study and its effect on the entrenched power of the shamans. The shamans seemed to have won the battle at that time, just as they had before when confronted with the Ghost Dances of 1870 and 1890, and when any budding temporal leader had challenged their domain. Though the shamans succeeded in having the Peyote Cult leaders expelled from Dresslerville, the main all-Washo community in Nevada, their victory had the appearance of being a Pyrrhic one, and Siskin predicted a short life for them. This indeed turned out to be the case. Whereas Siskin listed 10 known shamans in 1939 (1941, 28), only one remained when we studied the Washo during the summer of 1956, and he was trusted and not feared by anyone. In other words, the sole remaining shaman was "good" as opposed to the "bad" Indian doctors who practiced witchcraft.

The shamans, except for this one, and the concomitant fear of witchcraft, had been disposed of in a number of ways. The position of the Indian doctors was challenged by the entrance of the Peyote Cult during the 1930's, the period of Siskin's (1941) and Stewart's (1944) studies. The new movement promised cures and thus struck directly at the power of the shamans. Though the effect of Peyotism was not wholly responsible for the downfall of the shamans, this encroachment undoubtedly was the beginning of their decline. A few shamans were subsequently murdered, though my informants emphasized that their deaths were made to look like accidents, and others died of natural causes. This explicit evidence of sorcerers' being the objects of aggression clearly placed the role of witchcraft beliefs among the Washo in the same category as that found among the Navajo, Hopi, Saulteaux and Ifaluk.

The fact that the shamans' ranks were not refilled can be partially attributed to their beneficial "doctoring" functions' having been taken over by the Peyote Cult leaders, who lived near Dresslerville, as well as by white doctors. Nevertheless, one of the Peyote leaders reportedly visited the remaining shaman for treatment of certain illnesses thought to be peculiarly "Indian," and several Washo were convinced that some whites as well as Indians attended either the shaman or the white doctor depending on the type of illness. But it must be remembered that no one believed this particular Indian doctor would practice witchcraft. Witchcraft, then, had literally died out, and there was little indication in 1956 that it would be revived. Even the children of the remaining shaman were thought to be unable to obtain "power" because they did not know how to speak Washo, a prerequisite for becoming a shaman.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (deaŭ·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bă·du? čŭhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwĭ·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

881

On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a sym- [574] bol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

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535 [778] By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area. The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

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533 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
535 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔó·wi·yá·kiʔi, ʔimlá·hó·ʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

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535 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wé?weʔ, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[a]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[b] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[a] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[b] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20
NW 1711 *SRS 1946 [782] [783]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Continued*)

Element	Omitrons																			
	Tsm	Ar	Ow	Ho	Wa	Pa1	Pa2	Ute	Kio	Cr1	Cr2	Sha	Ha	Ow	Ar	Ha	Cha	Cam	Ka	Ut
91. Replenishes fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
92. Cleans up and arranges ashes	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
93. Conducts people in and out	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
94. All bathe before attending meeting	+	+	°+	–		(–)	°–		°–	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
95. Meeting place arranged (house, hogan, tipi)	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
96. In open			°–	–	–	(–)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
97. Entrance or opening toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
98. Altar is (crescent) mound of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
99. Concave side toward east	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
100. Line on top of moon	+	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
101. Fire east of leader's place	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
102. East of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
103. Sticks placed to form right angle	+	+	+	°–	+	+	+	+	–	+	°+	°–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
104. Old methods used to start fire		–	°+	–		+	+	+	–	°–	°–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
105. 4 sticks on fire			(+)	°–	(–)	+	°–		°–	+	°+	–	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
106. Special fire stick (poker)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
107. Worshippers congregate outside	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
108. Indian dress, moccasins, etc., preferred	+	+	+	+	–	°+	+	+	+	°–	°+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
109. Meeting starts in evening	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
110. Leader prays before entering meeting	+	+	°+	+		°(–)			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
111. Order of entrance: chief first	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
112. Chief drummer second		+	+	+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
113. Cedarman third		–	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
114. Men (before women and children)		–	+	+	+	(+)			–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
115. Women and children allowed	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
116. Fire chief last	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
117. Seating: leader west of altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
118. Men, either side, near leader	+	–	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
119. Women, either side, near entrance		–	°+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
120. Separation of men and women		–	–	+	(–)	–	°+		°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4,5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

He was *in* that song and it made a connection—took him down the road. You can tell he liked the gourd and drum, too. They really keep him going." 668* 533* [183]

4. "He has that real Indian sound in his voice—like the old-time Indians."

There is little real response to questions dealing, for example, with the difference between good and bad songs; it is evident that "good" and "bad" take the musician immediately to the texts rather than to music analysis—"No, it all depends on the wording, but we don't know the wording of the other tribes' language so we have to trust that it is a good song"; "Just the sound might sound better in some song, but it don't mean any better as long as the man singing is a good man. There are no bad songs unless a man is thinking bad."

It seems clear that a song is judged not so much for or by itself as it is in terms of a total situation. No informant speaks of technique or structure; any special effect of technical finesse is seen as a whole, that is, as a total reaction of the commentator to the personality, association, and potency of the performer as well as to his equipment—the perfection of his rattle, and whether he was in good voice. Songs are not things in themselves but are vehicles through which religious emotions and concepts are expressed. They are something that has to be dreamed, heard in the mind's ear, performed; and the concept of "song" abstracted from "performance" is not present. The singer himself is caught in the totality of the performance; it is a religious and emotional experience for him—he may "take a trip when he sings," and he never just "sings a song." "When I'm singing," said Z, "I'm praying in the Tipi and going on the journey over that road." 668* 533* 182 781

III

Vocal style

McAllester (1949:65–6) has noted a special Peyote vocal technique which corresponds best to Herzog's Type B. "In general the Peyote songs are sung in a rather simple vocal style. There is usually somewhat greater tension on the vocal chords than is used by Europeans, there is somewhat greater use of accents and grace notes, and there are occasional pulsations on certain notes, particularly if they are quarter notes or longer. But the high degree of tension, the quavers, breaks, shakes and shouts of Type A American Indian singing are, often, much reduced or quite absent" (p. 65). These conclusions fit the Washo Peyote vocal style almost perfectly. 668* 533*

There is, however, one special vocal effect called a "shaking sound"; the ability to produce it is considered to be the mark of an excellent singer. At the same time, according to one informant, "That shaking sound you hear sometimes in the Tipi is the medicine working, not just the man does that; the medicine and good thoughts do that." The sound referred to is a particularly vibrant quality to the voice which gives the impression that many voices are singing at once in a slightly disharmonic, vibrating manner. Within the tipi the effect is quite dramatic; the tipi seems to be shuddering and at moments the tent poles appear to be shaking against a strong wind. Singing of this sort is

[P. 367, A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[3]

The various powers and activities of the Water
776 Babies are perhaps best described in the following
539 stories recounted by informants:

[782] [755] 1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Išmedel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[778] 2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

[782] 3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa.
787 He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned
539 all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

[3] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navajo witches is often the life of a relative (1967, p. 131).

[P 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

[776]

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 [782] [182] [121] Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[P.391, B]

741 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

[231]

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to
[756] have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

[782]

[795]

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.303, A]

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[756]
[682]

One factor in the decline of the shaman as a principal in curative activities was the rise of the peyote cult in the mid-1930's (Stewart 1944). The cult was introduced by a Paiute who gathered a number of Washo followers. His cult or "way" has since been superseded by a strictly Washo group, following the Teepee Way (d'Azevedo 1957). The Teepee Way is an illustration of the effect an ethnographer can have on the lives of his subjects. A casual remark by an ethnographer that the peyote ceremonies carried out by the Paiute leader were not like those he had seen elsewhere motivated a Washo to drive to Idaho to find out for himself. This trip resulted in the formation of the new cult and the near dissolution of the group headed by the Paiute. Washo peyotism has incorporated much of the curing emphasis of Washo shamanism and much of the symbolism as well. The peyote button is reminiscent of the poison parsnip taken by old-time doctors (d'Azevedo 1957). The powerful eagle feather is reserved for the use of road chiefs just as it was the special symbol of the shaman or powerful warrior. The fans carried by most peyotists are often composed of magpie feathers. Curative peyote meetings are often conducted by a special chief, reputed to have very potent curing powers, who does not conduct the regular peyote meeting. Even in regular meetings one of the main emphases is on curing ailments of both the body and spirit.

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[755]

Led by an assimilated Washo, known by other Indians as a "white man's Indian," the shamans brought suit against the peyotists urging they be arrested and their meetings banned. They charged, among other things, that peyote meetings were occasions of sexual license. Such open accusations and the bringing of white men into a strictly Indian matter created a great deal of antagonism toward the shamans among the Washo, whether or not they were committed to peyote.

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[648]

Peyote curing differs only in detail from shamanistic curing as these two stories may illustrate.

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> "Had these gallstones and them white doctors operated and they got a lotta little stones but pretty soon it was back. So I decided to pray. You know whenever an Indian wants to pray the first thing he turns to is water and tobacco. So every night when I went to the john [toilet] I'd roll a cigarette and pray to that Peyote. I'd say, 'I don't want to be sick so you got to help them white doctors. You got to get all those little stones together in one place.' That Peyote is a good medicine. I used to go to meetings and it helped me before. So every night I prayed to the Peyote to get them stones in one place. Then I went to the hospital and they operated and got out the biggest gallstone they ever saw. It would hardly go in a fruit jar. I told that Peyote that the job was too big for it all alone that it should just help them white doctors and get all them stones in one place."

[782]

Another informant, mentioned earlier as a peyote chief with special curing power, recounts the events leading up to the death of his former wife of cancer of the kidneys.

[164]

[P. 373, B]

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"Yeah I had a couple of meetings for Onie. I helped her too. Except she would not do the things I told her to do. I made that cancer move around from her back where it hurt a lot. I got it around in front where it didn't hurt her so much. But she wouldn't keep doing the things I told her to do."

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[753]

These two incidents reveal traditional attitudes transferred into a new framework of curing. In the first place, illness is a corporeal object which can be manipulated—moved and (if one's power is sufficient) removed. Secondly, peyote is viewed as a manifestation of a spiritual power. The informant with gallstones did not attend meetings to have his ailment cured; rather, he used water and tobacco, traditional adjuncts to shamanistic curing. Moreover he did not take peyote for his illness; he simply prayed to Peyote in a manner very similar to praying to a spirit guardian for assistance.

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Other shadows of the shamanistic past seem to lie heavily on the minds of modern Washo peyotists. In his discussion of peyotism, d'Azevedo (1957, pp. 624-626) describes in some detail the attitudes about the assistance or interference that one peyote singer or drummer may receive from another. The statements of his informants, although couched in different terms, are reminiscent of many I heard dealing with competitions between shamans.

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For several years peyotists were a powerful factor in the tribal council, and they were not loath to play upon the connection between peyote and poison parsnips in the minds of their cotribalists. The peyote button is considered to be a powerful agent and as such potentially dangerous. Therefore a man who could deal with this agent, just like a shaman who could eat the poison parsnip with impunity, was a man to be listened to and followed.

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Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: "Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?" my informant answered: "Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers." This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts which I will discuss later in this paper. Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life.

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

/ About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178] [515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302] The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574] In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 378; A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
[797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his be-
769 longings are disposed of. There is an increasing ten-
178 dency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.[9]

When the husband of one of my informants died,

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[648] [9]The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

[P.378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
764 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
768 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the men sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when
[768] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[55] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
[821] air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

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791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There ap-
787 pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
● [782] In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[9] They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week."

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
178 his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2558-2581).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."[10]

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[787] [9]This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] [10]This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-298)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degrees of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahaba by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

222 527 787 791 [211] "This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more.[12]

● [782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791 Suzie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1959, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114 Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of semiunity and prosperity.

[756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11] Used in an adjectival sense. In the reference below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12] No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or those present.

[P 383, B]

222 527 [754]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies [177] were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. [80] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

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The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
● [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and

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magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred
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power. A similar notion may explain the use of the
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skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763.
The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

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INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

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344 177 [665] was performed (Dangberg n.d.). This eight sided structure and the nine sided "round house" built around 1940 by Ben Lancaster for meetings of the Native American Church near Coleville, California were innovations and not part of traditional Washo architecture.

Property and Inheritance

423 Washo groups had no communal property beyond the land they lived on and its resources. Some joint ownership of property occurred however. The kin group's common rights in specific pinenut picking grounds (dimasha) and eagle nests (patalmi mɨgi) are a form of joint property. Steward (1938, 256) described family ownership of pinenut groves among the Owens Valley Paiute, a rarity within the Great Basin.

The Washo thought of themselves as co-users of the territory along with the plants, animals, and a host of supernaturals. The rights of these other users had to be respected. Individuals or households could establish semi-permanent exclusive rights over specific locations for use purposes. A fish blind constructed over a deep place along a stream established the right of the person or household that had constructed it to fish in that [425] area. When the fish blind was abandoned for the season anyone else could use it; but the person who made the fish blind had established a right to return to that spot the following year.

422 Food or manufactured goods could be used or exchanged, but not destroyed. [782] The exception to this was ceremonial disposal where there was a ritual requirement to destroy the goods (see p.47). Also individuals who infringed upon others' traditional pinenut picking grounds may have their baskets and [685] other gathering equipment destroyed for them by the rightful owners of that picking ground.

A connection was believed to obtain between the objects and the persons who made them. In Washo society every manufactured object was personalized [768] in this way. The intimate connection between objects and persons is seen in the abandonment or destruction of the goods a deceased individual had [431] made, even if the goods had been given to someone else. In a sense, the maker always maintained partial ownership in any objects he produced.

621 423 Each Washo local group owned for use-purposes the hunting territory, fishing streams, and springs that it actually used. If the members of a cluster of cooperating households regularly hunted in a certain area, their right to exclusive hunting in that area emerged over time. Informants say that a person had a theoretical right to hunt anywhere, but in practice he hunted in a fairly limited area. This was in part due to the accessibility of the hunting area with regard to a group's habitual wintering grounds. It was also due to the intimate knowledge that a hunter gains of a limited section of the total hunting territory. But it also derived from the concept of local group prerogatives, and the necessity to receive permission when intruding upon recognized sub-territories.

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 [787] [782] [535] One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 [791] [262] [211] [624] Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabáʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 [515] [525] [616] The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

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Women played shinny on a field from 50 to 100 yds. long with circular goals about 7 ft. in dia. drawn at each end. Betting was carried on as in men's football. Each player had a stick with which to propel a braided rope of deer hide toward the goal. The game began with the braided piece of hide thrown between the teams in the middle of the field. The women tried to knock the rope into their goals with the sticks. The rope could not be stepped on or picked up with the hand. Four to seven women played on a side. One point won the game.

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[412]
[415]
[252]

The dancing took place in the evenings. Both men and women danced and sang, carrying the tools they used to gather and prepare the pinenuts: the burden baskets, hooked poles for drawing the cones closer, straight poles for knocking down the cones, manos and metates for grinding the nuts to flour, and the paddles for stirring the mush. The dance step differed from the step used in the girl's puberty dance. Holbrook describes it as crossing the right foot over the left and then sort of a hop. People danced clockwise in a circle. During the dancing, the leader moved about talking and praying for pinenuts and all other Indian foods. The leader told people to be good, to treat children and old people with kindness, and to be good to their wives (Curtis, 1926, 95; Lowie, 1939, 303). On the fourth night, women laid out pinenuts and all other food and prayed over it. After the dancing on the fourth night, the people bathed and scattered to their pinenut plots to harvest the crop. When a family had piled up the first batch of the new crop for cooking, a woman threw some small stones over the pile of cooking pinenuts and prayed that the crop be good and not make people sick.

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Our statement that the pinenut dance was still being observed by the modern Washo in the 1950's refers to an attempt to give the dance in the fall of 1952. Apparently the dance had not been given for a number of years prior to this and had all but disappeared. The attempted revival was described by the Washo as very disappointing. It was held in Dresslerville rather than in Double Springs Flat. The man who tried to function as the leader was old, almost blind, and apparently lacked the necessary personal characteristics to fill the office; he also got drunk during the evening, as did several others. The older people danced the traditional dance, but the younger ones had some records and a record player and had a modern social dance inside one of the houses.

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People still go to the hills in family units to gather pinenuts; although pinenuts are no longer a staple, they remain an important food for many families. The attempted revival indicates an interest in the pinenut ceremony, but no one seems able or willing to arrange the dance. Its revival in 1952 will probably be one of the last attempts at holding an annual pinenut dance.

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed.

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house.

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two.

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position.

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver."

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr.

gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, milí·gimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
šémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš háki milí·giʔáŋawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

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[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the
535 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí·ya, melehéhe? and ʔetwé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

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It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

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"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	K2	Ha	To	To	Pa	Ha	At	Sa	Ty	Wa	Ki	Al
	398. Game believed immortal	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
	401. Offering of game kill	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+
	402. To "nature"	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	403. To spirit	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	404. With prayer	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	405. Piece of gall	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	406. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-
	Gathering														
	*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
292	411. Leaching in cage-lined pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	411a. In sand pit	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
252	413. Grinding in mortar (pawaa)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
251	414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
	Miscellaneous Plants														
	*433. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	434. Cactus fruit eaten (nawa or mitse)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	435. "Stems" eaten	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	436. Needles burnt off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	437. Needles brushed off	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	438. Roasted in ashes	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	439. Roots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	443. Pinon Nuts (tawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	+	*
	*443a. Hooked pole (tsaaa) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*445. End fire bent	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	*446. End separate piece	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
[462]	447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+
	448. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	-	+
	449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	451a. Piled on ground, covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	453. Cooked seeds stored	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	454. By burning	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*457. Unlined pit	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*458. Grass lined	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
	461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*462. Nuts ground on metate (mota)	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	462a. In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*463. Parching	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*466. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
[423	*467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
262]	*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
	*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
	*470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+

[p.374]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ta	K1	K2	Ka	To	Tb	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Ag	Wd	K1	Ak
NWA 755	2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
	2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	+	–	+	+
	2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	Special Powers of Shaman														
	2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	°	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	°	°	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2549a. By tying with horsehair	·	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	°	+	+	+	+	°
NWA 756 789	2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	°
	2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	°	–	–	+	°	–	–
	2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
	2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
	2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	°	–	–	+	–	–	+
	2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
NWA 754	2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	+	–	+	°	+	+	°	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
	2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
[N 780]	2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
	Miscellaneous														
NWA 756 681 755	2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2568. Killed for declining	–	–	°	+	–	°	–	–	–	°	–	–	–	°
	2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2570a. New doctor assists old ones	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	°	+	–	–	–	+
	2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
NWA 776 782	2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamiyma)	+	°	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2575. To nature	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
	2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	°	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
	2578. To ghost (tsaawi)	–	°	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Ki	Kt	Kn	Tn	Td	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Alt
2579. To spirit (suwipó)	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2580. To night	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2581. Offerings of: food	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2581a. At spring dance	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2582. Game	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2583. Seeds	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2584. Tobacco	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+
2585. Shell beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2586. Offerings: at meals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
2589. When hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Guardian Spirits														
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nonshamanistic Curing														
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2595. Blood-letting	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2596. Sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
Destiny of Soul														
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)														
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–
2601. Shortly before death	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2603. Ghost audible	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–
2604. Ghost feared	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
2609a. Specularite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
"Huipó" (possibly Jimsonweed)														
2613. Properties and name known	.	+	.	+	+	+	+	.	–	+	.	+	–	–
DANCES														
2614. Circle Dance (mugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	.	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–

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A [756 787] 2552. AE: Power for wound curing came from dream of frog.

N 756 789 2553. AE: Charlie Turner was last great Indian "doctor" who could make it rain at will. Just before he died, "maybe twenty years ago," he brought a bad storm when a rancher would not sell him a ton of good alfalfa hay but told him to take free some wild hay.

W [756] 2553a. Wa: The Washo had heard of Jack Wilson's power to control weather, but no Washo shaman possessed the art. Legends concerning the special powers possessed by Jack Wilson were extremely widespread. Some informants spoke of him as soon as I mentioned control of weather, others remembered hearing of him when I mentioned his name. Wd: Old Winnemucca said to have had power to control weather.

N 754 2554. To: See note 2549.

756 683 2558. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2562. Kl: Poisoners became doctors as did other people, yet they used power for evil instead of for good. A good shaman could detect a poison doctor and upon his accusation the poisoner was killed and cremated. To: Death is caused by foreign object sent into victim by poison doctor. A good doctor can suck this out and save patient. Wa: CR and Susie said that Old Captain Pete's wife is a poisoner. They said she caused the death of Susie's son just a few months before I interviewed them on July 19, 1936.

Miscellaneous

N 755 756 [177] 2569. K2, To, Sa: In old days shaman's fee was returned if person died. Nowadays shamans do as white doctors and so keep fee regardless of state of patient. AE: Payment is not made until patient is well.

A [755] 2570a. At: See note 2477.

N 776 2574. Kl: In addition to the usual phenomena—mountains, trees, crows, snakes, clouds, which functioned as personal powers of shaman—the Northern Paiute had water babies (paoha). A mean water baby lived in Winnemucca Lake; it would cause the death of anyone who saw it. The one in Pyramid Lake was not so bad if placated by saying, "This water in lake is for both of us. Don't hurt me; we're both the same." A great green snake in Winnemucca Lake was also dangerous.

N 782 2577. To: Offering made to spirits by sprinkling seeds during the spring dances and by sprinkling on grave. (Also see note 401, To.)

N 782 765 2578. Kl: Dead were given food, beads, and other things, sprinkled on the ground while old man said, "Don't come back, stay away, we don't want you."

W 2581-2590. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

● [782] 2581a. Ceremony described under note 401, To.

[p. 444 (A)]

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[8]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[9] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[8] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[9] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[48] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[49] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs[50] at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[51] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[48] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[49] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[50] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173-174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 205a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212-213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one
of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake
178 Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two
sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their
father's possessions. In deference to their mother's
rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been
placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about
forty put the torch to the house in which his mother
and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied
since their deaths. While the house burned no effort
was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire
department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and sum-
moned the fire department, but the Indians refused to
tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local
newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man
sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were help-
[821] ing God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain
or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the de-
ceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this
ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern
for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is
supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians
are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of
men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
elude these guards, they were sometimes able to re-
[787] cover the spirit of a recently dead person and return
it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water
of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never
be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my inform-
ant once visited the land of the dead and reported that
there were lots of Indians there playing games and
having a good time. If murder victims were present
they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the
killers were segregated and were not having a good
time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are
generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly
used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[782] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and
[551] names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent
murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was
extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and,
when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the diffi-
[648] culties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[551] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirl-
[821] winds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm
air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-286)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [825] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [439] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in [773] which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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[562]
[783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

The

764 178 768 775 [783] [824] 765 178 [302] [551]

funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

764 178 797

The Shaman's Curing Rite

955

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14). 755 178

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

857
888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
[778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

861
775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This [illegible] has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts [illegible] the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

881

Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] [272] [263] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] [761] [752] [783] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she will break her leg or her back.

7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 574 [178] 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

Washo NT20

Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Insect Food														
337. Caterpillars (piogs) eaten	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
338. Larvae in lake (kutsavi) eaten	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
339. Ants eaten	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
340. As food	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
341. As tonic	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
342. Ant "eggs" (larvae or chrysalids) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
343. Bee "eggs" (mota) eaten	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
344. Cicada (locust) (kua) eaten	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
345. Gathered in baskets	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
346. Roasted in coals	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
347. Ground on metate	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
348. Cricket (niju or niju) eaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
35la. Picked up in early morning	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
352. Grasshopper (matata'a) eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
353. Caught by hand in early morning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
354. Gathered in baskets	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
356. Roasted in pit	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
357. Ground on metate	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
358. Stored, buckskin bags	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
Animal-Food Taboos, etc.														
360. Raw liver eaten	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
361. Fetus taboo	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
362. Deer heart taboo	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
363. To young	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
364. Liver taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+
365. Deer lung taboo to young	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
366. Lung eaten for strength	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–
367. Bird eggs taboo to young	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
368. Scavenger eggs taboo	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
369. First kill taboo, if shot	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
369a. If trapped	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–
370. To youth	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
371. To mother	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
372. To father	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
373. Mother washes boy before taboo lifted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–
374. After ceremony youth eats special part	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
375. First kill after childbirth taboo	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
376. To father	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
377. To mother	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+
378. Hunter distributes game	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
379. To all village	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
379a. To anyone	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
380. To relatives	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
381. To mother-in-law	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
382. Hunter keeps all or any part	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–
Miscellaneous Concepts														
388. Intercourse avoided during hunting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
389. 5 nights' continence	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
389a. 1 night's continence	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
391. Smoking before hunt to aid luck	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
392. Smoking during hunt without special effect	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
393. Bathing before hunt: cold bath	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
394. Sweat bath	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
395. Talking during bath	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–
396. Disposal of deer bones regulated	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
397. Kept from dogs	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p. 373]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	K2	Kn	To	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
DRESS AND ADORNMENT														
1322. Necklaces (tŏrakiapŏ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1323. Shell beads (tsomi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1324. Shell disk	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1325. Olivella (tupo or botŏ)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326. Dentalium (pahoka)	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1326a. Haliotis (puidoma)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327. Glass beads	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1327a. Horn pendants	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1328. Animal claws	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1329. Bear	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1330. Wildcat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+
1331. Animal teeth	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1332. Deerclaws (tahaoapo or tomitsŏ)	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+
1333. Charred pine seeds	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1334. Bone tubes	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1335. Of bird bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1336. Of mammal bone	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
1336a. Cane tubes	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+	–	–	–	–
1336b. Carved horn pendant, fish shaped	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1337. Belts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338. Belts of: buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1338a. Yucca	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339. Animal fur	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
1339a. Weasel	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+
1340. Beads	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1341. Reeds	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342. Bones	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1342a. Quills	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	+	+
Paint														
1343. Dry pigment applied	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1344. Applied over greased skin	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
1345. Applied over saliva on skin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1346. Pigment mixed with: marrow	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1347. Water	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
1348. Pigment applied to: face	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1349. As rouge	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1350. Body	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1351. Hair	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1352. Pigment applied with: fingers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1353. Stick	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1355. Pigment applied after bad dream	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1356. Pigment applied to prevent skin darkening in summer	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1357. Pigment: black mineral	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
1358. Charcoal	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1359. Soot (atsetaigan)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–
1360. White mineral (ivi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1361. Red mineral (pa'wina)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1362. Blue mineral	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
1363. Yellow mineral (ouŏpi)	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1363a. Yellow vegetable (oha)	·	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
1364. Green mineral (paitsŏtaigan)	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+
1365. Specularite (yadupi) (galena?)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+

[p. 591]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 796 262 Next I went to the creek alone and took a bath. After the ceremony my mother and father and I ate things I killed. It didn't make us sick." The meat-wrapped hoop was hung in a tree for the birds to clean. Similar ceremony was described by Kuyui, Küpa, and Toe informants. Tö: Only heart of 1st deer taboo. Pa: Youth did not eat his own game until after a special ceremony which was performed after he had killed 4 or 5 deer. To free youth from taboo, "his mother chewed some of the deer meat mixed with sage and then sucked the boy's joints." He was supposed never to get tired after that. AE: Game killed by youth was taboo until after a shooting ceremony. A small piece of meat was hung up to serve as target for the boy to shoot at. As soon as he hit the target, but not before, was the taboo lifted.

A [796 262] 373. Tg: Father washes boy to end taboo.

374. Ki: Kelly, 80, describes ceremony similar to one told by my informants.

378. Kl: Father must distribute a deer, or if not available, 5 small game animals. Man eats very little for 10 days.

388. Owens Valley: Continence not required (Steward, 252). Sa: - (SL).

389. Tg: Hunter avoided sexual intercourse during day if he hunted.

391. Owens Valley: Hunter returned to sweat house to smoke and tell of experiences. Deer not brought into camp until next day, when other men fetched it (Steward, 252).

394. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [783] 396. Wa: All deer bones carefully thrown in water. Tg: Deer eyes and bladder kept from dogs.

398. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

399. To: - (LP).

N 796 782 401. To: - (LP). To, Tö, Sa, Tg, and Wd: Had offering ceremonies similar to this one described by BS (Toe): The ceremony took place the last morning of the big 5-day spring round dance. Just before dawn a half circle was formed at the west side of the dance place by basketry cups filled with Indian food. Each cup contained but one type of food, such as seeds, small pieces of fish or meat, piñon nuts, and so forth. Just as the sun came up the head man took each cup separately, danced around the circle of Indians, sprinkled the food in all directions, and prayed for a good season for all things. AE: See note 25 AE.

A [783]

405. Pa: DV said, "Deer has no gall except one in the tip of his tail. That is buried."

N 262 439 410. Acorns, obtainable only through trade or expedition from California, not important in the Paiute diet. The groups marked + insisted on their pre-white use in their areas.

N 415 H 262 412. Kl: Mortar and pestle used to prepare acorns obtained in California. Kuyui did not make mortars, just found them. "Old Indians, or maybe God, made them."

434. The use of cactus was denied only in

[p.427(B)]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[a]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[b] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

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[a] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[b] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

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PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Comanche | | |

Element	Tse	Pat	Gio	Ho	Wes	Ow	Ot	Ess	Pet	Pai	Ess	Wa	Ow	Ka	Ess	Ow	Ka	Wa	Ot	Ka
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
122. Women sit behind men		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
123. All pass to south of moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
131. Others pray silently		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
132. Smoke blown toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
133. All motion toward moon		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
137. Chewed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
138. Peyote incensed before passing		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
139. Peyote passed round circle		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
140. Clockwise		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
148. Paraphernalia incensed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
149. 4 times		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
150. Worshippers incensed		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

N
W
(page 111)
Continued on next page 796

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NW 171 +1795 796

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not redecorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

NW [533]

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 88. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

91. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

NW [783] ●

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843 [845] A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

846 827 826 During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852 When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2298a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

881 [178] Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

881 114 [178] Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the [302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that [784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time [182] between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

302 784 178 881 [177] The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

881 [115] The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

[P. 381, B]

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771

the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226
789

Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [262] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

● 784
224
227
841
[562]
[783]

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

● [784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying [886] for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes [841] to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al- [562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who [226] lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time [789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which [178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual- [796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
529 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be- [789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in [535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu- [262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut [178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of [115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

• 784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

825 The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
789 eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
[525] powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

762 [263] [784] [626]

cure his wife. When she died, he broke the taboo against eating salt and died. The fourth successful case did involve an attempt at social control. A father and daughter did not get along because the daughter was supporting the father. The daughter complained and the father threatened suicide. He repeated the threat a day later and the daughter told him to do whatever he wanted. The father took his gun and shot himself below the chin. This method of suicide is not typical and was clearly inappropriate, because it gave the daughter no chance to change her behavior.

762 626 562 [157] [154]

Hank Pete says that he has heard many threats of suicide and that people do this, "to scare money from old parents." Pete also says that men attempt suicide more often than women, who just leave home when interpersonal difficulties arise. The destruction of the self is an ultimate threat, and the fact that men are more likely to invoke it than women indicates a lack of male authority in Washo culture. This same characteristic of the male role was revealed in an analysis of role behavior by kinsmen among the modern Washo. "... Men tend to see their relationships regarding who dominates them as clearly structured, but are much less clear as to whom they dominate; women see their relationship with subordinate relatives to be structured almost as clearly as their relationships with dominant ones. This may be an indication that Washo males tend to lack self-confidence. ..." (Freed, 1960, 370). We believe that the lack of male self-confidence is a modern phenomenon and cannot be projected into the past. The reason probably is that males have a more difficult time adjusting to modern conditions than women. This has been noted in other American Indian hunting-gathering tribes (Hallowell, 1942, 48; Caudill, 1949, 425). In the case of the Washo, the main difficulties of the men may be due to seasonal unemployment and lack of economic opportunities. Of the five cases of violence against the self involving attempts at social control, three were by men; of these three, two were motivated by complaints by women that a male relative was making no economic contribution.

762 273 177 626

We suspect that among the modern Washo the use of alcoholic beverages has partially replaced the threat of suicide in interpersonal relations. Bertha Holbrook commented, "Nobody commits suicide today -- instead they begin drinking." Alcohol probably has many functions in modern Washo culture; its role as a means to control the behavior of relatives is possibly a minor one. If the control of relatives is one of the functions of alcohol, its effectiveness is based on different culture patterns than is the effectiveness of suicide. Suicide controls through the fear of ghosts; drinking may control through fear of the direct aggression of the drunken person, especially because the Washo become hostile and aggressive when they are drinking. It is possible that a person may die from overindulgence in alcohol or may be killed in a drunken brawl and thus become a ghost, but this is infrequent and therefore a minor consideration.

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N95

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2259. Father meat: run daily	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2260a. 10	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2260b. 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2262a. Run to water	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-

[p.409]

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ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Tu	K1	K2	Ku	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Ty	Wd	Ki	AT
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2295a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
2304. First Menstruation (muhadamomani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+
2328. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
2336a. Use special cup	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341a. Every 5 days	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	-
2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-

NWA 881 [302]

[p. 410]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ts	Kl	Kz	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Ar
	2399. Purified by washing	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
764	2401. Burial	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2402. Body extended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404. Head in any direction	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2404a. West	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–
	2406. In rocks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2407. Rock covering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2408. In earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–
	2410. In mountain	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
	2412. Cremation	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2413. All deceased	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
N	2416. Witches	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	–
[762]	2417. Cremation in house	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2418. In pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2419. On pyre	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	2420. Bones buried afterward	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2421. Funeral speech by old man	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
NWA	2422. Relatives cry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2423. Gifts to deceased	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
768	2425. Destruction of property	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2425a. House torn down, moved	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA	2426. House burned	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2427. Other property burned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2428. Other property buried	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2429. Some taken by relatives	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+
[766]	2431. Deceased children and adults treated alike	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	Mourning														
NWA	2432. Female relatives crop hair	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2433. Burn hair clippings	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2433a. Bury hair clippings anywhere	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
765	2434. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+
	2437. Gash legs	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
	2438a. Smear faces	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
	2439. Abstain from washing	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2440. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
	2440a. 12 or more	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+
	2441. Male relatives crop hair	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2442. Burn hair clippings	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2443. Throw away hair clippings	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+
	2444. Abstain from gambling (months): up to 3	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
	2444a. 3-12	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	2446. Abstain from washing	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
N	2447. Months before remarriage: any number	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
NWA	2447a. 12	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	2447b. 24	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2448. Mourning terminated by mourner washing	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
764	2450. Taboo on name of dead	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
	2451. Permanent	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+
	2452. Only in presence of kin	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	2453. Annual Mourning Ceremony	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	RELIGION														
	Shamanism (poha'g'amó)														
NWA	2469. Male shamans (naxa pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
756	2470. Female shamans (moroni pohari)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p.412]

Washo NT20
Achomawi A55

NWA 821 776 789

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
Whirlwind (pitesmawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	–	+	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–	–
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
NWA 787														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2732. You will carry a deer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2738. Crow call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2739. Dove call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740. Meadowlark call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2295a-2301)														
NWA 784														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–
2741a. Finger rots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
N 753														
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2743. Gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
Petroglyphs														
NW 172														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–
2745. Informants had only heard of them	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–
2748. "Devil"	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–

[p. 448]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'c he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galo'c originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
● [785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[a] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[b] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he"wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he"wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

841 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

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[a] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[b] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.

As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.

The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ewe'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period [221] had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the [785] school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people [574] of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and [412] roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *piñon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says that the Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his wegeléyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegeléyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegeléyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegeléyu. It is interesting that only water wegeléyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

[834]

Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegeléyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.
[752]

[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition
[178] of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[a] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[b] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[c] Opponents allege that the .nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[d]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and[e]

[a] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[b] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "gives you the same effect as whiskey."

[c] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[d] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4-12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Sehurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Sehurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

587 Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else.

606 There was no mother-in-law taboo. An old woman would say to her daughter's husband, "Go, get some water, and we'll cook and eat." Then they would get some wood, and the young man would obey, speaking "good" to his mother-in-law. When he killed game, he brought it home. Then the old woman asked her daughter to cook for her husband, and would be satisfied. A woman might advise her son-in-law, telling him that she was treating him like an own son, would bid him ask her own son whether he wanted to join in looking for game, and so on. According to Dave, fathers-in-law did not lecture their daughters' husbands in this fashion, nor, for that matter, did all mothers-in-law.

607 Brothers-in-law were friendly.

DEATH

764 According to Barrett,* cremation was formerly customary, whereas nowadays [178] there is burial. Jack did not confirm the first part of this statement, declaring that the Digger Indians burnt corpses whereas the Washo always put them [765] into the ground, interment being by relatives of the deceased. Everyone cried, [302] but there was no hair cutting. If the dead man had fine clothes, they were [178] buried with him. Nowadays, when an Indian dies, his kin buy a coffin; also a good shirt, clothes, and shoes, and put them on the corpse. The family do not wish to stay in the house, but put up a hut on a new site and move there.

[768] Dave, however, gave so circumstantial a statement about cremation that its occurrence, at least among some of the Washo, can hardly be doubted. When an Indian died, he said, an old doctor spoke to the survivors as follows: "Do not bury him, or a wolf or coyote coming along will smell the dead person and eat him. You must not bury him in the ground; burn him up, and pick up what is left of the bones to put them into some creek." All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put up sagebrush two to three feet high and place [753] the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. An old doctor dreamed that people should not wear [787] the dead person's clothing. The Digger Indians when mourning mix ashes and grease to put on the face, which they do not wash for about five months. The Washo did not put anything on the face, but cried continually for three months [765] and did not wash the face for a year. Old men and women cut the hair as close as possible, but the young people did not care. The house where the death oc- [768] curred was not burnt, but abandoned. Sometimes the best-looking property—basketry—was burned with the corpse. The deceased man's bow was broken up and put up in the hills so that no one could use it thereafter.

According to Bill, the Washo sometimes buried and sometimes—but not very often—burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred.

* Barrett, *op. cit.*, 9.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

III. RELIGION

Shamanism

Shamans became such through dreams. However, not all dreams were interpreted as a transfer of supernatural power, even though they had a flavor of uncanniness. Thus, a Washo dreaming of a deceased sister or cousin would feel bad and refrain from talking about it, but this was not a call to shamanistic office.[a] Similarly, Bill once dreamed of many people of a kind unknown to the Washo and wearing no clothes. They were all big men and made fun of Bill, who got scared, thinking they might kill him, and woke up. Sometimes he dreamed of rattlesnakes and bull snakes.

The type of dream that leads to power is illustrated by Dave's report of an experience described by his grandfather in Dave's youth. A Washo might be somewhere in the valley when a west wind is blowing. He hears a sound . . . "zii . . . i." He thinks about it and in the middle of the night the little bit of noise enters his head and talks to him. As yet the prospective shaman tells nobody about his experience. Then he will again get a call in the dead of night from the place where he first heard the whistling. Waking up, he puts on his footgear and runs toward the rock or hill where he heard it. As soon as he gets there, this thing speaks as follows, in a whisper: "Now be a good man, doctor your own people and save them always as long as you live. Go back to where you were sleeping. Wake up before sunrise, drop yourself into the water, bathe. Do this on four mornings. Then begin to doctor some man, but do not charge any fee the first time, see what you can do for him. Treat him for four nights. If you cure him, it means that you are to be a doctor always. The second time you cure somebody, you may accept a buckskin, and thereafter you may ask for anything you wish."

This pictures a benevolent shaman without making it clear whether Dave had a particular person in mind or an ideal character. The medicine man he described would tell the people about his protector: "I do nothing that is wrong, I do what is right; he [my familiar] bids me doctor people and cure every one of them." All who were sick would accordingly go to him, saying, "Let us treat the old doctor well and make him treat us well. He has already cured four or five persons, and perhaps he will do better [!]." They gave him good food, beads, or a buckskin to keep him satisfied.[b] When he died, all the people for twenty miles around—possibly 400 to 500 of them—assembled and cried aloud. They dug a big hole, put him in, and buried him. If Dave's data on the disposal of ordinary persons' corpses are correct, this suggests differential treatment of shamans (see p. 310).

The nature of the familiar remains obscure. Bill said, "I don't know, I think it must be God who talks to the doctor in his dream." This "God" tells his

[a] For other dreams about dead persons, see p. 323.

[b] Another Indian mentioned a nice basket as a possible fee. He said that nowadays (1926) one would-be doctor charged $20 and more, but he did not really know how to cure and was merely cheating his patients.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow*-proof Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, [787] who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming [821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 775 539 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree struck by lightning. The apparition was thin to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes [763] and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called *metsuy'e'*. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 539 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a *metsuy'e'* pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

CEREMONIALISM

SWEAT LODGE

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating
515 (titɔ'ctu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to
224 one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain
789 would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No
[343] rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pɦɛ''tsiŋ t'a'ŋa, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'ŋalita kumto'ca.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.
[114] My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[a] who records—though as a
[177] probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

ANTELOPE CHARMING

624 The Antelope chief (ai'yɔs kumomli'') was distinct from the tribal chief and
224 the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got
756 his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was
787 living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night. you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] [a] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The corral (mə'dap) is about an acre in size, with a chute leading to the entrance. Sagebrush is piled so high that the antelope cannot jump out. The men go to drive the antelope in. The chief stands just back of the corral, smoking his pipe. He says, "I'll stay home behind the corral. If I dreamt right, you'll drive them in and we'll kill them. If they get scared at you fellows, we can't help it; but I think we'll kill them easily in the corral." When the antelope are near, he says to the beasts, "Don't get scared, come on easily now, don't get discouraged, listen to my words. We are making a home for you, you have come a great way." The antelope stop and look toward him. They are not afraid at all, but keep quiet, like sheep driven into a pen. Instead of scattering, they come into the sagebrush pen. He says to the people, "When I tell you, then is the time to shout." When all are in the pen, the people close up, and the chief bids them commence killing. They use their bows and arrows, and some hit the game over the head with clubs. The chief says, "My people, look at them, kill the biggest in the whole herd, I'll have that one." They kill it and give it to the chief. Of the rest, three or four men will share one animal. They like it, cut up the meat, cook and eat it right there. First the chief says, "I dreamt antelope for you, I got the best one, I am satisfied." Nobody eats while he is speaking. Then they divide the spoils, pack the game home, and have plenty that night. The corral is left standing.

Dave gave the following texts of speeches delivered by the Antelope chief to the game and hunters respectively:

(*a*)

kalo'kaca ai'ya, kohamo'moyam, kepi''cuk, kapa''cuk ma'yala. kalo'kaca'sa, ma'yal keke'le, latamale''wa . . . kula'kta."

(Do not get scared, antelope, come easily, creep up, come right into your home. Don't be afraid. We made your home, listen to me . . . don't get scared of anybody.)

(*b*)

wa'diy kaya'tuka'ya, kaya'tuk temesui i'ke li'cul. wi'kin k''doc kimo''kayaktok i'ke ke''au, t'aiyaya ga'mayasa. mi''le ke''wa temi'ku. gaya'cu a''ai. hak tikumso''cic i'ke mikla a''calya. kiki''ket a'yam k'e'icke tiya'mlc. i'ke laye.leye'a nake' akna.ite'a heliki ke'le wadiye'se''iya. i'ke mi''ya, i'ke le'sic kutina'ya hat'e''eya untamale'a-heliki le'sic.

(Now begin killing, kill the biggest buck, that give to me. That's all I tell you. Kill for yourselves, that have for your own meat. Guts, however, do not throw away, eat everything. Wash off the guts. Thus I dreamt, that I have told you all. This good thing that way I tell you. There is no one else who could tell you about this today. This is good for you. If I were dead, from no one else here you would be able to hear this, I think, if I were dead.)

" This last word is spoken when all the antelope get into the pen.

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 . Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[795] [756] [787] [342] [177] [434] [177] [611] [581]

[1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P.369,A]

776 ever, general agreement among informants that the
756 Water Baby could, if he gave his power to a person,
115 demand repayment with the lives of his protégé's close relatives or entire family.[1]

776 539 The various powers and activities of the Water Babies are perhaps best described in the following stories recounted by informants:

[782] [755] 1. "One time my Dad was sick. He called in two, three doctors and they said he had to give a basket to the Water Babies at Lake Ĭsmedel. There is an island in this lake and my Dad was supposed to go out to that island and leave a basket. I was too young then but he took my brother. They went up there and my Dad just started walking out to the lake and the water never got any deeper than there (pointing to his knees). He walked right on that water. He left that basket and came back and he got well. Them Water Babies helped him walk on the water. My brother saw it happen."

[778] [782] 2. "There is this deep pool up in the mountains. There is a kind of black sucker live there but no Indians ever caught them because that was a Water Baby place and they was Water Baby food. Womens used to sit on a platform of logs and weave baskets there [special baskets for the Water Babies, apparently, such as the one used as offering in the story above]. One time I took another fella like you [anthropologist] up there but when we got there we couldn't find nothing but sand with a little water bubbling up in the middle. He wouldn't believe me. I showed him where them womens had sat but I think he thought I was lying. I guess them Water Babies did something."

3. "There is this women called Frances. She was up at Blue Lake with her husband following him along the edge of the lake. It was kind of dark. She saw them little footprints right on top of her husband's in the sand."

4. "I'll tell you what happened to me right in this house about two years ago. I was in bed in that room there and I felt these little hands creeping under the covers. I brushed 'em away but they just come back. They tried to feel me down here [indicating his genitalia]. I yelled for my mother and she come in and said something and something went zip (waving arm violently to indicate direction) right out of that window. We looked out that way [to the south], that's toward Walker Lake. Everything was kind of hazy blue."

[756] In light of Washo views about receiving shamanistic power, it would appear that my informant was suggesting that this visitation was a Water Baby making its patronage known.

776 787 539 5. "My old uncle had been doctoring up by Genoa. He had a tough one and fallen in the fire and burned all his pants off and was walking wearing his coat like a skirt. He got by Wally's Hot Springs when he felt like he wanted a bath. Them Water Babies must have been working on him. He went over by the creek and started to lean over and then he passed out and fell into the water and there was a Water Baby. That Water Baby said, 'come on,' and he took him down to Water Baby country. The chief of the

[1] Kluckhohn reports that the payment for joining a coven of Navajo witches is often the life of a relative (1947, p. 131).

776 Water Babies lived in a big house made out of that
787 black shining rock [obsidian]. But they didn't go
539 there. The Water Baby said 'we got some girls that want to give you something,' and he took my uncle to a place and there was five girls there. They all sat around my uncle and sang him a song and told him that it was his song from now on. Then the Water Baby took my uncle back and then he said it was like waking up from a dream and there he was laying in the creek down under a bunch of cattails."[4]

776 6. "There was this white man up here fishing.
539 He caught a Water Baby but he didn't know what it was. He thought it was some kind of fish and took it to San Francisco and they put it that place where they have a lotta fish [aquarium]. Captain Jim went all the way down there to tell the mayor that they had better let that Water Baby loose, but nobody would pay no attention to him. Well you know they had a big earthquake down there and the water came up around everything. When it was all over that tank where they had the Water Baby was empty."

THE GIANTS

773 Washo mythology features several creatures which
776 may each have contributed to the wild men I will describe in this section. Both Lowie and Dangberg report myths in which a giant, Hangawuiwui, is the principal figure. Although the myths do not describe him, my informants generally picture him as a colossus who hops on a single leg from the top of one mountain to another. He has a single eye to match his single limb and a proclivity for gobbling up Indians. Several miles southwest of Gardnerville, in the hills overlooking Double Spring Flats, a cave is known by the Washo as Hangawuiwui aŋ?ì (the place where Hangawuiwui lives). Present-day Indians tell a number of stories about this giant and display a certain uneasiness when they are near places he is supposed to haunt.

Another kind of giant appears in a myth reported by Lowie. These beings appear to be considerably more human than Hangawuiwui. Traditionally they camped south of Pyramid Lake and terrorized the Paiutes. However, when one of their number attempted to take fish from a Washo the tribe rallied and routed the giants in a battle near Walker Lake. The giants did not have bows and arrows. They fortified themselves behind rock walls and threw stones.

According to my informant on the subject, the mountains are still the home of a tribe of "wild men." These people have managed to hide the location of their camps so that no one knows where they live. My informant felt that they were in fact some kind of Indian. Despite the mythological ability of the Washo to defeat the giants, modern stories about them suggest they have a great deal of supernatural power in addition to their physical prowess.

539 The following stories were told to me as contemporary or relatively recent occurrences:

1. "There is these wild fellas up in the mountains. I guess you call them giants. One time there was an old man who had set up a blind to hunt chip-

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[4] This story very closely parallels one recorded by James Hatch among the Yokuts. Kroeber Anthropological Society Papers, No. 19, Fall, 1958.

[P. 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

773 The Ag, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist feLlas could go down under the water and find that there ag bird's skeleton?"

773 178 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[P. 370, A]

756 a dream that tells you how to handle your paraphernalia. Sometime a dream tells you that you have to be all alone in your house. I don't know what happens in there but some of them doctors, I think, go over to visit the dead for a little while.

"After you been dreaming for a long time maybe you try to cure somebody but you don't ask for nothing. You never tell them dreams or what your spirit is but other doctors, they know. If your dreams are right you can cure people and then you can ask for something [payment]. The real Indian way was to doctor for four nights. Then he'd lay out all his stuff and give it a drink by sprinkling water on it. Then he'd shake his rattle and sing and touch the patient with his hands. He'd talk to the sickness, like he knew it . . . like maybe he was friends to it . . . he'd say 'now you behave and don't bother this person no more. If you don't behave I'm gonna take you out and show you to everybody and then you'll be embarrassed!' Then he'd suck at the patient (some of these young doctors suck on a stick with a feather on it that they pointed at the sick person, but the old ones didn't do that), and get out the sickness, it would be a feather or a stone. Sometime that sickness come out and go into the doctor so hard they can't get it out and have to get another doctor to help him. Sometimes it hit them so hard that they defecate. I seen them doctors just fill their pants. If it's real tough they get all stiff and fall over. Sometimes fall right in the fire and their clothes all burn off but it don't burn them none. You can't touch them then or it will kill them. But when they begin to shake a little and that rattle begins to go then you can pick them up. If he can, the doctor will vomit out the sickness. When it's out he puts it in his hand and rubs it with dirt and throws it away toward the north; that kills it."

● [787]

This recital of the process of becoming a doctor shows clearly the ideal situation, the receiving of powers, unsought, from supernatural sources, the guardian spirit watching over its protégé's career, providing him with the wherewithal in the form of songs, spells, and paraphernalia. In fact, however, it would appear that the process of becoming a shaman was far more a conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual than would be supposed from the foregoing story.

756 115 Doctoring power clearly seems to have remained within certain families. The informant who gave the foregoing account was himself the son of a woman curer and a famous doctor and the nephew of another doctor. From his childhood he was familiar with the procedures of curing, with stories about dreams, spirit visitations, trips to the afterworld, mysterious and sacred locations. He somewhat proudly admitted that as a boy he "used to shake that rattle" himself. In short, until his shamanistic education was interrupted by white man's schooling, he was a shaman's apprentice.

This view is supported by the statements of other informants: "Of course them people that is from a doctor family, they have dreams and get curing power," said one rather assimilated woman of about seventy-five. Another informant, a man of sixty, who repeatedly indicated his fear of "power" but at the same time was reputed to be an important curer in the peyote church said: "If you come from a family of dreamers there ain't nothing you can do. You're trapped by it."

[795] 756

Young shamans appear to have undergone a period

[P. 370, B]

758 of informal apprenticeship under an older doctor. Although there appears to have been no special requirement that a shaman have an assistant, it was not uncommon for a younger man to help out. According to one informant, when Blind Mike, one of the well-known doctors in historic times, was becoming a doctor, his teacher required him to smoke four hand-rolled cigarettes in a row without allowing the smoke to escape [276] from his lungs. This was not considered an exercise in legerdemain but a way to develop the younger man's control over his power.

Each doctor received instruction from his spirit familiar as to what paraphernalia he should gather but there was a great deal of uniformity in the outfits of [177] Washo doctors. The following description is of the kit of my informant's uncle, who practiced until the first decade of this century, and it includes some items clearly postwhite in origin.

> "I don't know what all doctors had but I'll tell you what my old uncle had 'cause I seen it lots of times. [At this point another Indian entered the house, obviously curious, and my informant stopped talking until the visitor left.] He had eagle feathers and magpie feathers. He had a rattle with six or eight cocoons on a stick wrapped in weasel skin and humming bird feathers. He had a tobacco pouch of tree-squirrel hide. He also had a stone. It looked like a big tooth with a cavity in it. He told me how he got that stone. He was walking to town [Genoa, Nevada] one day and he heard something whistle. He kept on walking but it whistled again. So he went looking for what was making that noise and he found that stone setting by a fence post. I heard that stone whistle sometimes when he was doctoring. He also had a tie made out of beadwork. Lots of times a doctor would pay some woman to make him a real fine basket or some bead work because that's what his power told him to do."

Washo doctors often worked together on "tough" cases. One such was the treatment of what seems to have been an infected elbow by my informant's uncle and Blind Mike. The first step in the process was to blow smoke in a circle around the painful area so that the sickness [755] couldn't move. This was followed by singing, rattling, and sucking until something bright began to come out. It was, according to witnesses, as bright as a star, so bright in fact that even Blind Mike could see it. The bright object proved to be (if we can trust descriptions) the stone and setting of a cheap ring which was removed from the sore arm. It is interesting to note that while this process was successful my informant seemed to consider the cure less than one-hundred-per-cent effective because the woman who was being treated died two years later.

778 Doctors were privy to a number of secrets which
756 were not common knowledge among most Washo. Such
a secret was the cave reputed to be inside Cave Rock
[424] at Lake Tahoe. This cave was a retreat for shamans who went there to commune with their spirits or to secrete a particularly important piece of paraphernalia. The cave could be entered through a narrow opening on the landward side, but most shamans preferred a more dramatic entrance. By standing on a certain rock and singing a special song they were lowered through the water and then lifted into the cave. The last doctor to attempt this was Blind Mike. He was directed [787] to go to the cave in a dream. However, he permitted

[P.374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2546)

991
[756] [624] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe [828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of [178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In 987 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, [621] pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last semisomadic bands in the middle 1920's, [178] as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at [539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my hus[828] band about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

[P.394, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2548)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

[535] [721] [224] Until very recent times a dream was justification for almost any group activity. The most common motivation for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[756] Those dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer appears to have been one of the important factors in attaining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

791 622 Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 178 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Antelope dreaming is no longer important because there are [224] no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 825 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[1] Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

764 [P. 378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died,
768 following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary
178 house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

768 While I was in Dresslerville an Indian of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away
[776] evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom
[775] said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The
[821] Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

764 After the Washo return home from a funeral, they
515 immediately wash their faces and hands. They would
783 not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

775 The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the
[756] trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could
[787] elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death,
[768] or have not been given the things they wanted when
[782] buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To pre-
[551] vent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut
[648] lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name
[551] the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid look-
[821] ing at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

224 [134] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-[538] law who remembered the antelope songs.
[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

● [787] [624] [791] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered to be magical by this informant who said:

224 789 "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or, for fun but we want you for fine food,' or something like that. [533] I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of [186] antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by [114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-94).--The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady decline in the number of deer. All informants agree that [484] in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. 224 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 624 There was, however, a special leader who directed 787 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 791 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

791 dreamers. This power made him extremely influential
224 among the Washo, and his descendants are considered
624 among the claimants for the 'chieftainship.' There ap-
pear to have been formalized prayers which were said
787 before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday.
[782] In the words of one informant: 'Nowadays anybody can
just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.' They have to
224 hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs dur-
178 ing the week.'

[464] The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit
driving is not complete, however, and many Washo pre-
fer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian
624 colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim
224 that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that
178 his presence is important to other Indians. His role
[182] is that of leader or captain who superintends the order
[177] and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep
a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was
fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1956, states
that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the
group. When he asked what the leader was doing he
224 met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man
535 was praying. In the period covered by the memory of
my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly
during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably de-
scribed as 'just for fun' and probably was more social
than religious, but such dancing appears to have been
part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions
such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and
the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever ten-
dency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of ante-
lope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a
growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which
precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 Bear (298, 2556-2561).—Bear hunting appears never
[262] to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo.
Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever
eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave
a direct answer to the question of why they hunted
bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that
the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation condi-
tions but was never eaten regularly.

224 On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able
539 to describe in detail the method of hunting and they
obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The fol-
lowing story told to me by one of the oldest men in
Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a
very old man, is consistent with the stories told by
other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear.
> But I know this much . . . the man who went in
> there and did it tells me . . . bears have their
> own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the
> rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow
> in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light
> scares him out [the bear], then other men shoot
> the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer
> hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for
> four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man
> goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this."

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[787] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[791] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(253a-396)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning seasons. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (fly), called xutaavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi bahnda by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

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"This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more."

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"Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

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Susie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1950, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

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Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of seminunity and prosperity.

[756]

Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

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Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11]Used in an adjectival sense. In the references below prayer is used substantivally.

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[12]No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the times, places, or those present.

The Washo built a covered fishing platform (ma?angal) out over a quiet pool in the river where a man would wait for fish to come to spear them. Two or three large poles were extended out over a river or all the way across a smaller stream. The poles may actually slant from the bank to the river bottom. It was important to have the poles either in or close to the water and not too high above the river. A small blind was constructed over the top and sides with cedar or other branches. Most of the floor was left open so the fisherman could spear down through open sections of his platform. The term ma?angal also refers to a brush blind used in hunting water fowl or a rock pile blind used to hunt woodchucks.

The windbreak (gadu) (Plate V,B) was made in a semicircle about 8 to 10 feet across and 4 to 5 feet high of limbs placed in an arch covered with any convenient brush or limbs. Another type of windbreak was made by placing a large pole in the crotch of a tree and then leaning wood against the pole. Either of these windbreak could be used to drift the snow up away from the front of the galis dangal.

The distinction between a gadu and ta?a lay in their respective functions of breaking the wind or blowing sand and of shading from the sun. A Washo may refer to his gadu or anything that gives him shade as his ta?a, but a structure was made with the sole function of shading. This was made by placing four (or more) posts in the ground in the form of a rectangle, placing poles between the tops of the posts, and covering the roof with brush.

The Washo shaman borrowed heavily from the surrounding tribes for his ritual paraphernalia and activities. The shaman was the primary innovator and he knew the medicines and practices of other peoples better than the rest of the Washo. The Washo sweat house (itgumdosha, "it is for sweating" or tashmangal) is a good example of this. The Washo generally did not use sweat houses, but the Washo shaman did. Omer Stewart's (1939) informants described a gabled type of sweat house. Hank Pete told of a little rock sided sweat house that a shaman might use when he began to dream. James (1956, 36) reported the use of a sweat house similar to the one described by Pete to rid oneself of the "Indian smell" while hunting.

Pete said that smooth flat rocks were piled up to about three feet in height in a small circle, the floor was dug down a little, and a fire built inside. It was just big enough for the fire and one person to lie down. A few limbs were placed across the top and the heat of the fire reflecting from the rock sides caused the person to sweat. The shaman would lie there and sweat, talk and pray, fast, and then take a bath in water.

In a similar line with the sweat house was the innovation of a dance house (loshmangal) built at Woodfords (ca. 50 yards east of the intersection of the Diamond Valley Road and California State Highway 4) by George Possuk and Molly Pete in 1893 where what people called the "war dance"

1 [see cat. 116, end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
765 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegelèya, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an
756 insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[782] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[987] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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(777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
(224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
(574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-
(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
(856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
(824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-
(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
(778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
(533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

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The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, [775] the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the [753] disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through [754] sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. [756] The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision [787] that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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755 178 756 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

527 791 824 222 (787) (782) (535) One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

222 824 527 (791) (262) (211) (624) Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 527 (515) (525) (616) The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 bear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
● 787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [785] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
[92] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

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Beliefs about the causes of disease and curing methods depend to a great extent on supernatural power and ghosts. Soul loss, an encounter with a ghost, and sorcery are three causes of illness involving the supernatural. The first is apparently rare: the taking of the boy's soul by the water-baby in the Welukŭshkush story recounted above is the only case we have recorded. Encounters with ghosts are more common. Our informants reported seven such encounters and made one general statement about this cause of sickness. The ghost causes illness, says Rupert, by "drying up the person's blood." It is possible, however, that ghosts kill by stealing a person's soul, for our informants often speak of the desire of the ghost to "take the relative back with him." However, no informant declared specifically that ghosts capture souls.

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Diseases caused by sorcery are also common. Our informants reported three cases and made four general statements about this source of disease. All the statements and two of the three cases indicate that sorcery involves nonrelatives, but in the case of diseases caused by ghosts the ghost and his victim are usually related. Sorcerers are persons with supernatural power who cause illness by magically shooting some object into their victim. They accomplish this simply by thinking about the person they wish to make ill or else by blowing their breath in his direction. Lowie's various accounts of sorcerers casting their spells differ from the statements of our informants. Lowie describes one sorcerer as spitting into his right palm and clenching his fist. Then he opens his fist, the thumb separated from the fingers (Lowie, 1939, 319). On another occasion, "The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without anyone's suspecting the cause, so that he would die.... Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

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Some diseases have no supernatural cause and may be treated by anyone with one of the large number of vegetable medicines known to the Washo. However, some of the best of these medicines are gathered by shamans who, in dreams, learn where they grow. The shaman may then sell these medicines or give them away.

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[787]

Shamans cure supernaturally caused diseases by means of their powers. The shaman uses a set of implements (wegeléyu) in curing ceremonies. Each shaman dreams of his implements, and these therefore differ slightly among shamans.

755 When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in
756 which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The
775 shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient
[787] wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

753 Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting
756 from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a per-
[778] son either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second
[787] illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

721 Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power
756 played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served
[752] two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep
[789] the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

726 Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in
756 warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the
789 neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band
821 of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

721 Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held be-
754 cause the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany
756 them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

One use in deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

Actually, the Washo seem to have held a dual conception of the shaman; he had the ability both to kill and to cure, and this coincided with the Washo view of the supernatural beings that inhabited nature. The Washo regarded their world as pervaded with power, which was a vague and enormous force embodied in a multitude of spirits. These spirits resided in natural and supernatural forms, such as birds, animals and "water-babies." Communion with these spirits came in dreams and provided the power by which a person could "exercise a possible measure of control over the fortunes and hazards of life" (Siskin, 1941, 27). To exercise this power and thus become a shaman was possible, however, only after a spirit presented itself to a neophyte, who cultivated it by proper training. Thus the vision quest was not practiced, though Downs notes that in actual practice it was probably a "conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual" (1961, 370). In the case of children, Siskin quotes an informant as saying that one as young as seven years old could dream about a spirit, but he "will not know what it is all about" (1941, 41). A shaman, however, could recognize when a child had been visited and would entreat the spirit not to harm the child and to leave him until he had grown up.

Obtaining a spirit was looked upon as being both good and bad. Its entrance into a person was accompanied by sickness, and its instructions often produced physical hardships by demanding a rigorous pattern of behavior, including abstention from certain foods, during the training period. On the other hand, possession of a spirit gave its carrier powerful controls over his fellow man and his environment.

The possession of a spirit permitted an individual to become a shaman or so-called Indian doctor, with the ability to cure illnesses, but at the same time, he had the potential of practicing black magic and becoming a sorcerer. Indeed, the Washo did not terminologically distinguish between shaman and sorcerer, and the dual nature of this role was best exemplified in cases of illness. It was the responsibility of the Indian doctor to deal with all maladies. After performing a four day ritual of bringing his power to bear on the diseased object that had intruded the patient, the doctor would then extract the item. The reasons given for the cause of the disease were many, and included violation of ritual specifications connected with hunting, malevolence of ghosts, and contact with the dead. The most frequent reason given for illness, however, was witchcraft, which shamans were expected to cure since one of them was always thought responsible for the condition (Siskin, 1941, 140). This duality of the shamans was definitely considered to be weighted toward the negative side. More often than not a patient would die, and this was considered proof of the evil nature of shamans. The Washo believed that even if a shaman were to cure someone one day, this same person could be his victim the next. Siskin believed that "the feeling of apprehension and anxiety with regard to sorcery may be said to permeate the culture," and this also

Scotch's informants suggested a slightly different reason for the potential failure of shamanism: "...in order to be a shaman, one has to be chosen by a visit of a supernatural being in a dream and...'powers that be' are no longer visiting the Washo" (1957, 83). The elderly Washo still believed in witchcraft, let it be understood, but they did not believe anyone continued to practice it.

Downs (1961, 373) has come to a different conclusion concerning the future of the shamans and it is important to quote him at length:

> "Despite a belief in and a dependence on shamanistic curing or its latter-day counterpart, the peyote curing session, most Washo are willing patients of white doctors. This suggests that perhaps the old views are disappearing under the scientific certainty of Western Medicine. Quite the reverse seems true, however. Every failure of white medicine strengthens the Indians' belief that the real source of curing power is a gift from nature. Every success is attributed to assistance the white men have received from Indians' power. When asked the direct question: 'Why aren't there so many Indian doctors today?' my informant answered: 'Well, Indians just don't need all that power today. The white doctors know a lot of things and can cure sickness pretty good. In the old days we didn't know them things so we had to have them real powers.' This attitude, that nature provided whatever was necessary for Washo survival, crops up in other contexts....Far from disappearing, the old notions seem to be maintaining a strong hold on the minds of the Washo. As the number of active peyotists dwindle (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957), one gets the impression that the shamanistic forms may again become a more important part of Washo life."

It is not clear, however, whether such a revival of shamanism as perceived by Downs would include the attendant beliefs in witchcraft as well, for the faith in the one remaining shaman indicated that even though the Washo do not terminologically distinguish between shamans and sorcerers, they can accept the idea that a shaman may be wholly "good."

The demise of the shamans has a number of alternative implications for the frustration-aggression hypothesis. First, the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life. Second, aggressions formerly directed toward shamans may have been redirected into other institutionalized outlets. Finally, the aggressions may not have been adjusted to the new circumstances and have yet to find a socially acceptable manner for their release. On the other hand, given the position of Nadel, we might expect that a decrease in the fear of shamans

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

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Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787]
[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kc	Kn	Ts	Tc	Pa	Wa	At	Sm	Tg	Mo	Kl	All
2471. Shamanistic powers received: in childhood	o	o	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2472. Any time	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2473. Power inherited from father	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2474. From mother	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2475. Before relative's death	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2476. After relative's death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2477. Source of power in natural dreams (unsought)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2478. Sought in mountains	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2481. Shaman interprets vision	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2482. Shaman supervises sick youth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485a. Youth does not disclose dreams	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Power may be refused	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2484. One doctor has several powers	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2485. Vision gives: songs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2486. Dances	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2487. Paraphernalia	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2488. Paint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2489. Methods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2490. Doctor's assistant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2491. Equipment of various doctors: stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2492. Tomtom	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2493. Eagle down	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2494. Fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2495. Clay	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2496. Lumlee rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2496a. Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2497. Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2498. Flute	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2499. Loss of equipment dangerous to doctor	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2500. Curing Performances	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2501. Performance in outdoor brush enclosure	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2502. In house	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2503. Doctor sings	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2504. Audience joins song	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2505. Doctor smokes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2506. Assistant lights his pipe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507. Pipe passed to right	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2507a. Left (clockwise)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2508. Doctor talks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2509. Assistant interprets	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2510. Doctor shouts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2511. Doctor walks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2512. Doctor sucks out of patient:	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2513. Blood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2514. Snake	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2515. Flint	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2516. Stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2517. Worm	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2518. Other or various objects	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519. Doctor sucks through: mouth only	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2519a. Bone	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2520. Stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2522. Feather	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2523. Doctor goes into trance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2524. Doctor vomits disease object	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2525. Doctor spits out disease object	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526. Doctor exhibits disease object	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2526a. Rubs object on hand	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2527. Doctor blows away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2528. Doctor brushes away disease	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 756
NWA 757
NWA 756
NWA 755

[p. 413]

4: Stewart E-5 (1936) 1941 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13

Washo, NT20 ●
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ya	Ki	Ke	Ko	Yo	Ye	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Yg	Wd	Ki	At	
2579. To spirit (sunypo)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 776
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	782
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2586. When hunting	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA 787 ●
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA 757
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kwaipe)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tasawa or mugwa)															NW 775
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	763
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	
2602a. To doctor only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2603. Ghost audible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2604. Ghost feared	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Ghost in whirlwind (pitcuawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NWA 787
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2609a. Speculorite (pudupi) sprinkled to nullify	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
"Kaipo" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N 276
2613. Properties and name known	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
DANCES															NWA 535
2614. Circle Dance (nagawa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2617. At fall pine-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	
2619. In summer	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NW [787]
2621. To make seeds grow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	

[p. 415]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Ts	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
Whirlwind (pitsumava)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2733a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2745. Informants had only heard of them	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

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Hallucinations obtained from eating peyote are extremely varied and individually interpreted. In such visions, the teachings of peyote, all manner of warnings and recommendations, as well as punishments or rewards for past actions, are received. Peyote is said to reveal to the faithful all knowledge essential for life, the price being continued devotion.

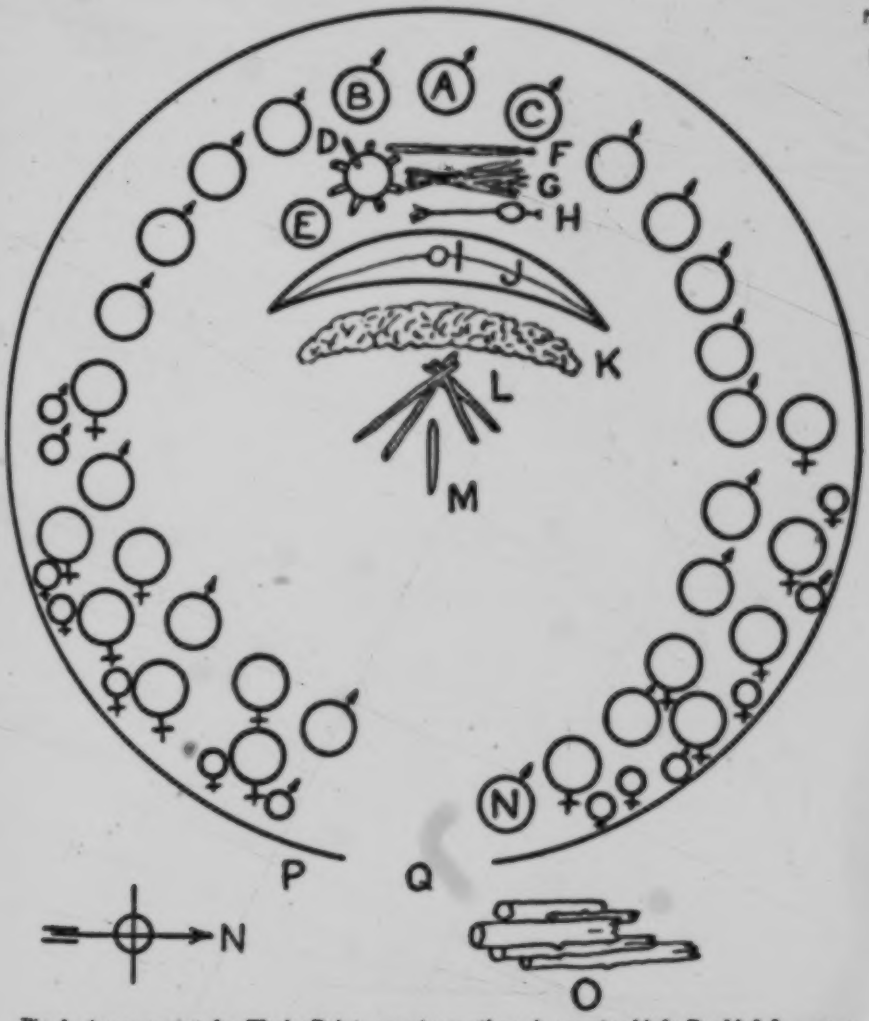

Fig. 1. Arrangement for Washo-Paiute peyote meeting. A, peyote chief; B, chief drummer; C, cedarman; D, drum and drumstick; E, bucket; F, staff; G, fan; H, rattle; I, large peyote button (Chief Peyote); J, moon or altar; K, ash moon; L, fire; M, fire stick; N, fire chief; O, wood supply; P, tipi or wall of canvas; Q, entrance.

The manner in which peyote cures has not been clearly conceptualized, but cleansing poisons from the body (sometimes vomiting) usually is thought of great

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played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joaquin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[a]

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[b] Except when persistently

[a] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[b] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[a] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[b] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[c] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[d]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[e] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[a] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[b] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[c] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[a] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[b] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[c] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[d] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

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if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."[6] Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

[6] Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

[7] Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1925, 188–200, and many others.

[8] Steward, 1933, 318.

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Prau). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Vogt).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WR8: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 268a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Cowhute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Vogt). WR8: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Vogt). WR8: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Vogt).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223-225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Prau). Gos: See note 268a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WR8: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Prau).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Vogt).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251-265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154-58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Prau). WR8: *čamé apé* (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form *ni'mé apé* (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Maloof).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Prau).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ena) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'eŋ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

a new area. In effect the net owner would receive a number of rabbits in proportion to the length of his net because he and his household would collect the rabbits that came into his net, a section of the combined nets. The drivers would receive only those rabbits they killed before they reached the nets, but the drivers usually belonged to a household that had a net. These drives are reported to have brought in thousands of rabbits.

Antelope drives were organized by a shaman leader who received more of the meat than the drivers because of his special service in charming the animals. Drives for ducklings and mud hens sometimes involved two or three households and the catch was always divided equally. Duckling drives are apparently the only times when tule boats were used. Washoe Lake was the major place for duckling drives.

Fishing activities were organized on a small scale. Most fish were taken by spearing, often from fish blinds built over a section of the stream. One method was to divert small streams (dum¢¢sh) and pick up the stranded fish. Another method used a basketry fish trap anchored in a narrow spot on a stream.

In addition there were fish drives using dams (imbeshuk)[1] or fish nets (atabi digush). The drives usually involved only a single household, but occasionally individuals from more than one household would work together in driving the fish, often with a large bundle of willow branches (b¢l¢shi) that was pushed along (Freed n.d.). The work of diverting a stream often involved members of more than one household, but in any case the division of products was approximately equal according to the number of adult workers. Men did most of the fishing, but there was no opposition to women fishing as there was to women hunting. Downs (1961, 381) said "Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting."

Pinenut gathering was organized to some degree on a tribal wide basis. There were traditional gathering strips for the various households. Prayers and ritual were given for the whole pinenut crop before gathering began at the fall pinenut festival (tagum gumsabay?). Distribution of the pinenut crop depended primarily on the amount of work put in, while location of a household's gathering strips (dimasha) was of only minor importance.

Gift and Ceremonial Exchange

Gift and ceremonial exchange was characterized by being personal, friendly, and by increasing in volume with the intensity of social ties. The reciprocity

1. Fremont saw these in January of 1844 among the Northern Paiute and Washo (Nevins 1956, 343).

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In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

791

This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow*-proof Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

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Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Ceremonialism

Sweat Lodge

515 Dave said the Washo never sweated, but he had seen the Paviotso of Pyramid Lake sweating by pouring water on rocks,—in order to reduce their fat, a friend from there had told Dave. Notwithstanding this denial, sweating (tito'etu'ive) was a Washo practice, though of peculiar type and restricted to one special occasion. Sometimes a man who had been hunting deer in vain would build a small booth, make a charcoal fire there, enter, and sweat. No rocks were heated, and there was no attempt to produce vapor. After sweating, the hunter went to the river and took a swim. On the following day he would see a deer. The booth was called pəbə"taiy t'a'ya, little house; whether this is a specific name for the institution, is not clear. Bill gave another term, a'yalita kumto'ea.

Bill, whose father had sweated as a deer hunter, said that before jumping into the creek the sweater put medicine on his head and rubbed it into his hair.

My information thus contradicts Kroeber's,[113] who records—though as a probably recent intrusion—the Plains Indian type of skin- or mat-covered booth heated by steam.

Antelope Charming

624 The Antelope chief (al'yas kumomli") was distinct from the tribal chief and the leaders of the deer hunt and jack-rabbit hunt, respectively. He alone got his power by dreaming, that is, was a shaman (Dave). No Antelope chief was living in 1926, so the following statement refers wholly to the past. Jack had seen one Antelope chief, but even in his youth antelope had become scarce.

The Antelope chief sees some antelope in a dream. He reflects about it and goes to the place dreamt about in the mountains. He sees two or three head, then he knows his dream is true. He begins to talk to them. He does not tell anyone as yet, but keeps his own counsel and studies the matter himself. He continues dreaming three or four times. Then he begins talking to the antelope, taking a pipe. He wants to see what he can do. He looks at the antelope, he lets them see him walking alongside of them; they do not run away. He does this two or three times. Soon he tells the people to come together and says, "My people, I have dreamt truly or falsely, I don't know which. In the place I dreamt of last night there were forty antelope banded together. If I dreamt truly, you'll see them there this morning." He sends two boys to the place as scouts. They look for game and see ten or fifteen head feeding there together. The boys do not let the antelope see them. They go back and tell the chief, "Your dream is true, we saw a herd right there." That evening he studies the matter again while in bed. He dreams again and tells his people, "Well, I dreamt last night, I dreamt right before. I dreamt of two antelope last night, you fellows drove them into the corral, we all killed them and had something to eat." The old people answer: "Yes, if you dreamt right, we'll have meat, we'll try tomorrow to go after them."

[113] Kroeber, Handbook, 572.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

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A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ca) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke's! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

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824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825 [224] [262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23 [262] [224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

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When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

756 778 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which [278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was [752] poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

MOBCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

756 789 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the [114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2566)

821 791 789 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by [756] individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

[P.391, B]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

● 789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
821 Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in
Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility
[648] or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[231] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (233-231)
[437] The tall feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic
[234] times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power
[756] of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly
[795] Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, 8]

754 killings reported among these people could probably be attributed to revenge for, or prevention of, antisocial use of power.

One woman, now dead, was described as probably a witch. The wife of the dinner mentioned earlier was considered a powerful and dangerous woman. She was [527] useful to the community because she knew prayers and songs for the pine-nut celebration, but dangerous, particularly if she met you at night. One informant describes the attitude of the rest of the community toward her.

> "She used to come around at night and knock on your door and say she was lost. She came here one night and pounded on the door with her cane but we wouldn't let her in. After she went away my husband ● [789] rolled up a newspaper and set it on fire and ran it along the inside of the door where she had knocked. I don't know why he did that except we was afraid of her."

Stewart also reports this attitude toward the same woman (1941, p. 444; 1942).

The woman who told me this story is herself under the shadow of indictment for witchcraft. Curiously enough the same phrase, "I am afraid of her," serves as an accusation. She and her sister-in-law quarreled [607] over the disposal of her husband's body two years ago. Since that time they have not spoken, and the sister-in-law has been proclaiming her fear.

WAR POWER

724 The Washo have not engaged in real hostilities with the Miwok or Maidu for well over a century and Paiute hostilities appear to have taken the form of occasional defensive skirmishes; thus the details of war magic are vague. However, Washo tradition repeatedly mentions a month-long period during which doctors gathered and made medicine against the enemy before [754] launching a campaign. Usually this took place at Woodfords, which was the site of a large earth lodge dance [344] house copied after Miwok structures and described as [177] "where the young men learned them Miwok dances." [535] (A second dance house is known to have existed in Sierra Valley, attributed to the Maidu. It fell into disuse after the death of its owner.)

SUMMARY OF SHAMANISM

756 182 Although there appears to be only a single practicing shaman among the Washo today (and he certainly not a practitioner of the old school), it would be a mistake, in my opinion, to claim that Washo shamanism is a thing of the past. Few, if any, Washo over forty have not attended a shamanistic curing ceremony and many have been patients. Even those Indians who have rejected shamanism as old fashioned—or in deference to white attitudes—give one the impression of "protesting too much" in their denial of old beliefs. The woman who took her granddaughter to Rupert, the curer, is among the most progressive of the Washo. [177] She is a nominal Christian, active in an informal way as a representative of her people before white authority, and is most apt to deny supernatural explanations of historic incidents. Nonetheless she has faith in the power of this modern shaman and in the cures reported for the old-time shamans.

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

971 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of [847] [848] the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(3178-2203)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) – Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from mamanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

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When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

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Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-759).

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To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said

[522]

to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the pos-

[787]

sessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

224
[136]

Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [177] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs. [538]

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the [624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered [791] to be magical by this informant who said:

> "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few 224 piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they 789 was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of [186] antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by [114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit 185 appears to have been changing in its importance dur- 178 ing the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides [237] were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de- [484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope 224 complex to the rabbit hunt.

[171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no [535] mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. 224 There was, however, a special leader who directed 624 the hunt. In later times these men were credited with 787 dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack 791 Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented

● [789] the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The

[764] rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the

[177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with

825 771 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

825 771 the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

226 ●789 Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [439] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were con- [262] sidered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

784 224 227 841 [562] [783] A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
● [789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
[796] dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
[535] dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P. 383, B]

222 ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

527 Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances
[754] have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 After a number of years without a dance, the custom
527 was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The
178 dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played
[535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particu-
[177] larly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days.
[801] They implied that those who insisted on this were simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 The following incident illustrates the attitude most
824 conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de-
[782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 There seems to have been little ritual involved in
● 789 other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (2621). This practice must have been occasional and
[182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

297 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women. Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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[881]

Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the

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skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764]
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and slightly roasted in hot sand. This would form a sort of rouge stick. It was also applied on previously greased skin. 302 386

The yellow (waltsatsini) and black (wčlyauwi) pigments were mixed with fat or grease. Black came from a mineral, powder, or soot. These colors stayed on only a short time, the black an hour or two and the yellow slightly longer.

The white pigment (dipčk) was a chalk mixed with water that would stay about as long as the black. One place this was gathered was in the south central end of Carson Valley. [317]

One design for war was red all over and then 1/2 black and 1/2 white over that. This was thought to make the warrior partially invisible. When the tribe divided for games the west side (tanglelčl tayadi) would paint their faces red, braid their hair, and would not wear a feather. The east side (paolelčl tayadi) used white face paint and wore an eagle feather in their hair. [726] [789] [616] [526]

Houses

Ingalls (1913, 23) wrote "They are more filthy than beasts, and live in habitations which, summer and winter, are nothing more than circular inclosures, about five feet high, without roof, made of artemisia or sage-brush, or branches of cedar thrown around on the circumference of a circle, and which serve only to break the wind. As the temperature in winter must at times be as low as zero, it will be perceived they must suffer considerably. Anything like a covered lodge, or wick-e-up of any sort, to protect them from rain, cold or snow, Captain Simpson did not see among them." 342 [181] [132]

The root for house in Washo is angal. The winter house is galis dangal, the sweat house is tashmangal, and the brush blind and fishing house is ma?angal. The Washo also built a summer or temporary shelter (gadu) and a summer shade (ta?a). [192]

The galis dangal (Plate V,A) literally means "winter house", but it was used the year around or left in the summer and returned to in the winter. If it had been built by a family one winter and the next summer someone of the family died while at Lake Tahoe or elsewhere away from the galis dangal, the family would return sometime that year to the galis dangal to tear it down, leaving everything to rot. A less common alternative was to burn the dwelling. The deceased would be buried wherever he died. The practice was to tear the building down when a member of the family who had lived in it died, even if the death did not occur within the house. In recent years it became the [768] [754] [178]

[P.353, B]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

128 undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

778 776 82 Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for [262] food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

778 [787] Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems [888] that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

778 787 821 Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegeléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stron-
721 ger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegeléyu song and shake his rattle
714 over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still
75 unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
754 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
754 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[775] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegeléyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose gen-
888 eralized power (not wegeléyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. [551] There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in front of the deceased's close relatives.

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Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

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[761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

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"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musĕge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musĕge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

	Ts	K1	K2	Kn	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AR
2529. Doctor sprinkles water on patient	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2530. Blows water from mouth	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+
2531. Doctor presses ashes on patient	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2532. Doctor lays hands on patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2533. Doctor touches patient with stick	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–
2533a. Doctor paints patient	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2534. Doctor touches patient with fire drill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2534a. With eagle feathers	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2535. Doctor handles fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2536. Places hands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2537. Picks up fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2538. Stands in fire	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2539. Puts coals in mouth	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–
2540. Sleight-of-hand	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2541. Doctor recovers lost soul	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	–
2542. Doctor's soul leaves body	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2544. Doctor exhibits and restores soul	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
Special Powers of Shaman														
2545. Rattlesnake-bite-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+
2546. Power from dream of rattlesnake	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	•	+	+	+	+	–	–
2547. Dream of buzzard	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2548. Power to handle snakes	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2549. Curing by sucking	+	+	+	+	•	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+
2549a. By tying with horsehair	•	+	+	+	•	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2550. By sucking out snake	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	+	–	–
2551. Wound-curing power	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	•	+	+	+	+	•
2552. Power from dream of closing hole	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2553. Weather-control power, special dream	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•	+	•
2553a. Jack Wilson only weather-control shaman	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	•	–	–	–	+	–	–
2554. Power to make rain	+	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+
2555. Make rain stop	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
2556. Make wind to remove snow	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2557. Childbirth shaman: male	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2557a. Female	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2558. Bear shaman: impersonates bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•	–	–	+	+	–	–
2559. Transforms self into bear	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2560. Power of rapid travel	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2561. Invulnerable	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–
2562. Poisoners distinct from doctors	–	•	–	+	+	+	+	•	+	–	+	+	+	+
2562a. Poisoners called stukapuharai	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
2563. Power from coyote	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–
2564. Power from various animals	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2566. Power to foretell future	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
Miscellaneous														
2567. Shaman may decline case	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2568. Killed for declining	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•
2569. Unsuccessful shaman returns fee	+	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	•	+	+	+	–
2570a. New doctor assists old ones	•	+	+	+	–	–	+	•	+	–	–	–	–	+
2571. New doctor demonstrates power	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2572. By free doctoring	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2572a. By free doctoring 3 times or more	•	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2574. Prayers to personal power (guardian spirit) (ijumamima)	+	•	–	+	•	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2575. To nature	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–
2576. To sun	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2577. Offerings to "nature"	–	–	–	–	•	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2578. To ghost (tsaavm)	–	•	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	Kl	Ku	To	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE	
2579. To spirit (sunupo)	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	NWA 776 782
2580. To night	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2581. Offerings of: food	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2581a. At spring dance	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2582. Game	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2583. Seeds	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2584. Tobacco	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2585. Shell beads	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	
2586. Offerings: at meals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	
2589. When hunting	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	
2590. When 1st seeds gathered	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Guardian Spirits															NWA 787
2591. Source: childhood dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2592. Adult dreams	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2593. Various powers received from spirits	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
Nonshamanistic Curing															NWA 757
2594. Special herb doctors	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2595. Blood-letting	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2596. Sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
Destiny of Soul															
2597. Spirit goes above, to sky	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2598. Spirit travels south and up	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2599. Spirit goes along Milky Way (kusipo)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	
Ghosts or Souls (tsaavu or mugua)															NW 775 763
2600. Ghost leaves body: at death	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	
2601. Shortly before death	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2602. Ghost visible: to anyone	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2602a. To doctor only	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	
2603. Ghost audible	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	
2604. Ghost feared	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2605. Ghost in whirlwind (pitsumavu)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	
2606. Dreaming of dead is ill omen	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	N NWA 787
2607. Cold bath to nullify	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2608. Prayer to nullify	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	
2609. Smoke blown to nullify	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	
2609a. Speculorite (yadupi) sprinkled to nullify	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	
"Wuipo" (possibly Jimsonweed)															N 276
2613. Properties and name known	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	
DANCES															
2614. Circle Dance (mugava)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	NWA 535
2615. Brush corral	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	
2616. Performances: at fall rabbit hunt	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	
2617. At fall pinon-nut harvest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	
2618. In spring	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2619. In summer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	
2620. Purpose: mainly pleasure	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	NW [785]
2621. To make seeds grow	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	

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NWA 824 776 789

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AR
	Whirlwind (pitcumava)														
	2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2730. People throw water on whirlwind	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA 787	**Omens**														
	2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
	2732. You will carry a deer	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+
	2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2731a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2737. Magpie call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2738. Crow call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2739. Dove call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2740. Meadowlark call	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
	2740a. Coyote call	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA 784	**Various** (See also 2295a-2301)														
	2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-
	2741a. Finger rots	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2741b. Hand deforms	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
N 753	2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2743. Gopher	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	Petroglyphs														
NW 172	2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-
	2745. Informants had only heard of them	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-
	2748. "Devil"	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

In such cases the doctor's friends, recognizing his guilt, made no attempt to avenge his death. Sometimes when a shaman had poisoned several persons, four or five Washo would get together and say, "We have got to kill him, or you and I'll be poisoned." Dave dictated the following relevant sentences in Washo:

[539] **The doctor is mad. He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days.**

Sometimes another shaman finds out about the poisoning, and then the victim's father may get one of his other sons to kill the sorcerer. "This is the old Washo way," said Dave.

Notwithstanding the benevolence Dave ascribed to a doctor (p. 318), he made it clear that the same man who cured by suction might at another time poison a man he hated. This was not like white people's poisoning. The sorcerer merely took a bath in the cool of the early morning on four successive days and talked to himself. When ready, he would get within possibly five hundred yards of his victim. Then he would rub some stuff into the palm of his hand till it became invisible. He also took some fine sand and stepped on it with his left foot. His victim would fall sick, and within two days the heart would be knocked out of him without any one's suspecting the cause, so that he would die. This happened about seventy years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926) to two white men who had refused to give a doctor bread. Some doctors used a different procedure, picking up dust and scattering it toward their enemy with their hands.

Shamanistic power was not confined to causing and curing disease, but also involved various forms of wonderworking. The method of luring antelope into a pound (p. 325) was conveyed in a dream, and so was ability to withstand bullets. About the latter Dave had heard his brother tell the following story:

[224] **One Washo Indian dreamt about bullets and guns. He called together some of his relatives. "I want to show you my dreams. I've been dreaming four years now. I thought it left me, but still I am dreaming. I'll see whether I dream right or not." To the boys he said, "Sit down." He took five round bullets, dug a little hole in the ground, and made fine dust. He put the bullets into the hole. "Watch." The biggest boy was about thirteen or fourteen. "See if the bullets melt down." The dreamer took four smokes—of cigarettes of Indian tobacco. When he lit the last one, he said, "Look at the bullet, see what is going to happen." The bullets had all melted; they cooled down flat. He picked them up. "That's the way I dreamt. I dreamt right. I dreamt about bullets and powder."**

He did the same way with powder. He got half a teaspoonful of powder and put it into the hole. He rolled tobacco in four pieces and smoked. After the last one, he told the others present to watch. "See what the powder will turn into; I dreamt it would be water." It melted down to water. "I dreamt right, I'll do something else after a while."

He loaded a gun and told an old man to shoot him. "I dare not; perhaps I'll kill you." "Try it; I dreamt I'd never get shot, the gun would never go off." He cocked the hammer and got it ready. "See if you can shoot me with the gun. I put my mind on it." The old man asked the dreamer's son, "Shall we kill your father?" "Well, try; maybe the bullets don't go to him. Maybe his dream is right; we'll find out." The man pointed the gun at the dreamer's heart. He tried to pull the trigger. "Pull as hard as you can." It stuck. "I can't make it go off." The dreamer said, "Let me try the gun." "The trigger does not work." He pointed it at a stick and discharged it. "That's the way I dreamt about this gun."

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

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Soon he did something else. He took a long, strong line and made one man hold either end and tighten it. He put a bullet on the string. "See if the bullet doesn't work the way I dreamt. If it doesn't go across the string, don't believe in my dreams. Now watch; it'll go quickly." He put it on the string; it went across as if on a level table, and came back again.

All his friends said, "It works as he dreamt; he dreamt right." He dreamt about three things—bullets, powder, and the gun. No one could make the gun go off except himself. He wanted to try another way. He put down a piece of iron. All looked at it. "Watch it; see if it moves by itself, without anyone's handling it." The iron was the length of a pencil and about two inches thick. "I am ready now." The iron stood up on one end by itself. They said, "You dreamt right."

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This happened about 45 years ago (Dave *loq.* 1926). The old man put everything he dreamt into his house. It burned up. Thereafter he had no more power and could not dream of anything any more. This dreamer was not a doctor. He was a homely old man.

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Strangely enough, neither Dave nor Bill had heard of any *arrow*-proof Washo, but Bill told such a tale about a "Paiute" from Schurz, Nevada, which happened before any whites were there. This Paiute said, "Nobody can kill me by shooting, I am tough." He had something hard and circular all about his body, but no one knew what it was. People would shoot at him, but their arrows merely glanced off. The shaman would sit down and sing, "Some of you think I am not tough, but I am pretty tough." Among the spectators were some Washo, who also tried to shoot the man, but failed. One of them said, "Don't talk so loud; he has something hidden there; I have seen it." He told his brother, "If you want to shoot him, aim straight in the middle." Then the speaker's brother did so, and his arrow entered the body of the shaman, who vainly tried to pull it out, shook and sang, but died on the spot. All the Paiute were angry, and a brother of the slain shaman killed one Washo; the rest ran away.

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Dave mentioned a wonderworker whose power explicitly did not come from dreams but was evidently reckoned equivalent. During a fight with the poorly clad Digger Indians, the Washo asked, "Have any of you a dream of a cold north wind?" One of them answered, "I have no dream, but I'll try to make one. I'll shout and smoke tobacco to make it come." He got on a big rock, and shouted three times, "Come, wind, we want the coldest night, we are fighting the Digger Indians and want to destroy them." Soon the wind came with dust. "Look at the wind coming," said the Indians. There was a big fire under the rock. Soon the Digger Indians followed a track, and two or three went into a badger hole to get warm. They died there. The water froze into ice an inch thick. All the enemy froze to death.

791

Rupert, the sophisticated young Washo referred to on page 304, was a mystic credited with shamanistic ambitions (in 1926). He spoke of one Monkey Peter, whom I was unable to meet, as a "philosopher." Rupert said he had seen a man with "mental power" step on fire without being hurt; and he had heard of a woman who had walked up the perpendicular side of a cliff.

756 778 his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which [278] doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. [752] They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quartz toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

[412] Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER
(2567-2593)

756 789 Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the [114] Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING
(2553-2556, 2566)

821 791 789 There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water [756] and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231)
1 The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance—taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power
[782] of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P. 374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

791
[756] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit
[624] boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe
[828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of
[178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In
787 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set-
[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing,
[621] pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1920's,
[178] as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at
[539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my hus-
[828] band about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

[P.394, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for almost any group activity. The most common motivation for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer appears to have been one of the important factors in attaining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[6] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Antelope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[6]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

224 [136] southern ranges of the Nevada herds. However, small herds did range in the eastern portion of Washo country, but the appearance of firearms and livestock eliminated the antelope completely in this area. One [177] informant, himself seventy-five, remembers stories [538] about the hunts, told to him by a very old brother-in-law who remembered the antelope songs.

[533] Another informant, generally a good source of hunting information, admitted that he did not know anything about the subject. He had never hunted antelope, nor had his father or uncles.

[787] The signal to hunt was a dream announcing the [624] presence of antelope to a dreamer, who acted as leader of the hunt. The entire process was considered [791] to be magical by this informant who said:

> 224 789 "There was really no corral. Mebbe just a few piles of brush. The people just danced around and sang, and that kept them antelope there like they was hypnotized. They could keep them right there all night that way. After they held them all night they'd start to slaughter at sunrise. They'd sing: 'We aren't doing this for meanness or for fun but [533] we want you for fine food,' or something like that. I heard the song once but I never learned it all. I wish I had, now."

[763] This informant was certain that the Washo did not expect a person to die as a result of the exercise of [186] antelope charming. He had heard of other tribes which believed this, and he thought it peculiar (Steward 1941: 218-220). This explanation compares favorably with the culture element distribution lists presented by [114] Stewart, which reported none of the traits usually considered as part of the shaman complex in antelope hunting common among Basin Shoshone and Paiute. (Stewart 1941; Steward 1941.)

224 185 178 [237] Rabbits (92-96).—The pursuit of the jack rabbit appears to have been changing in its importance during the past century. Several informants recall being told in their youth by old men that often only the hides were stripped from rabbits to make blankets, but that most of the meat was discarded because other game was plentiful. However, firearms and agriculture soon put an end to antelope hunting, and the trans-Sierran region, like most of the nation, suffered a steady de- [484] cline in the number of deer. All informants agree that in their own youth trips to California after deer were [136] necessary because there were almost no deer east of the Sierra. All Indians agree that the deer population in Nevada today is far greater than it was in the early years of this century. The decrease in antelope and deer forced a greater dependence on the jack rabbit as a source of food as well as fur. The communal nature of the rabbit hunt may have made possible a gradual transference of ritual traits from the antelope complex to the rabbit hunt.

224 [171] Traditionally the Washo drove rabbits into nets, a method common in the Basin. Stewart's notes, taken [535] from informants in their seventies in 1936, make no mention of any supernatural aspect of the rabbit drive. 224 624 787 791 Evening dancing during the rabbit drive was denied. There was, however, a special leader who directed the hunt. In later times these men were credited with dreaming power, as this quotation illustrates: "Jack Wallace would dream where the rabbits were and when it was time for hunting he would send out a call." The man mentioned was described as the last of the real

[P. 380, B]

791 224 624 787 [782] 224 178 [464] 624 224 178 [182] [177] 224 535

dreamers. This power made him extremely influential among the Washo, and his descendants are considered among the claimants for the "chieftainship." There appear to have been formalized prayers which were said before the hunt by a man with power over rabbits.

Today, rabbit hunts are invariably held on Sunday. In the words of one informant: "Nowadays anybody can just say 'Let's have a hunt this Sunday.'[9] They have to hunt on Sunday because most of the men have jobs during the week."

The disintegration of the ritualized aspects of rabbit driving is not complete, however, and many Washo prefer to hunt with a certain man who lives in the Indian colony at Carson City. While no one will openly claim that he has supernatural power, it seems clear that his presence is important to other Indians. His role is that of leader or captain who superintends the order and discipline of the line of hunters who today sweep a wide area, armed with shotguns. D'Azevedo, who was fortunate enough to take part in a hunt in 1955, states that prior to the hunt this man withdrew from the group. When he asked what the leader was doing he met evasion, and he concluded that perhaps the man was praying. In the period covered by the memory of my oldest informants, dances were often staged nightly during the rabbit drives. The dancing is invariably described as "just for fun" and probably was more social than religious, but such dancing appears to have been part of other ceremonial or semiceremonial occasions such as the girls' dances, first-fish ceremonies and the pine-nut dances. It seems clear that whatever tendency there was to shift the ritualized aspects of antelope hunting to rabbit drives has been stemmed by a growing dependence of the Washo on wage labor which precludes their response to dream-inspired hunts.

224 [262]

Bear (298, 2558-2561).—Bear hunting appears never to have been a subsistence activity among the Washo. Many informants stoutly deny that bear meat was ever eaten, although bear were hunted. No Washo ever gave a direct answer to the question of why they hunted bear if they didn't eat the meat. Others stated that the bear might be eaten in extreme starvation conditions but was never eaten regularly.

224 539

On the other hand, almost all Washo men were able to describe in detail the method of hunting and they obviously enjoyed telling bear-hunting stories. The following story told to me by one of the eldest men in Dresslerville, who claims it was told to him by a very old man, is consistent with the stories told by other informants.

> "There was hardly any Washo who kill bear. But I know this much . . . the man who went in there and did it tells me . . . bears have their own home in the rocks . . . a hole going in the rocks. Go in there naked with a knife or arrow in one hand and burning pitch in other . . . light scares him out [the bear],' then other men shoot the bear in the mouth with poison arrow [see deer hunting for reference to poison] . . . get sick for four or five days, maybe a week. Then the man goes back in. Hardly any Indians could do this.[10]

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[787] [791]

[9] This statement was made to point out to me that in other times only special people, inspired by dreams, would have suggested a rabbit hunt.

[10] This kind of a statement was common and whenever it was made suggestions of special power were made explicit later in the conversation, or were implied by the attitude of the informant.

[P.382, B]

222 527 787 791 [211]

"This prayer[11] fella [Captain Jim] lived at Double Springs all year round. He would have a dream telling him when to have a meeting. He was what you would call a religious man. He would get someone he could trust and send out a long, tanned string of hide with knots in it. For every day until the meeting there was a knot and every day the messenger untied a knot so the people would know how many days they had until the meeting.

"All the men came and hunted for four days, and the women would start gathering pine nut. They would hang up the game to let it dry.

"The prayer wouldn't eat meat during those four days but he could drink cold water, and some lady would cook him pine nut.

"Every night they would have a dance. On the fourth day everybody would bring the food they had and put it in front of the prayer, and then he would pick some man who was fair [just] and the food was divided a little before sunrise. If you have a small family you get less, if you have a big family you get more.[12]

[782] "Then the prayer makes a prayer something like this: 'Our father I dream that we must take a bath and then paint. Even the childrens . . . [we must] wash away the bad habits so we won't get sick from the food we have in front of us!'

"Then everybody go to the river . . . no matter if there was a little ice on the water, and take a bath. If they was not near the river they bathed the kids from baskets at Double Springs. The prayer he prayed for pine nut, rabbit, and deer."

222 527 791

Suzie Dick, an ancient Washo woman who claims to have reached the century mark in 1959, recalls that Captain Jim was her mother's sister's son and that she called him brother. He was a big man in a figurative if not a literal sense. He wore eagle feathers on his head and arms. He had red trousers made out of a blanket with feathers on the sides of the legs. As she remembers him at these ceremonies: "He would scare you to death." The assembled Washo brought pine nuts, deer meat, megal [Indian tea], and much other food. Captain Jim prayed and gave a sermon, urging everyone to drink water and avoid liquor, and supervised four nights of dancing.

222 527 114

Judging from the age of these two informants, these meetings, which they claim were attended by all the Washo, were held between 1880 and 1900. Most Washo agree that these large meetings were the way "they did it in the old days." However, "the old days" appear not to be aboriginal but the late nineteenth century, when the Washo experienced a brief period of semiunity and prosperity.

[756] Rupert, the psychologically oriented shaman comments, "Hell, them northern Washo didn't come down to Double Springs very much. They got their pine nuts southeast of Reno. Captain Jim he was only a big man to them Carson Valley Washo. He didn't have nothing to say to the northern bunch."

222 527 Despite this, it seems clear that during the last part of the nineteenth century large numbers of Washo from the various areas did, in fact, gather at Double

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[11]Used in an adjectival sense. In the reference below prayer is used nominally.

[124] [12]No matter how reluctant aged Washo may have been to discuss other aspects of the past, they became eloquent about any occasion on which food was plentiful. They describe in minute detail the kinds and amount of food at a feast although they cannot remember the time, place, or fiesta present.

222 527 [178] Springs prior to the pine nutting. It seems equally clear that this was distinctly a postwhite phenomenon and that in aboriginal times such gatherings were much smaller.

[791] The essential elements of these pine-nut ceremonies are clear. There was a gathering of a number of bands, usually at the prompting of a dreamer who knew certain prayers and songs which would insure a successful harvest. There was a sharing of food among the celebrants, as well as dancing and ceremonial bathing. Such affairs were held in Sierra Valley and at Double Springs and probably at a number of other places in the pine-nut hills.

668 222 527 791 622 The large celebrations at Double Springs appear to have taken on a distinctly nativistic or revitalistic cast. Informants remember Captain Jim's exhortations to abstain from white man's whiskey, to treat each other as brothers and sisters, to eat Indian food, and to apply themselves to the business of hunting and gathering. He himself refused to wear new white clothing but accepted only used garments. It was during this period that Washo received individual pine-nut allotments based on their traditional picking grounds.

668 222 527 114 178 Mooney (1896), whose information on the Washo was filtered through the Paiute, reports the Washo during this period as a shattered remnant of a former society eking out an existence in the dump heaps of white settlements in Nevada. The fact that the Washo did not respond to the Ghost Dance seems in his mind to support his notions about the condition of the tribe. However, among older informants this period is invariably recalled as an almost golden age. Although the implications of movements such as the Ghost Dance were not clear in Mooney's time, it seems more than likely that the Washo failed to join the movement because they were not suffering the social and cultural dislocation of the Paiute, Plains tribes, or California Indians and, in fact, may have been undergoing a process of social unification under Captain Jim. This unification appears to have had its primary symbolization in the ritual activity which surrounded earlier ceremonies

[211] concerned with pine-nut harvesting. The use of a hide

[721] string to summon people to the meeting appears earlier as a war signal used by a threatened band to entreat other Washo (often not too successfully) to come

622 222 527 791 to their aid.

With the death of Captain Jim, the large gatherings at Double Springs appear to have ceased. In the words of one informant, "When he died all them things like the knotted string and that stuff died with him."

527 222 754 After his death the pine-nut dances continued to be held in various places in Washo country—Sugar Loaf Mountain, Genoa, and Sierra Valley being the most frequently mentioned. Jim's daughter (or sister's daughter) who was married to the claimant Captain Pete and was the mother of the present claimant, Hank Pete, staged a number of dances around Genoa until her death. This action is of interest in view of the fact that she was considered a dangerous woman and a poisoner. It

[756] suggests that there was in fact no clear distinction between doctors and witches or sorcerers. Her knowledge of pine-nut prayers and songs made here essential in the

755
178 (1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white
756 contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.[3]

The Pinenut Dance

527
791 One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed
824 for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963).
222 He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This
[787] man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts
[782] without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.
[535]

222 Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo.
824 The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat
527 by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days
[791] remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the
[262] leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a
[211] large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer
[624] hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

526 The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to
527 take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and
[515] races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties op-
[525] posed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny.
[616] Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
756 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the
[177] Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent revival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony.
[262] Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The ceremonies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

octagonal "church" near Coleville, California, and was known as "the Peyote preacher."

The decline of the movement may be attributed to at least three factors: the aggressiveness and opportunism of Ben Lancaster's leadership, which eventually antagonized the majority of non-Peyotist Washo and encouraged the formation of dissident sects among the Peyotists themselves; the direct threat posed by the new religion to the already weakened influence of the shamans, which united them in concerted and violent attack against it; and the deep schisms effected by the movement in regard to traditional tribal loyalties and family ties, which turned the initial curiosity of the Washo majority to active hostility and rejection. The period of introduction, growth, and decline of the religion from 1936 to 1939 has been studied intensively by two earlier investigators (Stewart 1944; Siskin 1941).

Recent field work indicates a revival of the Peyotist movement among the Washo shortly after 1939. Initiated by a relatively obscure Washo member of the cult, who claimed to have learned a "new way" during a visit to Peyotists in Idaho, the sect was labelled "The Tipi Way." It was set in open opposition to Ben Lancaster's domination and succeeded in attracting a number of former adherents from among the Washo who had become inactive after the 1939 debacle. This sect has undergone many changes of leadership since its inception in 1941–42, but it has persisted with remarkable cohesion to the present time. Relations with other members of the tribe have improved to the extent that the Peyotists are now a tolerated and often respected minority, and carry on their activities openly.

When the original proselyter, Ben Lancaster, died in 1955, there were three distinct sects competing for dominance in the area. One of these was the moribund group referred to as "Lancaster's Way," made up of Washo and Paiute followers who had remained loyal to him. Lancaster's wife and an old Paiute adherent lead the handful of members, and it is known by the latter's name—"J—S——'s Way." A second group is led by a mixed Washo-Paiute individual, and the participants are drawn from his immediate family; it is also referred to as his "Way." However, the largest and most vigorous sect, is "The Tipi Way," which has its center of operations at Woodfords, California, with a substantially Washo membership.

A comparison of the recent total membership of these sects with the participation data presented by Stewart (1944) reveals that there has been a drop from 111 active Peyotists in 1938 to about 78 in 1955. In 1938 there were 37 Washo and 55 Paiute members, while in 1955 fewer than 15 of the active Peyotists are Paiute or of mixed tribal origin. Of the present total membership more than seventy percent attends the meetings of "The Tipi Way" sect.

The members of this dominant sect have initiated and maintained more contact with the Native American Church than have either of the others. Its members make frequent visits to meetings in Idaho and Utah, and informal delegations make pilgrimages to Peyotist centers in Oklahoma, which they consider to be the homeland of the movement. Every few months "runs" are

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

[P. 366, B]

MYTHOLOGY

776 Two distinct attitudes about these creatures are displayed by the Washo. Most informants openly admitted being afraid of Water Babies. If they heard one they remained in their houses or attempted to avoid contact. They claimed that if a person saw a Water Baby by accident, at the very least he would be struck unconscious and greater harm, in the form of sickness, might be inflicted on him or on one of his relatives. The general attitude was that Water Babies were best left alone because they were extremely powerful.

776 115 This attitude is perhaps summed up best by one of my informants, a rather sophisticated Washo who has lived in cities for long periods and who is an active leader in the tribe's legal battle with the federal government. He is also a devoted peyotist who often conducts curing ceremonies and is conceded to have a curing power. He said, "If they ever get up a bunch to trap one of them [Water Babies], I don't want to have nothing to do with it." When I asked why not, he replied: "Why hell, if you make one of them things mad they'll flood the world. I just don't want nothing to do with them. I ain't that desperate." I asked, "desperate for what?" and he replied "for power. I like to dream about womens [sic] and things like that, not about Water Babies and that funny stuff."

776 756 115 This last statement clearly indicates the other attitude about Water Babies; they are often guardian spirits of Washo who have special power, particularly shamanistic curing power. Another informant expressed this other attitude about these creatures. He is about seventy, attended Stewart Indian School for ten years and lived among the Hopi for ten years. He boasts a stone and cement-block home, the only such dwelling owned by a Washo. He has learned to bead baskets and during most of the year earns a reasonable income from this. His seeming adjustment to white culture is confounded when his philosophic position is examined. He can only be termed a mystic who interprets the world in Indian terms. Exposure to such influences as the writings of Kroeber and Huxley has only confirmed his essentially Indian viewpoint. Both his parents were famous Indian doctors and his maternal uncle, who was also his mentor,[1] was a famous shaman. My informant implied that his uncle's spirit (wegeleyo), from which his power was derived, was the Water Baby, and his own carefully guarded statement implied that the creature was potentially his own spirit. His view of the Water Baby was quite the reverse of other informants. "Some people think the Water Baby will hurt them, but he won't. If they see him by accident he won't do nothing. But if he has given you his power and you see him—then wham, he maybe knock you right down." This appears to have been his way of describing a seizure by the Water Baby, which although a fearful experience, usually resulted in the gift of additional power. There was, how-

[1] This statement should not be considered as an indication of matrilineality in Washo society. Freed and d'Azevedo, who have done extensive work in kinship and social organization of this group, seemed to agree that the Washo were loosely bilateral with certain formalized patrilineal elements. However, because of fragile marriages, many Washo have had a longer and closer association with their mothers' families than with their fathers', or with those of any of their mothers' subsequent husbands.

[P 368, B]

973 Modern Washo seem less willing than their forebears to weave Coyote into tales but are no less conscious of his malevolent presence. Peyotists often see visions or dream of Coyote (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957), and quick asides about Coyote's influence are apt to come up in conversation either as tentative jokes or in seriousness. One tale of a modern occurrence involving Coyote did come my way through the kindness of Warren d'Azevedo. His informant was the brother-in-law of my own informant and, like his kinsman, a semimystic, very conscious of his Indianness and credited by other Washo with powers beyond those of an ordinary man in hunting.

> "I was staying in this shack with the guy who owned it. One night he didn't come home but I kept hearing something walking around that shack. The next morning when that guy came home he was all tired out and there was Coyote tracks all around that shack. I got my gun and told that guy to stay away from me" (d'Azevedo).

973 The Aŋ, a huge man-eating bird described in Lowie's myth number 13, is no longer alive, but according to several informants the creature's bones or at least the island on which it nested can be seen by people flying over the lake because they are only a bit below the surface. Washo insist that white airplane pilots see the shape of the island daily but keep silent because they don't want to confirm an Indian story. One day on a trip around Lake Tahoe my Indian companion, a sometime leader among the Washo asked: "If we get that money from our claim do you think one of them archeologist fellas could go down under the water and find that there aŋ bird's skeleton?"

973 The foregoing paragraphs illustrate the tenacity with which Washo mythology has maintained itself among these people. The entirety of many of the myths is no longer part of the repertoire of every adult Washo, but variations, on-the-spot reconstructions, and the introduction of mythological themes into contemporary stories of a secular nature are definitely part of the oral literature of the Washo.

It is interesting to note that some aspects of Washo mythology appear to have more viability than others. Thus the Water Baby remains an important and vital aspect of modern Washo life, as does the Coyote. The twin weasels have lost much of their appeal, as has the giant Hangawuiwui. The giants of the mountains are acknowledged to be alive today but are seldom referred to, whereas Coyote and Water Baby are almost always mentioned and spoken of as living entities even by the most progressive Washo.

771 Except for the making of offerings to nature, which may be defined as purely religious, other religious or ritual activities dealing with what we would call the supernatural are so integrated with other aspects of Washo life as to be almost inseparable. Thus in describing the religious activities of the Washo I will proceed through various phases of their life, pointing out the ritual actions which are part of Washo behavior in specific situations.

[P.368, B]

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[795] [787] [521] 539 [115] [756]

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[P. 370, A]

756 a dream that tells you how to handle your paraphernalia. Sometime a dream tells you that you have to be all alone in your house. I don't know what happens in there but some of them doctors, I think, go over to visit the dead for a little while.

"After you been dreaming for a long time maybe you try to cure somebody but you don't ask for nothing. You never tell them dreams or what your spirit is but other doctors, they know. If your dreams are right you can cure people and then you can ask for something [payment]. The real Indian way was to doctor for four nights. Then he'd lay out all his stuff and give it a drink by sprinkling water on it. Then he'd shake his rattle and sing and touch the patient with his hands. He'd talk to the sickness, like he knew it . . . like maybe he was friends to it . . . he'd say 'now you behave and don't bother this person no more. If you don't behave I'm gonna take you out and show you to everybody and then you'll be embarrassed!' Then he'd suck at the patient (some of these young doctors suck on a stick with a feather on it that they pointed at the sick person, but the old ones didn't do that), and get out the sickness, it would be a feather or a stone. Sometime that sickness come out and go into the doctor so hard they can't get it out and have to get another doctor to help him. Sometimes it hit them so hard that they defecate. I seen them doctors just fill [787] their pants. If it's real tough they get all stiff and fall over. Sometimes fall right in the fire and their clothes all burn off but it don't burn them none. You can't touch them then or it will kill them. But when they begin to shake a little and that rattle begins to go then you can pick them up. If he can, the doctor will vomit out the sickness. When it's out he puts it in his hand and rubs it with dirt and throws it away toward the north; that kills it."

This recital of the process of becoming a doctor shows clearly the ideal situation, the receiving of powers, unsought, from supernatural sources, the guardian spirit watching over its protégé's career, providing him with the wherewithal in the form of songs, spells, and paraphernalia. In fact, however, it would appear that the process of becoming a shaman was far more a conscious and voluntary act on the part of an individual than would be supposed from the foregoing story.

756 115 Doctoring power clearly seems to have remained within certain families. The informant who gave the foregoing account was himself the son of a woman curer and a famous doctor and the nephew of another doctor. From his childhood he was familiar with the procedures of curing, with stories about dreams, spirit visitations, trips to the afterworld, mysterious and sacred locations. He somewhat proudly admitted that as a boy he "used to shake that rattle" himself. In short, until his shamanistic education was interrupted by white man's schooling, he was a shaman's apprentice.

This view is supported by the statements of other informants: "Of course them people that is from a doctor family, they have dreams and get curing power," said one rather assimilated woman of about seventy-five. Another informant, a man of sixty, who repeatedly indicated his fear of "power" but at the same time was reputed to be an important curer in the peyote church said: "If you come from a family of dreamers [795] there ain't nothing you can do. You're trapped by it." 756

Young shamans appear to have undergone a period

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, A]

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ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2562-2564)

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There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

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Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

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"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

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Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

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Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [848] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bear- [789] skins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

7:Freed E-5 (1952-1957)1960 NT20 Washo NT20

[P. 350, A]

I. THE WASHO INDIANS

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This chapter is a brief summary of what is known of aboriginal Washo culture, except for social organization, together with the principal changes it has undergone since the coming of the whites. The most significant characteristic of Washo acculturation from the point of view of this study has been the progressive individualization of the society. This can be seen most clearly in their economic life, where the old, coöperative methods of earning a livelihood have given way to individual wage work. The trend toward individualism has also affected ceremonial. The major ceremony of the year, the pine-nut dance, has been given up; and curing is less a group affair than it once was, with the exception of the peyotists, who constitute approximately ten per cent of the tribal membership. Warfare, another activity requiring group coöperation, was abandoned shortly after the coming of the whites. The effects upon social organization of this trend toward individualism will be traced in the following chapters.

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INFORMANTS

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The sketch of Washo culture which follows is based primarily upon the sources listed below and upon data which I gathered directly in the field. My principal informants were the following: Nancy Emm, Clara Frank, Bertha Holbrook, and Hank Pete, all of Dresslerville, Nevada; Roy James, Woodfords, California; Caesar John, Markleeville, California; and Henry Rupert, Carson City, Nevada.

SOURCES

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Ethnographic accounts of the Washo are few. The principal ones are by Barrett (1917), Curtis (1926), and Lowie (1939). Stewart (1944) and Siskin (MS) have contributed two excellent studies of Washo peyotism, and Kroeber (1907) has published a brief sketch of the Washo language, which contains a list of kinship terms. Other major sources are Dangberg's (1927) collection of myths, Kroeber's (1925) brief summary of the then available data on Washo culture, Stewart's (1941) list of cultural elements, and Heizer and Elsasser's (1953) study of the archaeology of the central Sierra Nevada.

LOCATION

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The Washo Indians are a small, isolated group who speak a language tentatively placed in the Hokan stock (Sapir, 1929, p. 139). In aboriginal times they occupied the extreme western edge of Nevada and eastern California. The eastern part of their territory lay in the Great Basin and the western part in the Sierra Nevada. Aboriginal Washo territory extended from Honey Lake in the north to Sonora Pass in the south. The eastern boundary ran from Sonora Pass northward along the crest of the Pine Nut Mountains; it then turned west

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PREFACE

A CULTURE-ELEMENT SURVEY consuming four months among the Northern Paiute and Washo in 1936 and another one among the Ute, Goshute, and Southern Paiute in 1937–1938, for the University of California, prepared me for this study. Among the Ute, I attended three peyote meetings, gaining information that way and also in other ways concerning the peyote cult. I incorporated the material in a paper entitled Ute Peyotism, accepted for publication by Anthropos. The chance encounter in a Ute peyote meeting at Randlett, Utah, with Ben Lancaster, who introduced peyote to the Washo and the Northern Paiute, and Sam Dick, his first convert and principal assistant, facilitated subsequent research.

My first experience with Washo-Paiute peyotism was made possible by Dr. S. F. Cook, who invited me in July, 1938, to accompany him on a field trip. On that expedition we talked of peyote with Indians from Reno to Bishop, and made fruitless inquiry concerning it from Bishop, around the southern Sierra Nevada, to Yosemite. We were fortunate in being able to attend a peyote meeting conducted by Sam Dick near Mono Lake. As a result of that short visit in July, which revealed the possibilities of more intensive study, I received a grant from the University of California to allow me to spend five weeks, beginning October 14, 1938, among the Washo and Northern Paiute. The greater part of the data in this monograph was obtained at that time. It was then I attended another peyote meeting, conducted by Ben Lancaster at Carson City.

I wish especially to thank Dr. A. L. Kroeber and the other faculty members of the Department of Anthropology of the University of California who made possible the field work upon which this study is based. Special appreciation for assistance and hospitality is due Miss Alida C. Bowler, Superintendent of the Carson Indian Agency, and Indian Service employees who assisted me on innumerable occasions. To my Indian informants I owe a considerable debt, for they gave freely of their time and information.

Much assistance and encouragement have been received from several colleagues who have patiently listened as I expounded my views or who have read and criticized parts of my manuscript. Besides my dissertation committee comprising Professors A. L. Kroeber, Carl O. Sauer, and R. L. Olson, I owe thanks to Professors J. Gilbert McAllister and George Engerrand, of the University of Texas, Professor R. H. Lowie and Dr. T. D. McCown, of the University of California, and Dr. Homer G. Barnett, of the University of Oregon; and to Dr. Demitri Shimkin for placing at my disposal material concerning peyotism among the Wind River Shoshone and has otherwise aided me through stimulating discussions.

I also wish to thank the following ethnographers who supplied data for the peyote element distribution list in Appendix II: J. Gilbert McAllister, Weston La Barre, E. Adamson Hoebel, John A. Noon, Erminie W. Voegelin, Alexis A. Praus, Fred Voget, Demitri Shimkin, and Carling Malouf.

Mrs. C. A. Block, Editorial Assistant, Anthropology Department, University of California, worked over the manuscript several times and her invaluable assistance is greatly appreciated. My wife, Lenore, has given editorial and stenographic aid.

O. C. S.

Element	Occurrence																			
	H T	K-A	Klo	Cam	Klo	Ab S	Da I	Da E	Win	No C	Cr I	Cr S	WRS	Dia	Gen	F-F	Tom			
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	−	+		+	+	+	−	−			+	+	+	+	+				
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+			
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	−	+	+	−	−	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	−		+			−	−	−	+	+	−	+	+		+				
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+		+	+	+	+	−	−	−	+	•(+)	+	−	+	+	+	+			
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+		+	+	+	•	−	−	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	•−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−				
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
191. Leader incensed upon return	+		+			+	+	−	−		+	+	+	+	+	−				
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+		+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+		+	+	•+	−	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible		•−	•+		+	+	+	+			•(+)	+	−	+•	•(+)	+	+			
195. Urged not to eat too much			•+	−		−	−	−		−	(+)	+	−	•	−	−				
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	•+	+	+	−	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
197. By women			•+	−	•+	−	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+				
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
201. Butt handed to leader			+	+	+	−		•+	−	−	+	•−	+	+	+	+				
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	+	(−)	−		−	−	•−	+	−	+	+	+	−				
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		−	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	−				
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar			+	−	(−)	−		+	−	+	+	−	+	+	+	−				
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader			•+	+	(−)	−	−	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−				
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+			
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	•+	•−	+	+	+	+	+	•+	−	+			
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			

(Concluded on next page)

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing abili-
868 ty as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
224 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
[178] go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also forbidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any
[226] fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive [177] along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

[825] This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

[302] Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

[539] [848] One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

[124] I had all but given up the pursuit of information on the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 [764] A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [789] [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 [795] [756] Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) suggest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the [177] Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although 771 it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

841 [P 382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
was that they must not eat meat during their periods.
[262] To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed
the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people.
If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-
368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the
old. In actuality it would seem that only the children
and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying
[886] for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admis-
[841] sion of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes
to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat pur-
chased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison
or other game taken by someone they know, for fear
of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today
in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who
lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter.
In times past, certain women are reported to have
made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[178] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo,
particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an in-
dividual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo
[796] subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes
dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621).
Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all,
by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its produc-
tion was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the
pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among
all the Washo during the last part of the summer.
Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and sur-
vey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and
according to one informant: "If we have a couple of
bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a
222 pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to
be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship
to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant main-
tains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo ex-
cept his relatives and admitted by them only when
they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The ac-
count is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony
of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent
as other information is presented that it is a highly
idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it
includes a number of sacred elements of obvious im-
portance.

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] 825 789 778 Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763 825 The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

796

535

/General information on the pine-nut dance as part of the annual pine-nut harvest will be found in category 527./

is more than a few miles from running water. The importance of bathing in Washo ritual life made access to water particularly important. Springs were considered choice wintering sites because the water never froze over.

Material Culture

The following outline gives the main items of Washo material production. Almost all of these items have separate terms in the Washo language. Most of the terminology not included may be found in the vocabularies by Merriam (1904 and 1904-1935) and Kroeber (1907). The author's field data are supplemented here primarily by the works of Dangberg (1919) and Stewart (1941).

A. Housing and related items.
1. Winter house of poles, branches, sod, etc. in a conical form (galis dangal). Plate V, A illustrates a galis dangal.
2. Windbreak of branches in a half-dome form (gadu), Plate V, B.
3. Shade of various forms (ta?a).
4. Hunting and fishing blinds (ma?angal).
5. Meat drying scaffold (biali).
6. Bed (tada), seat (itkolanga), and mat (maba) of woven sagebrush bark.
7. Fireplace (diyu itgums¢w¢) and torch (ulu ushi).
8. Log footbridge (mogahat).
9. Log ladder (bakmanga).
10. Fish dam (imbeshuk).

B. Clothing and ornaments.
1. Blankets or robes of whole skins or woven from strips of rabbit skin (dayoliti and umbidu). (Plate IV, C).
2. Deer or antelope skin clothing.
   a. belt (melliu)
   b. breechclout (gumyoyabuwe)
   c. poncho (damu)
   d. skirt (tsilug¢l)
   e. dress (mangumtash)
   f. apron (imboshude)
   g. moccasins (moko)
   h. headband (ih¢pbey¢gul)
3. Leggings (p¢kishu wigas), woman's napkin, and baby diaper of sagebrush bark.
4. Hairnet of fiber cord (megodih¢p).
5. Round snowshoes (shumelli) with wood rim and bark or skin network.
6. Bracelet (m¢liuy¢k), necklace (uml¢suk), and ear pendant of bone, plant, or shell (madap) beads (makau).
7. Hafted and unhafted bone or stone drills.
8. Body paints of red (sawasan), yellow (waltsatsini), and white (dipek) in mineral pigments and charcoal for black (w¢lyauwi).
9. Feathers (tsisuapo), especially of magpie or eagle.
10. Scratching bone for tattoos.

1/1 [see end plate V, following p. 74 — Analyst]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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/Information on the pine-nut dances and the dances associated with the girls' puberty ceremony will be found in categories 527, 535, and 574./

THE PERSISTENCE OF ABORIGINAL CEREMONIES AMONG THE WASHO INDIANS[1]

by Stanley A. and Ruth S. Freed

In the 1950's the Washo were observing, in modified form, five of their six aboriginal ceremonies. These were the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty, death, the shaman's curing rite and the annual pinenut dance. The dance and ceremonies before a war party set out and after its return apparently disappeared shortly after the beginning of permanent white settlement due to the suppression of warfare by whites.[2] Of the five surviving ceremonies, three were rites of passage regularly observed whenever circumstances made them appropriate: the ceremonies at birth, girl's puberty and death. These three ceremonies give every indication of surviving for the foreseeable future. The other two ceremonies, the pinenut dance and the shaman's curing rite, appear to be on the verge of extinction. The annual pinenut dance had already essentially disappeared by 1952; and the shaman's curing rite probably will have disappeared by the early 1960's. This paper will describe the five ceremonies that have survived into the 1950's and will discuss possible reasons why three seem capable of survival while two are on the point of disappearance.

The descriptions of aboriginal Washo ceremonies are reconstructions based on the testimony of our informants and on earlier published reports. Hank Pete claimed he was born in 1882; Bertha Holbrook said her year of birth was 1885. Nancy Emm did not give her age but she appeared to be as old as Holbrook. Mooney (1928, 20) considers 1845 as the end of the aboriginal period in the region; the first permanent white settlement was in 1851. This means that when our informants were children some Washo were still living who were familiar with the relatively undisturbed Washo culture. Hank Pete's grandmother was alive when he was a boy, and he apparently learned a good deal from her. The most useful sources on aboriginal Washo ceremonies are Curtis (1926), Lowie (1939), and Stewart (1941). Cartwright (1955) has described a modern girl's puberty dance. Freed and Freed (1963) have described the shaman's curing rite.

The Washo may have had an annual mourning ceremony but the evidence for its existence is scanty. Barrett (1917, 9) states "... there is an annual mourning ceremony, or 'cry,' accompanied by a big feast." He gives no further details. Curtis (1926, 97) reports "Annually there was a memorial ceremony which appears to have closely paralleled the California rite. Objects were burned while the people wailed, and a feast was provided by the chief. Effigies of the lamented dead are said to have been burned, as in

[1] [2] [footnotes appear on p. 39 -- Analyst]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	To	Kl	Kd	Kh	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	All
398. Game believed immortal	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	*	-	+	-	-	-	-
399. Game increase controlled by ceremony	-	+	-	-	*	*	-	-	-	-	*	*	*	*
401. Offering of game kill	-	-	-	-	*	*	-	+	-	*	*	*	*	*
402. To "nature"	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
403. To spirit	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
404. With prayer	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
405. Piece of gall	-	-	-	-	+	+	*	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
406. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
409. Tip of deer tail hidden under rock for luck	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-
Gathering														
*410. Acorns (wia)	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
411. Leaching in sage-lined pit	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
411a. In sand pit	+	*	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
412. Grinding in mortar (pawum)	+	*	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
414. Boiled mush	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Miscellaneous Plants														
*420. "Grass" seeds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*424. Cactus fruit eaten (mavo or matas)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
426. "Stems" eaten	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
436. Needles burnt off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
437. Needles brushed off	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
438. Roasted in ashes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
439. Roots	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
440. Berries	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
442. Pinon Nuts (tuva)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	*	+	*
*443a. Hooked pole (tasam) for pinon nuts	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
443. End fire heat	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
443. End separate piece	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
447. Climb tree to gather	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
445. Men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
449. Women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
450. Climbing stick used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*451. Storage: green, in stone-lined, circular pit	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
451a. Piled on ground, covered	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
452. Whole cones in cache	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
453. Combed cones stored	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*453a. Cones opened by roasting in earth oven	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
454. By burning	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
454a. By exposing to sun	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
455. Nuts struck from ripe cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
456. Cache for nuts removed from cone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
457. Unlined pit	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*458. Grass lined	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-
459. Lined with pine-leaf soil	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
460. Brush-and-stone covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
461. Juniper-bark lined	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*462. Nuts ground on metate (nuta)	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
462a. In mortar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
463. Parching	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*464. In "fan" (twined basket)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*465. Conical burden basket for gathering	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
467. Family owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
467a. Band owned plots	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
*467b. Families wintered on pinon-nut range	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
468. Nuts eaten as flour, raw	.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	-
*469. Nuts eaten as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+
470. Nuts eaten chilled as mush	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+

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importance. Eating peyote, praying, rubbing sage leaves on the body, fanning cedar smoke over the body, touching the ritual equipment to the body, being sprinkled with "holy" water, and smoking special cigarettes are therapeutic practices in nearly all peyote ceremonies.

Although peyote is prayed to and eaten in privacy, it is primarily used ceremonially by a congregation of believers.

The Peyote Ceremony

Periodically, usually Saturday nights, the peyotists assemble before a tipi or house which has been previously prepared for the ritual. The leader prays at the entrance; then all follow him into the meeting place, passing to the left of the altar, and proceeding clockwise in a circle to places designated by the leader. (See fig. 1.)

The altar is a half-moon of sand or earth with a large peyote button placed on it, to which prayers are addressed during the night. Smoking especially prepared cigarettes, eating peyote, praying, and singing constitute the ceremony. The ritual paraphernalia consist of a cane, fan, drum, rattle, and whistle. All but the whistle are passed clockwise, and each man sings, then beats the drum for his neighbor. The ritual varies at midnight when water is blessed and passed around, and at dawn near the close when both water and food are brought, blessed, and eaten in turn by everyone.

The foregoing sketch of the history, general ideology, and typical ritual provides a basis for understanding the peyote cult of the western Great Basin.

LOCATION OF WASHO AND NORTHERN PAIUTE

The Washo Indians, a small, isolated, Hokan-speaking group, occupied the extreme western edge of the Great Basin and the Sierra Nevada around Lake Tahoe. Woodfords, Tallac, Truckee, and Loyalton, California, are in ancient Washo territory, as are Reno, Carson City, Minden, and Gardnerville, Nevada.[1]

The Northern Paiute, a more numerous population, included in the Mono-Bannock subdivision of the Shoshonean subfamily, adjoined the Washo on the north, east, and south, possessing the western part of the Great Basin from east-central Oregon south to Owens Valley in California.[2] The Northern Paiute included in this study occupied the central and southern parts of the territory: Pyramid Lake, Walker Lake, and Fallon reservations; Smith and Mason valleys, Nevada; and in California, Mono and Inyo counties. (See map 1.)

A few Shoshone from their territory east of the Northern Paiute and a few Miwok from the west have moved into Northern Paiute lands and with the Paiute have embraced the peyote religion.

FIELD METHODS

Ethnographers must usually content themselves with studying the Indian culture of the United States when its constituent traits exist only in the memories of the aged. Even in the investigation of contemporary institutions, such as the sun dance, the shaker cult, and the peyote cult, observations are usually made years after patterns have become established; by that time individuals and circumstances relative to their introduction are already partly forgotten. That five or six years

[1] See Siskin, 1938; Lowie, 1939; and Stewart, 1939.

[2] See Stewart, 1939, and Steward, 1933, for exact limits of Northern Paiute area. Paviotso, sometimes used as synonymous to Northern Paiute, usually includes only those Paiute who live in the vicinity of Pyramid and Walker lakes, and will be used only when quoting other ethnographers.

[text continues on p. 68]

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contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right.... It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

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Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[a] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[b] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[c]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[a] La Barre, 61.
[b] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[c] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

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of Washo-Paiute personal prayer cigarettes are placed against the moon before the chief and his assistants have puffed them and before the chief has prayed; the "peyote breakfast" receptacles are placed on the ground east of the fire in the same order after passing as before passing, instead of the usual reverse order; and the chief rolls cigarettes "to pray through" after the ritual.

A most surprising departure is dancing. At one meeting conducted by Sam without Ben the members danced a few times around the half-moon altar following the ritual and the morning recess. (See pl. 2, *b*).[30] It occurred while waiting for dinner and was informal and spontaneous; nevertheless, nothing comparable has ever been reported among other tribes in the United States. Dancing is often part of Mexican peyote rituals.[31]

Unique is the insistence that devotees carry tin cans into meeting for vomiting and spitting. This is a correlate to their doctrine that vomiting is beneficial because poisons must be eliminated.

Although not strictly part of the ritual, denying certain Indians admittance to meetings and collecting money for the leader are two features seldom reported. Concerning attendance, La Barre writes (p. 60), "All Indians . . . of whatever tribe are welcome in the meetings of all other tribes." Although Ben often asserts that anyone can attend and even took two of his converts to visit Goshute and Ute meetings, he has refused Lone Bear and certain Goshute Indians admittance to his meetings. Since there appears no precedent in indigenous Washo-Paiute culture or in other peyote cults for such actions, it seems clear that Ben wants to keep his followers entirely dependent upon himself and seeks to avoid possible criticism of other experienced peyotists. His refusal to allow Carnegie Smokey to attend meetings in Oklahoma bears out this assumption. In Washo-Paiute peyote meetings the chief is paid in the following manner: the morning after a meeting, following a short recess outside, everyone returns to the meeting place, files between the leaders and a collection basket placed west of the altar, drops money in the basket, and shakes hands with the chief, his assistants, and then with everyone in the circle. John Wright, Lone Bear, and Charles E. Apekaum,[32] three widely experienced peyotists, criticize Ben's practice of collecting money. Doubtless his barring of these and certain others at his meetings seems to be his precaution against the members' hearing that peyote meetings are usually free and that peyote at ten cents a button for home use provides him a tenfold profit.[33]

The theological concepts of Washo-Paiute peyotism are also mainly the beliefs of peyote users of other tribes. Some minor innovations are distinguishable: regarding the moon as a symbol of the creator, considering the fan a messenger to carry prayers to God and a symbol of God's helper during the creation. New concepts are that songs have power to "infect" and are good or bad, that bad songs cause one to see blood, and that blood represents disease sent by witches or "crooked" peyotists.

Songs are also invested with power in old Washo-Paiute shamanistic lore;

[30] The dance step was the same as that used in the Round dance.

[31] Lumholtz, 1900; Zingg, 1939, 400; Bennett and Zingg, 1935, 293–294; Beals, 1932, 216.

[32] La Barre's Kiowa interpreter (see La Barre, p. 3), in answer to my inquiry, wrote me from Fort Cobb, Oklahoma, September 13, 1938: "Gray Horse at one time sold medicine in Lawton, Oklahoma . . . John Harrington [known also as Johnny Wright] reports the work of Gray Horse in Nevada which are not satisfactory, it seem that he is using . . . the Church for mercenary purposes."

[33] According to La Barre (p. 64), only the Oto pass a vessel in the morning for a free-will offering, but Jack Wilson in Oklahoma and his Delaware and Quapaw disciples (see Petrullo, 44; La Barre, 158), Sam Roan Bear among the Ute (and among the Bannock, Goshute, and Taos, according to Johnny Wright), Leo Okio among the Northern Paiute, and Lone Bear among the Washo, also used the peyote cult to make money.

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APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

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some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

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Washo NT20 ●

usually the same. Before chewing, the buttons are lined up on the hand, and a silent prayer is offered "through them." After each is masticated, it is spit into the hands and formed into a ball. While resting on the open palm, this pellet is motioned toward the fire, then thrown into the mouth. The hand remains before the mouth a moment, then is passed back over the forehead and hair. The throat and chest are rubbed with a downward motion and patted. After the peyote is swallowed, expectorating into the hand and rubbing saliva over the head are common. Frequently, Ben Lancaster and Sam Dick chew hard peyote buttons and form them into pellets for others to swallow, especially the sick, a curing prayer being offered and cedar smoke being fanned over the patient.

The drumming and singing continue, but anyone eating peyote stops the drum's progress. No one is allowed to pass between the altar and a person eating peyote or praying. Oral prayers are made through a cigarette, usually part sage, rolled by the chief, and lighted from the fire stick. Crying is common during prayers, which are given in Washo, Paiute, Shoshone, or English. The leaders pray in English, and English phrases are incorporated into Indian prayers. Singing and drumming continue during the prayers, which usually end at a moment of quiet while drum and staff are passed.

At dawn the chief recalls the drum and staff, and sends the host's wife or another woman, often his own wife, to get the water and food for the peyote breakfast. As soon as the fire chief has pushed the ash crescent toward the sand half-moon, filling its concave side, arranged the fire, and cleaned the altar and the ground around it, he also leaves to assist. When the food is at the door, the chief starts the final series of songs, the food and water being aligned between fire stick and door after his first song. The woman who brought the food kneels upon a blanket east of the last vessel. The last three songs completed, all paraphernalia are spread on handkerchiefs and scarfs, the tips of all feathers pointing toward their owner's left. Near the north end of the crescent on his altar cloth, the chief places staff, feathers, gourd, cedar bag, drum, and drumstick.

The cedarman sprinkles cedar on the fire, and the kneeling woman, by extending her arms and cupping her hands, draws its smoke to her chest and to the food. The chief, in the meantime, makes a sage-and-tobacco cigarette, which is carried to the woman by the cedarman, who also hands her the fire stick. Her prayer is one of the longest of the meeting. This and the midnight blessing are the only prayers followed by one by the chief, who uses the same cigarette from which the chief drummer and cedarman have also taken four puffs. The chief's prayer varies from his opening prayer only with a blessing for food.

As the cedarman places the cigarette butt against the crescent, the woman spills water on the ground, passes the bucket to the nearest person south of the door, and takes her original place. The peyote breakfast passes around the group in the order of its arrangement between the fire and the woman: water, closest the fire, fruit, boiled rice, and meat.[20]

Water is again sprinkled over the paraphernalia and rubbed over the body,[21] and informal conversation begins. As soon as the food goes around, the vessels are placed on the ground as before; then taken out by the fire chief. At this point the chief removes the sage and eagle feathers from his staff, takes the chief peyote from the moon, and places some paraphernalia in his satchel. The drum is dismantled by the chief drummer, the kettle containing the charcoal-blackened water and the drumstick being circulated clockwise around the meeting, each Indian touching his head, limbs, chest, and any weak part of his body with drops of water carried by the stick. Some suck four drops of water from the end of the drumstick; many drink from the kettle. The staff follows the kettle for each member to hold as if sighting along it; then to grasp as if to sing, shaking the chief's rattle four times.

When the kettle reaches the chief drummer again, the fire chief collects the cigarette butts from the base of the crescent, burns them, pours any water remaining in the kettle over the sand crescent and between the crescent and the fire. This is the actual end of the meeting.

At one meeting, however, Ben carried on some "horseplay." Holding the staff as if it were a fiddle, he scraped across it with his drumstick and sang several songs. During the last, an extremely lively one, all stood, stretched, and went outside.

Everyone is instructed to return after the morning recess: at nine or ten o'clock. The chief is in his place flanked by the other officials. Before him, west of the sand crescent and resting on a silk handkerchief, is a beaded basket. All file by, drop a contribution in the basket, shake hands

[20] At Ben's meeting in Carson City, Nevada, the fruit was canned salad mixture and the meat was boiled hamburger balls; at Sam's meeting, near Mono Lake, California, canned peaches and boiled beef were served.

[21] In connection with this self-sprinkling, questionably considered a baptism, the following report of Dewey Charles (Paiute of Bridgeport) is interesting: Ben "threw away that old baptism for me and gave me a new one. One Sunday morning after meeting he prayed over me and sprinkled water on my head and said that was a real baptism in the peyote religion and was better than the one I had before. Jim Street is the only other member that I know Ben baptized."

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

with the leader, his assistants, everyone seated in the circle, and with one another. Most take their places of the preceding night, lying instead of sitting. The chief talks, jokes, sings, and a few who missed a turn to pray during the meeting ask for special cigarettes in order to pray. Informal smoking and conversation continue. At Mono Lake, Sam Dick had ashes formed into the tail and wings of a bird and everyone danced clockwise around it. Visions are described by some, who ask for interpretations from the chief.

Individuals come and go, but most remain in the meeting place until dinner is announced about noon. Even when all cannot eat at the first serving, spread on the floor of the living quarters, all congregate while the leader, or someone designated by him, prays over the food. These meals are often feasts—acorn bread, pine-nut soup, venison, jack rabbit, and fish supplementing the usual beef, potatoes, bread, coffee, pie, and cake. Unless two or more meetings are to be held consecutively, peyotists start home after dinner.

Map 2. Present location of tribes represented in element list.

14: Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NA13
Washo NT20 ●
Comanche N06

Element	Occurrence																				
	13 T	E-4	Elo	Com	Elo	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Wm	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRB	Ute	Gos	P-W	Sho				
1. Staff of authority of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
2. "Cane" 3-5 feet long	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
3. Tufts of hair at top	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	•+		•–	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	–	+				
4. *Artemisia* tied near top or held along with cane	+	+	+	+	–	•+	–	+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+				
5. Passed around	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
6. Always passed between drum and altar	+	(+)	+		(–)	+					(+)	(+)	+	+	+	+	+				
7. Person holding staff leads singing	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
8. Rattle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
9. Gourd	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
10. Decorated	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+				
11. Handle beaded	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
12. Tufts of hair on top	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
13. Rattle passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+	+				
14. Person singing shakes rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
15. Individual rattle also used	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+				
16. Only after midnight	+		+	+	–	–	+	•–	–	–	–	+	•–	+	+	+	+				
17. To accompany singer holding staff			+	+	–	–	+	•+	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+				
18. Fan of leader (eagle tail feathers)	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+				
19. Each feather tied separately	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
20. Binding decorated		+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+				
21. Passed around	+		–	+	(–)	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
22. Held with staff while singing	+		•+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
23. Individual fans also used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
24. Only after midnight	+		+	–	(+)	–	+	•–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+				
25. All fans used to draw smoke over head, body	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+				
26. Eagle-wingbone whistle of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
27. Used at special midnight ritual	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
28. At special morning ritual	+	+	+	+	(+)	+		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+				
29. Placed near altar in front of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				
30. Only leader uses whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+				

(Continued on next page)

N
W
171
534
795*
796 ●
C
171
534
795
796

For Notes to Element List see p. 114.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
N W 111 *795 796 [535] [276]

*Peyote Element Distribution List—(Continued)

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Kio	Com	Kie	Ab 8	De 1	De 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 3	WR8	Ute	Goo	F-P	Tem		
31. Paraphernalia satchel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
32. Cloth upon which to place paraphernalia	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
33. Drum of leader (or chief drummer)	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
34. Water drum	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
35. Iron kettle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•	+	+		
36. Pottery jar	•+		–	–		–	+	+		–	–	–		+					
37. Charcoal in water	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+		+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+			
38. Head of deerskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	(+)	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+			
39. Skin tied on before meeting	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
40. 7 stones or sticks used in tie	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	•+	–	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+			
41. 7 stones represent days			+	–		–	–	–		–	+	+	+	+	+	+			
42. Rope forms star on bottom of drum	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
43. Star significant	+	+	+			•(+)					•+	•+	+	+	•+	+			
44. Skin removed at end of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
45. Only one drum used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
46. Drumstick of leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+•	(+)	+	+	+	+	+	+		
47. Individual drumsticks also used	+	+	+	+	(–)	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		
48. Only after midnight	+		+	+		•–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+		
49. Drum and drumstick passed around	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
50. Separate drummer accompanies singer	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
51. Drummer usually at right of singer	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
52. Only men drum	+	+	+	+	–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	–	+		
53. Bag of cedar (juniper) leaves of leader	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		
54. Cedar sprinkled on fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
55. Usually by cedarman	+	•–	+	+	+	•–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
56. Only one bag of cedar used	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
57. Tobacco furnished by leader	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	–	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+		
58. Rolled in maize husks	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–		
59. In oak leaves	+	–	+	+	–•(+)		–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	•–	–	+		
60. In paper	–	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	+	+	•+	+	–	–	+			

| Element | Occurrence | | |

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR 13 Northern Paiute NR3
Washo NT20 ●
N
W
1711
*795
●796
[782]
[778]

PETOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Element	Occurrence																				
	NT	Ka	Kl	Cam	Kl	Alt	Di	Di	Wa	Mo C	Ch	Ch	Ell	Du	Gu	Pa	Tm				
121. An assistant on each side of leader	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+	+				
122. Women sit behind men		−	−	−	°−	−	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+	−	+	+				
123. All pass to south of moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
124. Sit on blankets, straw, etc.	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
125. *Artemisia* (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
127. Prayer or speech or both at start of meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
128. Tobacco passed, all roll cigarettes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
129. Cigarettes lit with fire stick, clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
130. Leader prays aloud during smoking	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
131. Others pray silently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
132. Smoke blown toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
133. All motion toward moon	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
134. Cigarette butts placed against altar or shrine	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°−	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
135. *Artemisia* (sage) leaves passed clockwise	+	−	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
136. Leaves rubbed on hands, clothes	+	°+	+	+	+	+	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
137. Chewed	+	−	+	+	+	−	−	+	−	−	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
138. Peyote incensed before passing	+	+	+	+	(+)	−	+	+	−	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
139. Peyote passed round circle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
140. Clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
141. All take 4 "buttons" at start	+	°+	+	+	−	°−	+	+		+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
142. Each button chewed, spit into hands, rolled, offered to altar, and swallowed	+	°+	°+	+	+	−				−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
143. Chest patted during swallowing of button	+		°+	+	(−)	−				−	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
144. First peyote eaten before singing starts	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+		+	+	°+	°+	+	+	+	+				
145. Paraphernalia brought out by chief	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
146. Laid on ground between leader and altar	+	+	+	+	+	°−	+	+	+	+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
147. Cedarman throws cedar leaves on fire	+		+	−	(+)	°+	+	−		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
148. Paraphernalia incensed	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
149. 4 times	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				
150. Worshippers incensed	+	°+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+	°+	+	+	+	+	+				

(Continued on next page)

N
W
111
1745*
1746
1747

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●
NW
171
1945
●796
[533]

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(Continued)

| Element | Occurrence | | |

Element	Occurrence																								
	Tmt.	Ar.	Cm.	Dn.	Ed.	Ft.	Gc.	Ho.	Ke.	Ma.	Mc.	Mn.	Mr.	Pa.	Pe.	Pi.	Pn.	Ra.	Ri.	Sa.	Sh.	Sk.	Ta.	Wa.	Wi.
181. Water bearer spills water on ground	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+
182. Bucket passed clockwise, all drink	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
183. Devotees rub, sprinkle ("baptize") selves with water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
184. "Chief peyote," paraphernalia sprinkled	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
185. Water bearer takes water outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
186. Makes circuit of altar before removing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
187. Drum, staff returned to place they occupied before midnight	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
188. After paraphernalia placed, leader goes outside	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
189. Blows whistle to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
190. Prays to cardinal directions	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
191. Leader incensed upon return	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
192. Replaces whistle near moon	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
193. After midnight individual fans, rattles, etc., used	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
194. All urged during meeting to eat as much peyote as possible	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
195. Urged not to eat too much	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
196. Individual prayers aloud, by men	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
197. By women	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
198. Suppliant first gets tobacco from leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
199. Cigarette lighted with fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
200. 4 puffs of smoke blown toward altar at start	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
201. Butt handed to leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
202. To cedarman, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
203. To chief drummer, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
204. Handed back to leader, who blows 4 puffs toward altar	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
205. Prayer by individual followed by one by leader	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
206. No one leaves meeting while anyone is singing, praying, or eating peyote	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
207. Morning water call (similar procedure to midnight ritual)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
208. Water brought in	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
209. By woman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

(Concluded on next page)

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

PEYOTE ELEMENT DISTRIBUTION LIST—(*Concluded*)

Element	Occurrence																			
	LIT	K-A	Kio	Com	Kin	Ab S	Del	Dr 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Com	W-P	Tase
210. Who blesses water	+	+	+	+		+	+	•–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
211. Woman makes circuit of altar before taking water outside	+	+	+		(+)	+		–	–		+	+	+	+	+	–	+
212. Woman returns immediately with food and water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
213. "Peyote breakfast"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•–	•–	+	•+	+	+	+	+	–	+
214. Lined up in front of door, in order (from fire toward door)		+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+
215. Order: water, maize, fruit, meat		–	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	•+	+	+	•+	–	•+	–	+
216. Water, rice, fruit, meat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	•–	–	–	–	–	•+	•+	–
217. Water, maize, fruit, candy		–	–	–	–	•+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
218. Water, maize, meat, fruit		–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
219. Parched maize in sweetened water		+		+	+	+	+	–	–	–	•+	–	•+	–	+	–	–
220. Candy also included in the breakfast	+	–	+	–	+	•+	–	•+	–	–	•–	+	•+	–	+	–	–
221. Food blessed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+
222. Wash before eating			–	–	–	–		•+		–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
223. Paraphernalia put away after blessing	+		+	+	+	+		•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
224. Before eating	+		+	–		+		•+	•+	–	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
225. Drum untied	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+
226. Water from drum drunk	+	+	+	+	–	+	+		–	•–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
227. Water touched to body with stick, hands—"baptism"	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+·	+	+	•+	+			
228. Any remaining poured on or between crescents	+	+	+	–	+	•+			•+	–	+	+	+		+		
229. Objects used to tie on drumhead touched to body	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–				
230. All parts of drum passed, handled	+	+	+	+		–	+	+	–	+	+	+	–				
231. Leader's outfit taken out by fire chief	+		+			+						+	+		+		
232. Food passed clockwise	+	+	+	+	+	+			–	+	+	+	+		+		
233. Replaced on floor between fire and door			?	+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
233a. Order before passing reversed				+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
234. Taken out by fire chief	+	+	•+	+		+			–	+	+	+	+				
235. After food taken out, all go outside, about 9 A.M.	+	+	+	+	+	+		•–	–	+	+	+	+		+		
236. Sun greeted	+		•–	–	(–)	–		•+	–	–	–	+	+		+		
237. Return to tipi to lounge, talk, smoke	+	+	•+	–	–	(–)	+	+		–	+	+	+		+		
238. Tipi dismantled, altar destroyed following meeting		•–	•+	+	–	+				+	•–						

Element	Occurrence																		
	13 T	K-A	Klo	Cam	Kla	Alv S	Do 1	Do 2	Win	No C	Cr 1	Cr 2	WRS	Ute	Coe	W-P	Tam		
239. Feast follows meeting	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
240. Aligned between leader and door starting at west: Bible		−	−	−	−	•−	−	−	+	−	−	−	−	+	−	−	+		
241. Staff, rattle, and feathers	+	+	+	+		+	+		+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+		
242. Whistle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+		
243. "Chief peyote"	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
244. Crescent of earth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
245. Crescent of ash	+	+	+	+	+	−	+			+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
246. Fire	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
247. Fire stick	+	+	+	+	+	+				+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
248. Water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
249. Person blessing water	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
250. Peyote breakfast	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	−	−	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		
251. Beliefs connected with peyotism: belief in a Great God (Great Spirit)	+		+	−	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	•+	+	•+	+	+		
252. Belief in spirit forces subservient to the Great God	+		+		(−)	+	+	+	+				+	+		+			
253. Peyote is a spirit force chosen to guide the Indians	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+		+		+	+	+	+	+			
254. Peyote's function is medicinal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			
255. Peyote's function is particularly ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+			
256. Peyote's doctrines can be understood only through peyote intoxication	+	+	+	+	+	(+)	+	+	+	+		+	+	+		+			
257. Ultimate goal of intoxication is enlightenment and physical betterment	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+	+			
258. Individual can be helped by concerted prayer	+	+	+	−	+	+	+	+	+	−		+	+	+		+	+		
259. Individual must attain purity before approaching spirit forces	+	+	+	+	+		+	+	+	+		+		+	+	+			
260. An important function of peyote meeting is to purify	+	+	+	+	(+)	•+	+	+	+	+		+		+		•−	+		
261. Modifications permitted by new revelations	+		+				−	+						+		+			
262. Approach to spirit forces should be humble	+	+	•+	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+		
263. Concept of the Peyote road as ethical-religious	+	+	•+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+			+	+		+	+		
264. Identification of the Peyote road with the Creator's road		+	•+	−		−	+	+		+			+	+	•	+	+		
265. Identification of the Peyote road with Jesus' road		+	•+	+	•+	−	−	+	+	−			+	+	•	+	+		
265a. (See note)																			

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NOTES TO ELEMENT LIST

1. Cr 2: Straight stick of any kind or collapsible cane, beaded at joints (Voget).

2. Ab S: "The staff represents a walking cane" (Voegelin). Gos: Made of mountain mahogany by leader himself (Malouf).

3. K-A: Not necessarily (McAllister). Ab S: Deer's tail dyed red (Voegelin). De 1: Staff decorated with feathers, ribbon, and otter skins (Petrullo, 90). Win: Tufts of hair around two joints about a foot from each end of cane. An oval celloluid device 5 inches long with feathers attached around its edge was suspended from the upper joint. Staff was walking stick with crook (Praus). Cr 2: Horsehair among the Crow. Sometimes hair of different animals is used. "People wish for the same type of animal as the hair. It is a sort of wishbone." Crow prefer white horsehair to black. "The old-time Indians say white is the cleanest thing on earth; that is why they use that" (Voget).

4. Ab S: Held by person giving the meeting, at opening of meeting only (Voegelin). Cr 2: Four pieces of sage used; held along with staff. Silvery wide-leafed variety of sage is employed (Voget). WRS: Four pieces of *Artemisia* are tied on (Shimkin).

5. Ab S: Bunch of sage passed around separately at beginning of meeting (Voegelin). WRS: Clockwise, "the same as the world" (Shimkin).

9. Cr 2: Man who has his own rattle which suits the pitch of his voice holds leader's rattle in his left hand and rattles his own with his right hand. "Each man does as he wishes in worship." But note that individual rattles not employed until after midnight, apparently out of deference to position of leader. That would be impolite (Voget).

10. Kio: Decoration of gourd proper doubtful. But I have seen "Jesus talk" written on a Comanche gourd (La Barre). Ab S: Gourd itself is stained dark brown with walnut-bark (sic) dye; undecorated otherwise. But handle and projecting end are beaded, tasseled, etc. (Voegelin).

12. Gos: White horsehair at end of handle is not dyed (Malouf). W-P: Feathers also used.

13. Cr 1: "Passed with cane" (Voget).

16. De 2: In "Wilson way" meeting members can rattle own rattles any time (Webber). Prohibition on using rattles other than ones used by road chief until midnight (Petrullo, 90, 158). WRS: After drum goes around once, individual rattles may be used (Shimkin).

18. Ab S: Eagle, chicken hawk, parrot, "any kind of bird." Leader did not have special fan that was passed around; each person, including leader, brought and used own fan all night (Voegelin). De 2: Fans and single feathers used in meeting (Webber). See note 3. Cr 2: Any feathers used. Usually eagle tail feathers come out in set of twelve; that is, twelve good feathers found naturally in tail of each bird. "The twelve-feather set represents months of the year; we do not change that" (Voget). WRS: Eagle-wing fan with feathers bound together is most common. Fan is of same style as other ceremonial fans (Shimkin).

20. Kio: Buckskin feather sockets not decorated or beaded, but handle is beaded (La Barre).

21. W-P: Leader's fan passed only after midnight.

22. Kio: Leader holds own fan with staff when singing; other men do likewise with their fans when singing (La Barre).

24. De 2: Anyone having single feathers or fan can use them any time they wish (Webber).

25. Cr 1: "Used to draw smoke to inhale" (Voget).

26. De 2: Whistle not used in "Wilson way" meeting (Webber). Cr 2: Sometimes used four times in course of meeting. Midnight: strong, sharp, long blasts four times. "We make these four long calls in order that the Creator might hear us. That is the way I understand it among the Crows." Right after the water call, leader goes outside tipi, usually whistles in order toward east, south, west, and north, the four parts of the earth. Four blasts are given to each direction, and a prayer is offered. Type of prayer depends upon the leader, "but each corner has something of its own." East: prayer to rising sun, which brings daylight, and to wind, which comes from east, about which all peoples, Indian and white, know. "I do not know what other countries have, but the Montana east wind is harmless." South: prayers offered to those things of the south, for instance, warmth and food. West: setting of the sun brings darkness. Also, certain foods come from the west. "Whatever property is needed from the west [the leader asks for]." North: the same holds for the north; but north wind usually cold, so leader usually asks Creator to control it, keep it not too cold so that animals will not die (Voget).

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27. Gos: Also used before meeting, while all lined up outside (Malouf).
28. Gos: See note 265a.
30. WRS: Leader allows others to blow whistle as special privilege—to show thanks to Creator (Shimkin).
32. Ab S: Square of purple velvet (Voegelin).
33. Com and No C: Chief drummer does not necessarily provide or tune drum. Best drum available used (Hoebel). Cr 1: Leader has complete outfit, and if drummer, whom he selects, has no drum, leader lends his (Voget). Cr 2: Chief drummer uses own drum (Voget).
35. Cr 2: Can be copper, gold, aluminum, or "anything of iron" (Voget). Gos: 1½-gallon size used, although gallon (No. 6) size desired (Malouf).
36. 13 T: Among Caddo (La Barre).
37. Cr 2: Charcoal obtained from leader's stove (Voget). Gos: Fourteen pieces; Goshute don't know what they represent (Malouf).
38. De 1: Otter skin sometimes used (Webber). Cr 1: "Buckskin of a sort," that is, any well-tanned skin (Voget). Cr 2: Usually deerskin best, but any soft skin may be used (Voget).
40. Kic: Six pebbles used (Noon). Ab S: Eight small round pebbles (Voegelin). De 1: Four small stones used (Petrullo, 50). Cr 1: Seven stone "marbles" (Voget). Cr 2: "Small ball-like rocks" (Voget).
43. Ab S: I suspect it is significant, but my informant did not comment on this (Voegelin). Cr 1: "It means the stars, I guess" (Voget). Cr 2: Symbolized stars in the sky; later the people observed that law officers carried such, and so "we use it to signify living within the law" (Voget). Gos: Represents Morning Star (Malouf).
44. Gos: See note 265a.
46. Cr 1: Chief drummer's used if he has one (Voget).
48. Ab S: Used only after drum had passed halfway around tipi, as far as door; then individual drumsticks smoked in cedar, and permission given to use them—but this long before midnight (Voegelin).
50. De 2: See note 83. Cr 1: Man asks permission of drum chief to pick out drummer (Voget).
51. K-A: Each person participating drums. Feeling strong that one should have peyote partner, and singing and drumming occur in couples. First man sings, his partner drums; then first man drums, second sings. Singing occurs in regular order. Drum skips and then goes back; then skips again, etc. (McAllister). Cr 2: If man on right (A) wishes man on left (B) to drum, B circles room clockwise and sits to right of staff held by A (Voget).
52. Ab S: "Women sometimes drum at a peyote meeting," but mainly men, I noticed (Voegelin). Cr 2: "There is no law against women [drumming], but they just don't" (Voget).
53. Kic: My information not definite on this point. My recollection is that the bag of cedar belonged to the cedarman—this may be a confused impression due to the fact that the cedarman alone threw the cedar on the fire (Noon). Cr 2: Members also have some for their own use (Voget).
55. K-A: No "cedarman"; drummer usually puts cedar on fire (McAllister). Ab S: Usually cedar sprinkled by leader (Voegelin).
56. Win: Both assistants to right and left of leader have cedar bags and sprinkle it on fire at different times. Man on left did so at midnight ceremony (Praus).
57. Ab S: This tobacco is mixed with sage (Voegelin). See note 198 W-P. WRS: Person calling meeting, or sponsor, gives tobacco to leader before meeting, unless sponsor also leader (Shimkin).
58. Gos: See note 265a.
59. Ab S: Perhaps—but I never heard of it for peyote meetings, although Shawnee use oak leaves sometimes for ordinary cigarettes (Voegelin).
60. Cr 2: Paper not "proper"; only when no husks available (Voget).
61. Cr 2: If leader has no tobacco on hand, others may offer their own (Voget).
62. 13 T: Tobacco lacking among some Oto, Pawnee, Winnebago (La Barre, 79). Ute: Tobacco not used in "old Sioux way" sects among Ute and Goshute.
63. Win: Cost of peyote defrayed by persons sponsoring meeting; I received buttons from fire chief, assistant at right of leader, and various men in the group (Praus). WRS: Sponsor gives peyote to leader. Names for peyote: (1) hus; (2) wɔgʷeβi—a Comanche word for "cactus" (Shimkin).

64. Cr 2: Represents the original peyote which the woman found, as recounted in the legend which purports to account for the discovery and subsequent use of peyote (Voget).

65. Opler (1936, 160) states "some [Mescalero] peyote shamans trace a cross of pollen on the 'chief peyote,' some do not." Cr 2: Lines "grow" on peyote naturally; that is, peyote is not re-decorated, the lines (white) being natural products (Voget).

67. Cr 2: Informant thought the chief peyote could be eaten, but did not know of any instance (Voget).

69. K-A: Called a star rather than a cross (McAllister). Cr 2: Represents four corners of earth and also sun's rays (Voget). WRS: At times four, eight, or twelve leaves used to produce different forms (Shimkin).

70. Win: See note 63.

71. K-A: Not necessarily. Depends upon supply and generosity of leader (McAllister). Ab S: People urged to eat their own peyote, if they had brought any, early in evening (Voegelin). De 2: Peyote other than leader's may be eaten before midnight if leader's supply runs out (Webber). Cr 2: One's own peyote can be used from the start (Voget). WRS: Leader's peyote required only for "first round" (Shimkin). Gos: All peyote in one bag (Malouf). W-P: No individual supplies of peyote used in meetings.

73. Kio: Called "road chief" or "road man" from the "peyote road" on symbolic altar; leader tells them the "road" to go (La Barre). Ab S: "Boss man" or "road man" (Voegelin). De 1 and 2: "Road man" (Webber, Petrullo). Cr 2: Usually just plain "chief" (Voget). WRS: tegwahin (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

74. De 2: In one "Wilson way" meeting, the road man sat at east end of moon, faced west (Webber). In one Big Moon variant, road chief to east of altar (Petrullo, 182). See note 97.

79. Kio: Four assistants if peyote woman, water and food bringer, is included (La Barre). De 2: See note 83.

80. De 1 and 2: Called "drum chief" (Webber). W-P: Leader's wife often chief drummer.

81. Win: Chief drummer sits at leader's left (Praus). No C: At leader's left (Hoebel).

83. De 2: "In some Caddo Delaware 'Big Moons' " the drum chief accompanies the drum round the circle, drumming for each singer (La Barre, 69). At start the fireman drums not only for road man, but for everybody completely round the circle; they have as many as five assistant firemen and they drum in turn until end of meeting (Webber). Win: May be chosen by anyone (Praus). Cr 1: May or may not (Voget). Cr 2: Any man can drum if picked out by the singer (Voget). WRS: May drum for beginner (Shimkin). Ute: Chief drummer drums for each singer in turn once during meeting. W-P: May drum for anyone who asks him, or he may offer to drum for individuals. Singer may ask anyone to drum for him; leader often asked. Taos: Singer may ask anyone to drum for him (Parsons).

84. Ab S: At meeting I attended, a visiting Arapaho filled all the functions you note for cedarman. But he was not explicitly referred to as cedarman (Voegelin). Win: See note 56. Cr 2: Apparently selected by leader for each meeting. There might be a different one before and after midnight (Voget).

85. Win: Sits at leader's right (Praus). No C: Sits at leader's right (Hoebel). Cr 2: "Just chance" (Voget).

88. Ab S: Also second fire chief (Voegelin).

89. K-A: Yes, but theoretically fire chief *should* sit on south side (McAllister). De 2: Firemen sit on both sides of door (Webber).

90. Cr 1: "He builds the fire, it commences" (Voget).

92. Win: See note 162.

93. Cr 1: "Well, he lets them come in, he lets them go out. If sick or helpless, he has to help"; otherwise people find own seats (Voget). Cr 2: Conducts late arrivals to their seats (Voget).

94. Kio: In theory; not rigidly adhered to (La Barre). De 2: Bathing not always before, sometimes after meetings (Webber). No C: Only chief and assistants by requirement, others may (Hoebel). Cr 1: If they have to (Voget). Cr 2: The people clean up. Could be viewed as a purification (Voget). W-P: Bathing recommended; often done in hot springs.

95. Ab S: Tipi, sometimes in house (Voegelin). Cr 1: If people want to put up a meeting, they have it at their house (Voget). Cr 2: House or tipi may be used, latter more proper (Voget).

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Gos: Although tipi preferable, house used at meeting attended. All good peyote members have houses facing east for that reason (Malouf).

96. Kio: In old days; not now (La Barre).

97. De 2: One Big Moon variant has entrance to west (Petrullo, 182). Sometimes door to west (Webber). See notes 74, 99.

98. De 2: Most usual Big Moon crescent altar is drawn on ground, instead of being made in a mound. Numerous other innovations in type of altar were introduced by Wilson and his followers (Petrullo, 80, 179–184). However, Anderson's Big Moon altar, consisting of crescentic mound with a line on its crest, is described and shown in picture (Petrullo, 48, 101). Win: Altar consisted of pit inside of horseshoe incised on floor. Lines extended beyond altar in the cardinal directions (Praus). Altar resembles that of the Delaware Big Moon variant shown by Petrullo, plate 3, page 79. Gos: Inasmuch as meeting held in dwelling, special altar constructed. In addition to crescent, apron of earth extended toward the east from concave side of moon which protected the wooden floor from hot embers carried in from fire outside (Malouf).

99. De 2: End toward west in one Big Moon variant (Petrullo, 182). See notes 74, 97. Win: See note 98.

100. De 2: See note 98. Win: See note 98.

101. Gos: Kerosene lamp, four sticks, and hot coals used in place of fire impossible in house (Malouf).

103. Com: Sticks form tipi (Hoebel). Cr 2: Point or "face" west (Voget). WRS: Must be neat is only rule (Shimkin).

104. Kio: In theory; not rigidly enforced. One leader insists fire be lit with one match (La Barre). Cr 1: "Matches is the quickest, or they could use 'clinkers'; that is the Indian way. But that is all past, you know" (Voget). Cr 2: Match employed (Voget).

105. Com and No C: Seven sticks on fire (Hoebel). De 1 and 2: Twelve sticks at start (Petrullo, 80, 101). Cr 2: Number varies with weather, but usually at least four (Voget). Taos: Seven sticks (Parsons).

106. WRS: Sometimes carved (Shimkin).

108. Ab S: Not obligatory, except for female. "Should wear moccasins." Several men wore blankets; "depended upon whether they owned one or not" (Voegelin). Cr 1: "They put on the best they have; they doll up, just as the whites when they go to church" (Voget). Cr 2: People wear their best clothes. Apparently no preference for old-time dress (Voget). Taos: "Peyote boys" wear American shoes and hats, contrary to the rule of going in Indian habit while at the pueblo. Peyotists refuse to cut seats from trousers (Parsons).

109. Cr 1: When dark (Voget).

110. Kio: Varies with leader (La Barre). Ab S: Leader offered prayers when putting up tipi, putting the sage (?) cross on moon, etc., but I do not think he prayed just before going in, except when he made the peyote tea just before the meeting (Voegelin).

111. De 2: Chief enters alone and is seated when others enter (Petrullo, 89; Webber). Gos: Chief enters alone and blows whistle for others to enter (Malouf). See note 265a.

112. De 2: Drum chief led worshippers into tipi (Petrullo, 96).

114. Cr 1: "Each family goes together; women could precede men" (Voget). Cr 2: Such an arrangement could be due to pure chance (Voget).

115. Kio: Women attend, but no children except when meeting given to heal child (Noon). WRS: Children allowed only if ill (Shimkin).

117. De 2: See notes 74, 97, 99. W-P: Rules for seating not fixed. When room, husband and wife sit together in inner circle; when crowded, wife and children sit back of husband.

119. Kio: Varies with leader; some on south side; some near door; some anywhere (save officials' places) (La Barre).

120. De 1 and 2: Women south of altar, men north of altar (Petrullo, 57; Webber). Cr 2: Single line used so no one sits between anyone else and the Creator's gift. Segregation would be result of chance (Voget). WRS: Theoretically proper, often disregarded (Shimkin).

122. Kio: All worshippers sit in single row save when more worshippers than can be thus accommodated (Noon).

124. Cr 1: Blankets (Voget). Cr 2: Each has his own cushion (Voget).

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125. Ab S: Sage underneath blankets (Voegelin). WRS: Sage formerly required (Shimkin).

127. Cr 2: Instructions first as to teaching or belief, followed by prayer (Voget).

128. De 2: Leader prepares first prayer cigarette, which is passed around to all (Webber). Cr 2: Cigarette rolled before prayer (Voget). Gos: See note 265a.

130. Ab S: Leader prayed silently while smoking (Voegelin). Cr 1: Tells about purpose of meeting so they may pray (Voget).

132. Cr 1: To "peyote chief," but "just the same as moon" (Voget). Cr 2: Blown toward "chief peyote" (Voget).

133. Ab S: Prayed with bowed heads, eyes closed, men must kneel (Voegelin).

134. De 2: In original Wilson Moon, cigarette butts placed at left side of altar, in front of road chief, but in other Big Moon ceremonies left in front of smoker to be gathered by fire chief (Webber). Cr 2: Those sitting facing convex surface of moon place their cigarette butts against moon; those facing concave side place their butts at point of horns of moon; those north of line between leader and entrance place theirs on north side of altar, and vice versa (Voget). WRS: Butts placed against moon by fire chief and assistant (Shimkin).

135. Cr 1: "Some take sage from seat and rub this on hands" (Voget).

136. K-A: Sage leaves placed under blankets and each person uses his own (McAllister).

137. Cr 2: Informant did not remember any chewing, but it may have happened a long time ago (Voget).

141. K-A: Yes, but at the meetings I attended they "cut the dose," as they termed it, to two, out of consideration for my presence, for they thought I would find it difficult to eat four; and I would have at one time (McAllister). Ab S: At the meeting we attended each was told to take two buttons (Voegelin). WRS: Some take two (Shimkin).

142. K-A: Optional: some do, most do not. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1: Some. Most simply take it and eat (Voget). WRS: As special sign of respect to Creator (Shimkin).

143. Kio: Mode of eating depends on each individual (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Optional (Voget).

144. Cr 1: Four eaten; then they sing. When meeting starts, outfit has to be going [around] all the time (Voget). Cr 2: First four peyote buttons eaten before singing starts (Voget).

145. Gos: See note 265a.

146. Ab S: Leader held paraphernalia in hands; drum chief likewise (Voegelin).

147. Ab S: Leader sprinkled cedar (Voegelin). Cr 2: Chief does the incensing at this point (Voget).

148. Gos: See note 265a.

149. WRS: More than once; number not fixed (Shimkin).

150. K-A: When cedar is placed on the fire, each person symbolically washes himself with it (McAllister).

151. Cr 1: "Just once; so everyone can smell the smoke" (Voget). WRS: Number not fixed (Shimkin).

152. Cr 1: In front of leader (Voget).

154. WRS: Either Shoshone or Arapaho starting song may be used (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a.

159. Ab S: "The usual number is four, but sometimes men feel so good that they may sing as many as twelve songs" (Voegelin).

160. De 2: Each man sings, then drums for his neighbor (Petrullo, 91). In Wilson Moon the drum chief and different fire chiefs do all the drumming (Webber). See note 83. W-P: See note 83.

161. K-A: Women attend, but I never saw them participate. I do not know if there is a rule; probably merely a feeling that they should not (McAllister). Cr 2: No rule against women singing (Voget). Gos: I inquired about this especially and they said women used to sing but do not do so any more (Malouf). W-P: Women hold staff, lead singing, drum.

163. De 2: No midnight recess (Petrullo, 42). Midnight water call and recess present in Big Moon cult (Petrullo, 158). Recess only to burn cedar incense for everyone to fan over themselves while standing. Water in meeting all night and can be used any time, but is used with restraint (Webber; Petrullo, 93). Gos: See note 265a. W-P: No fixed song for water calls, or any time.

164. Ab S: Recalls and lays them down (Voegelin). Cr 1: "Chief has to put outfit in front of himself" (Voget).

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165. De 1: Ashes formed into an eagle in one small-moon variant (Petrullo, 78). De 2: Ashes piled on each side of fire to represent the lungs of Jesus. Also formed into a heart (Petrullo, 101, 181). Win: Ashes formed into a moon twice during the ritual and, in addition, formed into a heart twice, the "Morning Star" twice (the second time with lines across two points), a cross (by filling with embers the interspaces of the cross incised on floor), and finally a sun (Praus).

169. De 2: See note 163. Cr 2: By cedarman (Voget).

170. Cr 2: Four blasts on the whistle; then two songs are sung, the first being "fixed" (Voget).

171. WRS: Sometimes twice (Shimkin).

172. De 2: Special water song used to call for fresh water in morning (Petrullo, 93).

173–174: Com and No C: Water handed into lodge by women; put in position by fire chief (Hoebel). Kio: Woman once observed blessing water at midnight (Noon).

176. W-P: Cedarman only sprinkles cedar on fire; no prayer.

177. Ab S: Swings water bucket four times over fire on which cedar has been sprinkled (Voegelin).

180. Cr 1: Drummer both smokes and prays (Voget).

182. Gos: To moisten "mother earth" (Malouf).

186. Cr 2: Makes circuit of room after removing water (Voget).

187. Ab S: Drum and staff were lying beside the leader; he picks up staff at this point and hands it to man on his left, while he goes outside with whistle (Voegelin). Win: During drinking of water at midnight, staff placed upright in hole just west of incised horseshoe, in front of leader (Praus).

188. Win: Drummer goes outside after paraphernalia placed (Praus).

193. Win: Only individual fans used after midnight (Praus). Kio: Only fans (Noon).

194. K-A: No urging; each is expected to be his own judge (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Cr 1: "Chief tells them to eat all they wish, but it is up to the individual. Free will, you know. He does not coax to fill them up, or not to" (Voget). Gos: Urged to eat as much as desired (Malouf).

195. Kio: Depends on leader and age of those to whom he is talking (La Barre). Ute: In "old Sioux way" devotees urged not to eat too much; usually eat only four buttons.

196. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). De 2: Road man usually announces that anyone wishing to pray through a cigarette may do so after midnight, but some leaders do not approve of individual prayers (Webber).

197. Kio: As designated by leader (La Barre). Kio: Exceptional. Only when woman is close friend of family of person being treated. Spiritual value of prayers of friends is greater (Noon).

198. W-P: For special individual prayers, leader rolls the cigarettes, to which he adds ground sage leaves. See note 57 Ab S.

201. De 2: Road chief lighted and puffed cigarette before handing it to individual for his prayer, then this chief puffed it and prayed following individual (Petrullo, 93). Cr 2: It might be handed to anyone (Voget).

202. No C: Instead of to cedarman, butt handed to fire chief, who blows four puffs toward altar (Hoebel).

205. Kio: Procedure not rigid. Leader may run this differently at each meeting (La Barre). W-P: Leader occasionally but not usually prays following individual prayers.

206. Kio: May leave between a man's four songs, if gets leader's permission. Prescribed etiquette for passing before smokers and eaters (La Barre). Cr 1 and 2: Permissible to leave any time, if necessary (Voget). Gos: No one left during songs, but several went outside during prayers in early morning (Malouf).

207. De 2: Fixed water call in morning for fire chief to bring pail of fresh water, replacing that which had been in meeting all night. (Petrullo, 93, 102). All blessings by road chief in Big Moon variant (Webber; Petrullo, 102). Win: No water brought into meeting in morning (Praus). Gos: See note 265a.

209. De 2: See note 207.

210. De 2: Road chief blesses water (Webber).

212–213. De 2: No peyote breakfast (Petrullo, 94). Peyote breakfast present in all Big Moon variants (Petrullo, 157). As a rule, at "Wilson way" meeting no peyote breakfast served; instead candy, refreshments served, especially if among rich Oklahoma Indians (Webber). Win:

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Food eaten outside without special ceremony after meeting (Praus). Cr 1: "If breakfast ready, she [woman water carrier] brings it in; if not, fire chief brings it in later" (Voget).

215. No C: In absence of corn, Cracker Jack (a brand of candied popcorn) used. Boiled raisins and rice used as fruit (Hoebel). WR8: Order varied; fruit sometimes last (Shimkin). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: Rice sometimes used in place of maize (Parsons).

216. No C: See note 215 for use of rice. Gos: According to my Washo-Paiute informants, Goshute boiled rice instead of corn at times. W-P: Fruit (canned peaches, salad mixture) sometimes served before boiled rice.

217. Ab S: Fruit was home-canned blackberries (Voegelin).

219. Cr 1: "Just cooked corn; if do not have it, use canned corn" (Voget). WR8: May be canned corn (Shimkin).

220. Ab S: Red and white striped peppermint stick candy, broken into inch pieces (Voegelin). De 2: See note 212. Cr 1: "Not here, but I hear those south boys use it" (Voget). WR8: For special ceremonies—Christmas, Easter, etc. (Shimkin).

221. Cr 1 and 2: Individual selected especially for blessing food (Voget).

222. De 2: Exit from tipi at dawn to wash and greet sun, then return to tipi until dinner (Petrullo, 93).

223–225. De 2: Drum untied and paraphernalia put away after blessing and before eating dinner at noon (Petrullo, 94). Win: Paraphernalia put away after blessing of dinner at noon (Praus). Gos: See note 265a. Taos: After breakfast, singing continues until paraphernalia reach chief (Parsons).

226. No C: Water tasted on drumstick (Hoebel).

227. WR8: Recently discontinued (Shimkin).

228. Ab S: Poured on west side of moon (Voegelin). Win: Water from drum sprinkled on four interspaces of cross (incised on floor of fireplace) which had been filled with live embers by the fire chief (Praus).

234. Kio: Usually handed by fireman to woman or women helpers (La Barre).

235. De 2: Meeting continues until noon (Petrullo, 94; Webber).

236. Kio: No formal lining up to greet sun. May be individual wordless "greetings" (La Barre). De 2: Devotees file out of tipi and line up facing sun, at dawn (Petrullo, 93, 97). At exactly noon, leader gazes at sun and worships sun and blesses food (Webber).

237. Kio: May or may not return to tipi. Those with photophobic eyes seek shade either in tipi, under "shade," or under "tree" (La Barre).

238. K-A: Tipi dismantled, but altar simply left; no longer sacred, but not intentionally destroyed (McAllister). Kio: Depends on leader (La Barre). Cr 1: "Tipi might be taken down in evening, leaving altar way it is" (Voget).

240. Ab S: Bible not used, but I was told that it is used among the "Loyal" or Cherokee Shawnee of northeastern Oklahoma. Some among the Cherokee Shawnee take peyote "according to the Bible way . . . like those Ioways." The "Bible way" peyote takers are "against" old native religious ceremonies and dances, which is not the case among the Absentee (Voegelin).

250. Kio: Before the blessing of the water takes place, the food is outside the tipi back of the prayer. When it is set up for "peyote breakfast" it is between prayer and water (La Barre).

251–265. These elements are thus defined by Petrullo (1934, 154–58). Win: Jesus mentioned in all prayers (Praus). WR8: damē apē (Our [inclusive] Father). One informant used the exclusive form nī'mē apē (Shimkin.)

252. Gos: Prayers addressed to God, Jesus Christ, Mary, and Peyote (Malouf).

253. Ab S: "God sent the peyote for man to worship" (Voegelin).

254. Win: Meeting I attended was held to thank Jesus for the recovery of two women (Praus).

255. Kio: Some say so, some not (La Barre).

260. Ab S: Purification not stressed, but in line with all I heard about peyote (Voegelin).

261. W-P: Modifications were made, but there was no claim that they were based on revelations.

262. Kio: True of all American Indian religions about which I know, possibly of all approaches to all gods and spirits in all religion (maybe this is one of the definitions of religion!) (La Barre). Ab S: I should say so! "We are pitiful people" (Voegelin).

263. Kio: Like Calvin Coolidge's preacher, the Kiowa are "against sin" too; I don't know what else this element means (La Barre).

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264. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre).

265. Kio: Depends on the individual and his special life history (La Barre). Kie: The informant said the incised line on the crescent was "the line toward Christ" (Noon). Goe: Simply called the path of life (Malouf).

265a. A copy of the following program was given to the Ibapah Goshute by an Oklahoma Indian. When the copy was badly worn the Indians asked subagent A. L. Robertson to make a new one, which he did, sending me the carbon copy in January, 1940.

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Program: Native American Church

Part 1—Enter Tepee about 7 or 8 o'clock p.m. in file viz., first, the leader, second, drummer or assistant chief, third, audience follows, all taking seats, fourth, last man to enter fire chief.

Part 2—First, let [place] peyote on moon, second, pass tobacco and corn husks to right to man next to door south, third, fire chief passes cigarette lighted [cigarette-lighting] stick to first man south side of door going around the fire. Man places stick in fire. The chief or leader offers prayer for purpose of meeting it of 5-finish prayer out. Everybody put down stubs around base of moon.

Part 3—Pass sacks of medicine [peyote] to first man south of door and everybody take 4 peyote each and chew and eat medicine.

Part 4—Leader, lay rattler, staff, feathers, and whistle before you, and smudge outfit with cedar leaves by putting in fire and pass over the smudge whole outfit 4 times. Motion forward and back and drummer follows same motion. Lay whistle vertical along side of moon, under chief peyote. Start singing first song follow with any other 3 songs. Pass rattler, staff to left—going around.

Part 5—Midnight. Fire chief fix fire clear up. Gather [place] cigarette stubs to each end of moon [tips of crescent].

Leader recalls outfit to him, puts cedar in fire smudge outfit, drum also and sing midnight song, smudge the water sitting before fire, and fire man behind it and pass to leader and drummer will take cigarette puff. A few times and pass to leader to finish, lay cigarette down between base of moon and whistle and spill a little water on the ground, pass to man on the south side of the door going around to the fire man and take out water, set some where outside and return into tepee. Go around the place and leader then passed the outfit back to the man where the outfit was recalled for taking out water. Leader steps outdoors to offer prayer to four corner points of wall facing, east, south, west, north, blow whistle facing east and going to south side and blow the whistle south and going to west blow whistle to west and going to the north side blow whistle to the north and then return inside and drummer will make cedar smudge to you and take your seat as before. Lay whistle back in the same place and proceed as before.

Part 5—Morning. Fix ashes along side of moon and clean up. Fire man hands you whistle and smudge feathers and whistle. Sing morning song and follow with 3 songs and lay everything to right and leader may ask anyone to offer prayer with cedar to smudge water and meantime drummer rolls smoke for woman and when through smudging water pass cigarette to fireman. He lights it and gives to woman, she offers prayer. When through she takes her seat and smokes, then gives to leader. He offers prayer, finishes, puts stub down as usual. Woman spills little water on ground, drinks and passes water to one south side of door and going around as before. Woman rises, going around and picks up bucket before stepping out. As soon as possible have breakfast delivered, water, corn, fruit, meat. Recall outfit.

Sing 3 songs. Last one quitting song. Lay outfit before you. Offer as blessing for all. Take off chief peyote. Untie drum and pass around the circle.

Fire man takes outfit outside and comes in, goes around and pass breakfast to man south side door in position. Go out as soon as through.

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PLATE 1

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a. Lone Bear (Ralph Kochampanaskin; Ute Indian) with his peyote paraphernalia. Picture taken at Dresslerville, near Gardnerville, and presented to me by Lone Bear. The drum, used only in peyote meetings, is a specially made drum of brass, purchased in Oklahoma. Lone Bear, intending to send this picture to a friend, had written on the back of it the following: "After a peyote meeting. This was taken in the morning. There was 63 indians. Washo indians and they are still using the peyote in old way as I showed them, 'Ute way.' tepee way is to new to us. I will change it to tepee way if all agree. March 7, 1935." (Lone Bear in telling me about this meeting, which he held for his son, said that only his own family were present.)

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b. Sam Dick, Washo peyote chief, and paraphernalia. Dismantled drum in front. Taken Sunday morning, July, 1938, near Mono Lake.

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c. Earth and ash moons and remains of fire, in foreground. Members and officers (left to right): Paiute member; Paiute chief drummer (chief's wife); Washo chief; Paiute cedarman; Paiute fire chief; Washo member. Morning after meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938.

d. Dance around altar after peyote meeting. Mono Lake, July, 1938. The Sierra Nevada rises in the background.

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PEYOTE PARAPHERNALIA; MOONS; DANCE AROUND ALTAR

[P. 398, A]

764 The dispute between the widow and the sister mentioned
[578] earlier was an argument as to whether the deceased would be buried in one of these sites or in the cemetery at Stewart, Nevada.

A white man who has lived in the area for ninety years, reported that as a boy he often came across caches of belongings of dead Indians in the mountains.
[178] Today, prized possessions are either crowded into the casket with the body or burned or secreted in some remote area of the Sierra.

Funeral ceremonies were apparently simple. The body was wrapped and carried into the hills to be interred. Prayers in the form of a short speech were
[782] directed toward the dead. "We are burying you because you are dead. It's not because we are mad at you or don't like you. But you are dead. Please don't come back and bother us."

765 Widows traditionally cut their hair in mourning, a
[302] custom which is still practiced. Stewart reports that mourners painted their faces black. My informants
[178] denied this, but one elaborated: "I remember when I was a little girl old Indians who had lost someone would cry a lot and let the tears run down their faces
764 and not wash their faces until they were real dirty
[626] and black with fire smoke." Crying at a funeral was expected and in fact positively sanctioned. At a funeral conducted while I was present the sheriff arrested a drunken Washo who was wailing quite loudly. The Indians were all bitter about this because: "All of us cry at a funeral whether we are drunk or not. That's
[627] the way the Washo do it." (This funeral was that of a murder victim and the sheriff was present because he feared there might be a reprisal attempt.)

A newspaper report of a funeral in Genoa, Nevada, in the late 1880's records that the Indians had borrowed a wagon from a white man to transport the corpse (that of a well-known Indian woman) to the burying ground. The wagon was followed by a large crowd of weeping mourners.

764 Modern funerals usually take place under the aus-
178 pices of a funeral director, and generally services are performed by a Christian minister from the Stewart
● [797] Indian agency. After the white minister has left, it is usual for an older Indian to approach the casket and repeat the old funeral prayers. The reason for waiting until the minister leaves is to avoid hurting his feelings. My informants said the prayers made the
[768] older Indians feel more comfortable. It is usually not necessary to burn the deceased's home, but his belongings are disposed of. There is an increasing tendency to tend graves and put flowers on them. The
769 cemetery at Stewart appears to be well decorated with
178 flowers. Two old Indian graves near Lake Tahoe are regularly visited and jars of flowers placed on them.*

When the husband of one of my informants died.

[648]

*The concern for these particular graves may be in part motivated by the fact that they are a focal point in a Washo land claim. Because of California law concerning cemeteries, the Indians contend that the tourist camp presently on the site is there illegally and that the land is theirs. Thus far the camp operator has been enjoined from removing or desecrating the graves, but the Indians' claim has not been considered.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[841] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[881] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we
did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband)
used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
[582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having sev-
eral different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
game, often carried one. But power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it.
"My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an
old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it,
it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo
believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

● 797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from
two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained
representatives from time to time at one or another
of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appall-
ingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and
neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Per-
manent missionizing efforts apparently have been
abandoned. One church group carries on a summer
[764] Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
ther than the result of any real desire on the part of
the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem
to have simply incorporated Christian services as an-
other source of power. It is less than surprising that
[177] a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have
found white doctors useful but white ministers a rath-
er mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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cise and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [831]

Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

● 797 668 182

The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church [764] to repeat ancient funeral prayers. [782]

The

funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but they are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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Indian New Deal," by the Bannock at Fort Hall in 1920, "two years after they got it." From that time he made yearly visits to Idaho, except during the winter of 1926, which was passed with the Shawnee and Kickapoo, and in the years from 1928 to 1932, when he lived with the Cheyenne and Kiowa and visited other tribes. In spite of his long adherence, Johnny conducted his first ritual in Nevada in January, 1938, to cure his sister, making a special trip to Oklahoma to get peyote. Joe Green (P,11), Leo Okio's assistant, was drummer. Four or five curing meetings and a special Easter service, attended by only a few friends and relatives, were all that followed. Like Lone Bear, Johnny opposes Ben Lancaster because he collects money for personal use and allows too much female participation.

Mike Wallace (P,3), Johnny Wright's nephew, joined the religion at Fort Hall in 1932 and returned there the next two summers and the winter of 1935. In 1936, he attended two of Ben Lancaster's meetings in Nevada. Later, in 1937, after learning the "right way" while on a trip to Oklahoma with his uncle, he opposed Ben.

Jim Street (S,12) was converted at a Goshute peyote meeting at Ibapah, Utah, about 1932, but was inactive until he joined Ben Lancaster's cult in 1938. By November, 1938, Jim was chief drummer and leader during Ben's absences.

George J. Johnnie (P,6) had once taken his father to Utah for a peyote cure, but had not been to Ben's meeting by November, 1938, in spite of his statements that he would go sometime.

Vehement denouncers of peyotism were Ike Sutton (W,Reno), who attended a meeting in Oklahoma; Ray Fillmore (W,2), who went to college at Becone, Oklahoma, 1930–1933, where "the boys would boil peyote and drink it like beer"; Roy D. Mills, a quarter-blood Sioux (married to a Washo girl), who had used peyote in South Dakota, Utah, and Oklahoma; and Dave Strouse, a quarter-blood Seneca (married to a Washo), who had attended a peyote meeting in Wisconsin. These Indians oppose peyote because "it is a drug" and because Ben Lancaster makes too much money—"it's a racket."

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1936 Proselyter Ben Lancaster

The foregoing gives a picture of how the stage was set for Ben Lancaster, also known as Chief Gray Horse, producer and principal actor in the 1936 episode of Washo-Paiute peyotism. From him and his acquaintances I gathered a knowledge of his life before his return to Nevada after a twenty-year absence, and the data illuminate his cult and its effect upon the two tribes.

He was born about 1880, probably near Mountain House, Nevada, an old stage-coach station about fifteen miles south of Gardnerville, almost on the Nevada-California state line; and incidentally, also on the boundary between Washo and Northern Paiute territory. His mother was Washo. Who his father was is not known; he is said by most Indians to have been white." Part of the year 1899 he went to the Carson Indian School, this being the extent of his formal education. During his youth he was a ranch hand: milking cows, herding sheep, working hay, getting drunk, traveling around western Nevada. Living with Paiute and Washo, he learned both languages.

Fair enough to pass for a white man, he deserted his Indian friends and ranch jobs to become eventually the "best bartender in Nevada" and a professional gambler. From Reno he went to San Francisco to "work on the water front." While in that city, he learned to cook opium in a Chinatown den on Dupont Street, and later worked near by in a "planing mill at the foot of Broadway in Oakland."

" On the government census rolls, he is classified as fullblood.

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When the Walker River Reservation was opened for mineral claims in 1907, he was there looking for ore. After mining or prospecting "in every mineral district in Nevada," he caught an east-bound freight train in 1916. He worked in Bingham Canyon, Utah, and, during the war, in the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Working for Armour and Company in Omaha, "busting broncbos" near Red Rock, Oklahoma (1919), and bootlegging whiskey in Hot Springs, Arkansas, were a few of Ben's experiences before 1921 when he got a job as a farm hand near Clinton, Oklahoma, and attended a Cheyenne peyote meeting, his first.

Shortly after this, he began "traveling for a medicine company"; and for the next ten years, letting his hair grow and sporting a fancy feather headdress and beaded buckskin clothes, he trekked over the United States selling "Chief Gray Horse's Indian Herbs, a natural laxative." Although he claimed he advertised the medicine for Baker Chemical Company, Cincinnati, and sold it only to stores, he is known widely in Oklahoma as an herb-medicine salesman.[*] He sold his few remaining boxes of medicine to his Nevada converts to peyotism at the regular price of $1.00. The package contained an ounce or two of dry ground "cascara, mandrake, polk root, gentian, uva ursi, licorice, wild cherry, senna, and other herbs," a medicine "strictly botanical," prepared by "Chief Gray Horse Remedy Company, Cincinnati, Ohio."[*] "Hoover's depression," he said, "put me out of business; then I started drifting and getting odd jobs wherever I could."

Ben spent each Christmas with his Cheyenne peyotist friends. Johnny Wright met him there in 1930, and in 1932 he (Johnny) heard that Ben was selling herbs and was married to a white woman who had a restaurant in Lawton, Oklahoma. (Ben refused to confirm this marriage, but Carnegie Smokey [W,2] lived with Ben and his white wife, Sylvia Gray Horse, after he followed Ben to Texas, January, 1938.)[*]

In 1930 Ben told Johnny that he would take peyote to his people in 1932, but he was delayed until 1936. His plans to proselyte among the Washo and the Northern Paiute were secret. "I had cut and dried peyote near Sanderson, Texas, to bring to the Washo," he said, "for I knew these Indians needed it." Near Phoenix, Arizona, he added a cactus staff to the ritual equipment he had obtained in Oklahoma. He conducted his first meeting at Randlett, Utah, for the Ute Indians. At Ibapah, Utah, he held one for the Goshute. About the first of October, 1936, he arrived in Minden, Nevada, where he lived with his "aunt," Susie Dick, and his "cousin," Sam Dick.

For a week or two, he spent most of his time sitting on the curb at Gardnerville, causing quite a stir with his hair bound in colored wrappings falling over his shoulders and his beaded vest, and greeting old friends and acquaintances, both Indian and white. Nothing was said about peyote during that time, and one Indian girl told me she got drunk with him.

[*] This is confirmed by letters from the superintendents of the Cheyenne and Arapaho agencies, from the secretary and treasurer of the Native American Church, from a Kiowa and an Oto in Oklahoma, and by Johnny Wright.

[*] I saw several boxes and obtained from one its folded leaflet containing this information.

[*] In a letter dated September 26, 1938, the present officials of the Native American Church (the incorporated Indian peyote church) denied any knowledge of Ben's membership in their church. That Ben went to peyote meetings in Oklahoma frequently enough to be considered a member of the Native American Church is confirmed in a letter to me dated December 3, 1938, from Mack Haag (Cheyenne), of Calumet, Oklahoma, former president of the church. He wrote that Ben was a member, had attended many meetings, and was well qualified to start the church in Nevada, although he did not know that Ben had done so.

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Converts among Washo and Northern Paiute

About the middle of October, however, he began proselyting, holding his first meeting privately. Sam Dick's jar drum, which Lone Bear had taught him to tie with buckskin, suggested that Sam might be a valuable aide. Although Sam had been active in Lone Bear's cult in 1932, he was still a practicing shaman, for Lone Bear saw no incompatibility between the two methods of curing. Sam Dick, his wife, and Ben were at the first meeting, at "Wood Camp" in the mountains south of Gardnerville. Sam's account bears quoting:

> He made the moon; I tied his drum and he gave us peyote. During the night he thrashed me out [made me vomit] and made me realize that I had been using devil power to do the doctoring. He told me that I would have to throw away my outfit, and it made me cry. He made me cry just as he had done when we were kids. Then he said, "Don't cry for that devil power; cry for God and the true peyote religion. That is worth crying for." He made me see the truth, and I realized that I had been doing wrong without knowing it. He taught me how to use peyote. He showed me that I didn't need to drink and carry that disease in my body. He showed me how to run meetings, what to do, how to forgive mistakes.

This first meeting was facilitated by Sam's kinship with Ben and his previous experience with peyote. Sam appears to have had a conversion in the conventional sense—that is, recognition of sin, repentance, faith in a new religion, and a desire for a new way of life. That Ben had dominated Sam during their previous life together probably prepared the way for the renewal of the same relationship. Sam became Ben's principal supporter and conducted meetings in his absence in 1937.

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Among the old friends Ben met at Gardnerville was Johnny Cleveland, who was on his way to the Sierras to get some "balsam from the big pines" to cure a friend. Ben explained he had some medicine that might help the patient, as well as Johnny's "pitching" arm, sore for twenty years; he would bring it to Schurz soon. On November 11, 1936, Ben arrived there with peyote. Johnny ate two buttons and sang with Ben until midnight, without any other ritual. The next day he took Ben to Johnny Doe (P,1), his sick friend. A regular meeting was called and about twenty people attended. Ben had told Johnny Doe there would be no charge since they were old friends, but other participants were encouraged to give about twenty-five cents each. By midnight Johnny Doe's old handgame songs were loud and clear, although at the start he could hardly whisper. Ben passed the staff, rattle, and drum, asking everyone to sing "just any song." The next day Johnny Doe was out of bed and over at the gambling grounds; Jennie Williams threw away her crutches and walked with a cane; Johnny Cleveland's arm was cured; and Mary D. Creek decided to stop drinking. During the first week three meetings were held; and after the third Ben moved into Mary D. Creek's house, where they lived as man and wife. Two meetings were held the second week; then Ben and Mary went to the "Wood Camp" and organized another meeting with Sam Dick and his wife.

At Schurz, Ben also had the advantage of working with old friends who looked up to him for his worldliness and his unusual life. His position was soon enhanced by Commissioner Collier's visit, during which, it was reported, he admitted to Ben before a large gathering that there were no Federal laws against the use of peyote, that the Commissioner's son had tried it, and that, as used in Oklahoma, it was probably a good thing since many of the finest Indians belong to the peyotist Native American Church. However, peyotism appealed to the Schurz Indians because it appeared to cure.

The cult at Schurz had opponents from the start and was short-lived.[36] The In-

[36] One of the first members was committed to the State Mental Hospital at Sparks, Nevada, soon after joining. A diagnosis of manic depression was entered on the Hospital record.

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dians' previous knowledge of peyote was contradictory: some heard that all who used peyote with Leo Okio had died; others remembered Tom Knudsen's statement that peyote cured. One Indian convert continued to be interpreter for the Baptist missionary, and Johnny Cleveland, Indian judge, urged attendance at the mission. In spite of belief in the miraculous power of peyote, kept alive by testimonials, only about a dozen meetings were held at Schurz; and only Mary D. Creek of the twenty or twenty-five who were active for about three months attended meetings after February, 1937.

Through their grapevine news system nearly all the Washo and Northern Paiute Indians soon heard of Ben Lancaster's medicine and meetings. Ben asked Sam to arrange meetings with his friends; and since Willie Smokey (W,2), his "cousin," was sick, a meeting was held for him on November 26, 1936, at the Dresslerville Indian Colony, a mile from Gardnerville. After a few meetings in Smokey's house, the crowds were so large that a canvas was put up in a circle, and meetings were conducted in the open in spite of freezing temperatures.

Everyone was invited and from seventy to a hundred persons attended. Probably his success prompted Ben to change the charitable manner used at Schurz, for now he preached the necessity of voluntary contributions of money. Though telling the Indians to give whatever they wished, Ben exaggerated the expense entailed in procuring peyote and the greater blessings received through larger contributions. The $4.00 to $5.00 received for a meeting at Schurz became $50 to $80. No doubt the Gardnerville Washo primarily came to the meetings to be cured of real or supposed ills. Those who were well learned that peyote would protect them and show them the right way to live. The entering wedge was through kinship and friendship, and usually when one member of a family joined, the rest followed.

Willie Smokey, councilman and leader in the Baptist mission, was respected for his sobriety and intelligence by Indians and whites. His family—wife, mother, three married children, and five unmarried, adult children—formed the nucleus of the Gardnerville cult, which was active until December, 1937. During that time, the Smokeys gave Ben baskets; beadwork; special foods, such as piñon-nut flour; many dinners; and all the money they could, which was a fair amount because all were working. They became so earnest that they never missed a meeting wherever held, as a result endangering their employment by tardiness or absence. Like Sam Dick, they seem to have been converted religiously, and in conversations after their separation from the cult they emphasized its spiritual and ethical qualities much more than its medicinal efficacy. They maintained that since Ben failed to correct certain unjust and irreligious acts of Sam Dick they could not attend meetings. (It was apparent, however, that jealousy and thwarted ambition were the real reasons.)

At Gardnerville, Ben Lancaster's peyotism flourished and declined much as had Lone Bear's cult four years earlier. By November, 1938, only one family of four active peyotists remained there;[19] and since June, 1938, Ben has refused their request for meetings because of the militant opposition.

After instituting meetings near Gardnerville, Ben and his wife traveled to and from meetings there and at Schurz, about sixty miles away. The road passes through Wellington in Smith Valley and Yerington in Mason Valley, where about two hundred Indians live in two colonies and on scattered ranches. Most of the older Indians remembered Ben; and although they are Northern Paiute, several traced distant kinship with him. At Wellington, Ben told James Keno (P,3), his "cousin-

[19] Two other active members are listed on Dresslerville census rolls, but they live elsewhere.

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brother," of his new medicine and religion. Since his son was ill, Keno agreed to hold a meeting, to which Ben invited most of the thirty families in the valley. The meeting was held in early December, 1936, in a large ranch-house room lent to Keno by his Italian employer. The room was crowded. Curing was emphasized as the reason for the meeting, and nearly every sick Indian in the valley was there.

In January, meetings were called in Yerington for two young men known to have advanced tuberculosis. Ed Reymus and Ed Decroy were so sick that Ben suggested all-night meetings on two successive nights, a frequent practice during the early months of proselyting. After the first two rituals, both patients seemed improved; and meetings were called again two weeks later. During the last night of the second series, however, both patients complained of dryness in the throat which could not be relieved. Ed Reymus died at home two days later (January 24, 1937), and Ed Decroy died at Schurz Hospital, February 8, 1937. No more meetings were held at Yerington and only a few Yerington Indians have attended them elsewhere.

It is difficult to conduct a peyote meeting when only one person present knows the ritual. Probably to have an experienced first assistant on hand at all times, Ben made his wife chief drummer. He and Mary held meetings alternately at Schurz, Wellington, and Gardnerville until March, 1937, when Schurz was dropped.

Coleville, California, took the place of Schurz in the circuit. The Coleville meetings were called for Joe McBride by his wife and relatives, who had attended meetings at Wellington. The Coleville converts, unlike those at Yerington, continued to participate in peyotism in spite of Joe McBride's death (he, too, suffered from advanced tuberculosis), possibly because Ben laid the blame on the poisonous alcoholic breath of a drunken sheriff, who broke up a meeting at McBride's a day or two before Joe died.

To Daisy Cushman (P,12) is due the credit for the first meeting at Fallon Reservation. She had stolen away from the Schurz Hospital, where she was convalescing, to attend Ben's early Schurz meeting. She wrote her sister, Dolly Moose (P,6), at Fallon Reservation, about peyote's cures. Since Dolly Moose's daughter Ruth had endocarditis, which the doctors affirmed might cause her death at any time, Dolly took her daughter from the hospital and wrote Ben, who decided on a three-night ritual. Only the family assisted on the first two nights, but the third night a neighbor, Joaquin Brown (P,6), offered to help pay for the "doctoring." The child seemed improved, and another meeting was arranged in two weeks. Joaquin invited all the Indians on the reservation to attend, especially the sick; but only about 20 of the 146 adults came, among them several of Ben's old friends. Treatments were continued and four families were converted. When the child died five months later, Ben explained it by saying her Aunt Daisy had exposed her to whiskey fumes. However, since Ben neglected to attend the funeral, the Mooses, although devout, stopped attending meetings.

The sanity trial of peyotist Joaquin Brown, ending with a prison sentence for incest, further placed the peyote cult in a bad light here. During the trial, Ben left his Paiute wife with Keno in Smith Valley and went to Texas in his new Ford V8 automobile. One enthusiastic woman contributed $100 to defray the expenses of his long pilgrimage to get peyote and, incidentally, to join his legal wife.

Even before this trial, the majority of Northern Paiute and Shoshone Indians of Fallon Reservation were skeptical. Several maintained that peyote had killed all who had eaten it in 1929 and 1930. Most of the sick had in fact died in the six intervening years, although none had died immediately after Leo Okio's meetings. Nevertheless, of the ten Paiute and three Shoshone families who were present at

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Ben's first meetings at Fallon Reservation, one Shoshone, one Paiute, and one mixed Shoshone-Paiute family were converted, becoming steadfast members.

Returning from Texas late in April, 1937, Ben was asked by the Mono Lake (California) Paiute to hold a meeting. A Mono Lake Indian had been present at the early Schurz meetings, and had advertised the peyote cures as miracles. Young Charlie (P,7), eighty-five years of age, who was being kept alive by small doses of digitalis,[a] sponsored the meeting and felt so improved that he discontinued his usual medicine. A month or so later he died. Cures of less serious ills, however, impressed several families and other meetings were held. By August, Betsy Sam (P,7) was convinced that peyote could cure her fifteen-year-old son of tuberculosis of the spine, although a year in Phoenix, Arizona, and four months in the Agency Sanitarium at Stewart, Nevada, had not helped him. Jimmie Sam, unable to walk when his mother took him from the hospital against the doctor's advice, seems to have improved steadily under peyote. He was putting on weight and walking within a month; and when I saw him in November, 1938, he was driving a truck to get wood. Jimmie's improvement, admitted astonishing by field nurses and doctors, together with Ben Lancaster's ingenious explanations for his failures, have brought continuous contributions from eight Mono County pensioners and four employees of the State Highway Department and Los Angeles waterworks.

During the summer of 1937, meetings were held in three new towns; first at Bridgeport, California. John Lundy, aged sixty-seven, a Miwok Indian who has lived thirty-five years with the Northern Paiute, was cured of a cold. Discouraged from further participation by the County Pension Administration's threat to stop payments to peyote users, he nevertheless sent his son to meetings to be cured of paralysis in one arm and both legs. Woodfords, California, was the next new town, with a ritual for Maggie James (W,9). Shamans and white doctors had not cured her of a large goiter, but after a single peyote ceremony and a $10 contribution she was greatly helped. Faithful attendance and contributions of about $2.00 a week kept her out of bed. Visalia Cornbread (W,10) called a meeting at Carson City for his son.

At the end of a successful year, during which peyote meetings had been started in three Washo and seven Paiute Indian communities, the "peyote chief" again made the trip to the peyote fields. From December, 1937, to April, 1938, Ben Lancaster lived in Oiltown, Texas, with his white wife, where he cut and dried peyote. When Carnegie Smokey (W,2) arrived there penniless but eager to assist in the sacred task of preparing peyote, he sensed Ben's discomfiture. Ben's care to keep him from other peyotists, his refusal to assist another convert who had followed him, and the presence of his white wife made Carnegie question his sincerity.

While awaiting Ben's return, Mary D. Creek stayed with Sam Dick, his wife, and his mother; and Mary and Sam held meetings. Money from collections and from sales of peyote for home use[a] was sent to Ben. Sam, the first Washo convert, had been prepared by careful tutoring to conduct the meetings in Ben's absence.

Sam and Mary answered calls in the communities Ben had opened and initiated the Pyramid Lake Reservation with a meeting at Nixon, December, 1937. Harry Sam (P,11), previously cured by peyote, took his niece from the Stewart Sanitarium, where she suffered from arthritic swellings in her knees, and called a meeting to help her. So successful was Sam Dick that the Nixon group of a dozen or so converts call him even when Ben is available.

Happenings during Sam's leadership had important repercussions, shedding

[a] According to Dr. Bambauer, Indian Service doctor at Bishop.
[a] Ben's regular price was ten cents a button.

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light upon the whole problem of acculturation. Less than a month after Ben departed, Willie Smokey became ill and went to the hospital. (The very fact that a good peyotist entered a hospital is unusual.) His daughter Freda called a meeting for him, but she and her brother Carnegie were late and Sam had already started when they arrived. From here on, two accounts must be presented: the Smokeys' and Sam Dick's. The Smokeys accuse Sam of ignoring them and not praying for Willie Smokey. According to Sam, Freda Smokey was jealous and wanted to run the meeting; she made fun of him and said he did wrong. At the end of the meeting, a friend of the Smokeys went out of his head and said the world was coming to an end, which Freda took as proof of Sam's mistakes and Sam interpreted as retribution for false criticism.

The Smokeys and most other Dresslerville members refused to attend any more of Sam's meetings, but both factions awaited Ben's return to be vindicated. Carnegie Smokey even went to Texas in order to present his side of the dispute first.

Nor was the apostasy of the Dresslerville group Sam's sole difficulty. He left his wife and married Joe McBride's widow, which led ultimately to a break between Sam and Ben's Nevada wife and chief drummer, Mary. Sam's new wife wanted to be drummer. When Sam humored her, Mary left for Schurz in a huff. These instances of jealousy between members could be multiplied.

The situation which greeted Ben on his return was not a happy one, nor did he improve it. First, he rejected Mary as his wife, accusing her of getting drunk in his absence.[22] Then he failed to appease the Smokeys. When they called a meeting for justice, he slighted them. Ben joked with Sam and "prayed for Don James (W,2) and his sheep-shearing machine." To be unmentioned while blessings were invoked for a new convert's machinery was insulting, and the Smokeys ceased to support the meetings. During the first year, Sam Dick's Minden home was Ben's headquarters, and the Washo Indians at Dresslerville received most of his attention. Circumstances changed rapidly. Shortly after his return from Texas in April, 1938, the Fallon Town colony came within the orbit of the cult and soon became the real center.

Ben seemed unconcerned about losing the support of most of the Dresslerville converts when he added Jim Street, a Shoshone of the Fallon Town colony, to his following. Jim had money in the bank, a new car, and a good job with the largest store in Fallon. Ben was probably attracted to Jim also because of his flair for leadership. Jim's confidence and audacity are illustrated by his request for thirty-five peyote buttons at his first meeting at Ibapah: "If it was worth traveling four hundred miles to get, I wanted enough to feel." His remarkable visions at the Ibapah meeting had converted him. Now Ben convinced him that his "tipi way" cult was even better than the "old Sioux way" of the Goshute. Jim's sister-in-law, Louise Byers (S,12), released from prison after serving two years of a ten-year sentence for killing a man when driving while drunk, became Ben's new Nevada wife, the two moving into Jim's house. From then on, Ben paid no attention to his Indian friends and relatives in Gardnerville and Minden, stopping there only to pick up weekly air-mail letters from his Texas wife, sent in care of a shoemaker.

The faithful, soon adjusted to the Smokeys' absence from meetings, absolved Ben and began accusing the Smokeys of all manner of sin. The meetings continued to be held at the homes of the numerous members, and Lake Tahoe was added as a pleasant summer meeting place.

[22] In November, 1938, while keeping house for a white man in Hawthorne, Nevada, Mary D. Creek still used peyote as a home remedy and praised Ben. Indian Policeman Jones and Indian Judge Cleveland of Schurz helped her retrieve part of the $50 she gave Ben when they "married."

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Don James (W,2) was taken into the peyote cult with special enthusiasm, much to the surprise of members and outsiders, for he had been one of Ben's most articulate and adverse critics for a year. Ben was attracted to him apparently as he had been attracted to Jim Street and for the same reasons. Don joined to stop drinking and because peyote had helped his mother, Maggie James. He had equipment worth about $10,000—shearing machine, trucks, and a string of horses which he rented to tourists at Lake Tahoe. He boasted he had borrowed and repaid $3000, and an official of the Minden bank said his credit was good for almost any amount.

The James boys invited the members to Lake Tahoe in July; the Kenos moved to Campbell Ranch, near Yerington, which replaced Wellington as meeting place; and finally a meeting was requested at Bishop, California, in August, 1938.

Although Bishop was the last place to request a meeting, Soda Tom's wife (P,14) and daughter Rosy Moose (P,14) were members of several years' standing. Like Joe Green of Nixon, Soda Tom's wife and Rosy joined Ben's cult because of belief instilled by Leo Okio. In 1930 they had heard of Leo's doctoring and traveled from Bishop to the Fallon Reservation, and thence to Nixon to participate in as many meetings as possible. They had had experience with Ben's cult in the summer of 1937 when at Mono Lake with Johnson Charles (P), a relative. All the Indians in Bishop knew that Soda Tom, his wife, Rosy Moose, and Johnson Charles were members and had heard of Jimmie Sam's recovery from his aunt who lives in Bishop. But they had also heard of the incest of Joaquin Brown, of the deaths of Ed Decroy and Young Charlie, and that peyote is a dangerous dope. None attended the meeting at Soda Tom's. However, the house was filled with approximately seventy members who came from as far away as Fallon, 160 miles, no one traveling less than 60 miles.

Ben Lancaster conducted his last 1938 meeting for the Washo and the Northern Paiute on November 6, at Bishop, where nearly a hundred peyotists were assembled. During the next week, he gathered piñon nuts, and with four 100-pound sugar sacks filled (half donated by Soda Tom) he departed for Texas. In spite of Ben's suggestions to the contrary, Louise Byers went with him.

On the same day that Ben left Bishop, Sam Dick conducted a meeting at Coleville, well attended by devotees who previously had accused him of evil practice and had spurned his meeting while Ben was present. Possibly many came from curiosity because, when appointing Jim Street to represent him and leaving him a supply of peyote, Ben had announced that Sam had no medicine and could get none; thus definitely breaking with Sam, whose special interpretations he had tolerated for a year.* Sam accuses Jim of using devil power to separate him from his "dear brother Ben"; and competes with Jim for the faithful. Members are aware of the hatred Sam holds for Jim and some take sides, but most will go to either meeting, for "wherever peyote is used, there can be no wrong."

In two years, peyotism spread to fourteen communities scattered in an area extending 250 miles north to south and 100 miles east to west. Reno and Benton were the only important locations of Indian communities in this 25,000 square miles at which ceremonies had not been held (see the map, p. 67, and table 1, p. 122).

CHANGES IN RITUAL AND ATTITUDES

In spite of the possibility of change in a religion transplanted into a new cultural setting, the diffusion outlined above has affected the peyote ritual relatively little. The similarity between the Washo-Paiute ritual and its Kiowa-Comanche prototype is evident from the detailed description and the element distribution list

* I had sold Sam five hundred peyote buttons for $5.00, having obtained them from Laredo, Texas, for such emergencies.

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interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals."

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings." Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction." For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult."

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue." Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains."

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped." The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

" U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

" Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

" Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

" My data are in accord with Schultes' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

" Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

" La Barre, 72.

" Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

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peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission,"[a] thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[b] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[c] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[d] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One inferred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[a] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[b] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[c] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[d] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20 ●

of a new type of living."[72] The inadequacy of these theories in respect to the diffusion of peyotism is suggested by statistics published by Newberne (pp. 33–35) concerning adherence to peyotism on most reservations. The percentages of peyotists at a few agencies are as follows: 5 per cent at Southern Ute agency; 5 per cent of Northern Cheyenne and Sioux at Pine Ridge; 75 per cent at Cheyenne and Arapaho agency; 0.7 per cent of Sioux at Rosebud."

These facts are strong indications that people in identical cultural situations reacted differently toward the Ghost Dances and the peyote cult, and lead to the supposition that we know virtually nothing about the manner in which culture conditions acceptance or rejection of new religions.

What is, then, the reason for diffusion? In the case of the Washo-Paiute, the individual, at times with economic motives, looms as a determining element. The first contacts with peyote came through Leo Okio and Lone Bear. The cults established by these men in 1929 and 1932 ceased to be active when one departed and the other was jailed. What might have been the consequences had these men acted differently or had Johnny Wright, Paiute convert of 1920, been a zealous, extroverted leader instead of a shy, introverted personality?

The final establishment of peyotism among the Washo-Paiute is comprehended only through an understanding of Ben Lancaster. He was an extremely sophisticated Indian and an opportunist, colorful, aggressive, canny, and prompted by strong ambitions. He was well trained to become a professional missionary during years of experience as a successful salesman of herb medicine. Everything he had said of his "natural laxative" could be said of peyote. He appears to be a deliberate exploiter of his followers; yet it is probably incorrect to call him irreligious or insincere. Johnny Wright's and Mack Haag's statements indicate that his conversion was real and that he had been an attentive, conscientious follower of peyotism for fifteen years before bringing it to Nevada. It is true, nevertheless, that he introduced peyote to the Washo-Paiute when unemployed and that he used the cult to get a good living. His disregard for the impecunious shows him to be a selfish person, really interested in helping only those who contributed significantly to his well-being.

In Ben, that is, the individual, rests the crucial factor in Washo-Paiute peyotism. Moreover, in the historical sketch at the beginning of this study, we saw how personal friends and relatives occupied key positions in the cult's spread from village to village, and in the review of opinions concerning the religion we recorded many personal reasons for its acceptance or rejection. Only with these data on individual behavior can there be gained a valid impression of the diffusion, its reasons and consequences—acculturation.

Have individuals played equally decisive roles in the spread of other cults? Ethnologists have realized, of course, that particular agents carried Indian religions from tribe to tribe, and some complete histories of such personalities have been recorded. When it came to analyzing the general phenomenon of diffusion, however, individuals have been minimized, forgotten, or were depicted as automatons of their cultures, and the cultures were dissected to reveal basic motives. With faith shaken that cultural autopsy can adequately expose reasons for behavior and noting that in all groups there are remarkably distinct personal reactions toward introduced cults, proselyters and their motives assume new significance.

The 1870 Ghost Dance furnishes several examples of converts who carried the cult beyond their own tribes and who used the cult for their personal benefit. Du

[72] See fns. 64 and 65, p. 90 above.

[73] Newberne's statistics are reproduced completely in Appendix III.

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Washo NT20 ●
Yurok N531
Comanche N06

Bois (p. 6) and Nash (p. 414) both tell of Frank Spencer (Weneyuga), who conducted Ghost Dances in 1870 among the Washo, Paiute of Surprise Valley, at Klamath Reservation, and at McDermitt. Knowing that Basin Indians paid shamans well and that Spencer became a famous shaman at McDermitt, I do not doubt that he received something more than glory for his trouble. This is supported by Nash's statement (p. 424) concerning the 1870 movement at Klamath: "The appeal to the leaders—personal aggrandizement of previously declassed individuals—should not be overlooked."

The Shasta Indian who introduced the Earth Lodge variant of the 1870 Ghost Dance to the Siletz and Grand Ronde reservations and attempted to get a following among the Columbia River tribes "made quite a lot of money" by selling eagle-tail feathers at $1.00 apiece, headbands for $1.25, and by imposing fines of twenty-five cents for dropping a feather. He was given "three or four horses," also. Another convert, who took the dance to Coos Bay and charged one dollar for attendance, told Du Bois (p. 34): ". . . Cheteo Charlie and I divided the money. . . ." A contemporary newspaper account said of the Yurok Ghost Dance leader, "In his character of prophet he exacted a levy of half a dollar from each Indian permitted to join."[75] A Wintun invited the Achomawi to a dance with the instruction to bring all their valuables to pay for it." And Du Bois's Chico Maidu informant said, "The River Patwin had wagons and were well-to-do, so they were called to Chico. The Hill Maidu were poor and had to come on foot, so they weren't asked often."

Homaldo (Mexican Jo), one of the Wintun creators of the Bole-Maru, the central California phase of the 1870 Ghost Dance, demanded twenty dollars for holding a meeting and said if it was not paid the rancheria captains "would have bad luck and die." Because Homaldo used sleight-of-hand tricks and had a white man partner, Du Bois (pp. 63–66) writes: ". . . his integrity, if not his influence, is suspect." She did not suspect Paitla, who proselyted western Oregon and the Shasta, Wintun, and Achomawi, although he often accompanied Homaldo and "told people to pay him money so they could be saved."

Except for Homaldo, Du Bois does not consider important the factor of individual financial advantage to the missionaries and innovators in the spread of the 1870 Ghost Dance complex. With the evidence she presents, however, financial reward added to political and social prerogatives appears to have been a strong inducement for converts to carry the religion beyond the confines of their own tribes.

Similar instances are found in the history of the 1890 Ghost Dance. Even the Northern Paiute (Paviotso) Wovoka, who at first seemed to be an unselfish, naïve dreamer, succumbed to the desire for material gain. Steward was told by the Owens Valley Paiute that Wovoka, "losing influence in California and Nevada . . . visited Oklahoma, charging people one dollar to shake hands and dividing the profits with a young boy" (p. 322). Shimkin heard that Wovoka when returning from a tour of the Plains visited Wind River, Wyoming, and charged from ten cents to ten dollars, according to ability to pay, for the same privilege.

The history of the 1890 Ghost Dance, as recorded by Mooney, is primarily one of the successes of outstanding leaders and proselyters." The Arapaho Sitting Bull was the principal Arapaho leader and was probably personally responsible for the spread of the Ghost Dance to the Ponca, Oto, Missouri, Kansa, Iowa, Osage,

[75] Du Bois, 23, 27.
[76] Tom Garth, field notes.
[77] One case was individual obstruction. Mooney said the Comanche did not take to the Ghost Dance because "Quannah Parker, their head chief, opposed the new doctrine and prevented its spread among his tribe."

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return. John Wright was told that the same Sam Roan Bear "took about $700 from Fort Hall; then was afraid to go back," and Mike Wallace heard likewise. Wright learned in Oklahoma that Sam Roan Bear had also cheated the Taos Indians until exposed by a visiting Cheyenne; and Lone Bear reported that Sam started the cult among the Goshute, and also in Montana and Idaho, being "put in jail over peyote in Blackfoot." Voget learned that Sam Lone Bear (probably Sam Roan Bear) had passed as a great peyote doctor and received much money from the Crow in 1920. The Crow said, "He pulled the same trick on the Shoshone and Arapaho." A Taos peyotist told me in 1939 that Sam Roan Bear was one of the first peyotists who had been there, and La Barre (p. 65) reports that a "Sioux peyote doctor at Taos was given a silk dress of the patient's wife, a belt, and $5.00 in cash." The Uintah Ute told of "peyote peddlers" visiting them, and I talked with two Southern Ute Indians who had been arrested and jailed in Blanding, Utah, for selling peyote to the Indians there. It is not surprising that proselyters, as well as peddlers, share in the profits of the $20,000-a-year traffic in this cactus."

It appears from this review that Indian proselyters have played an important role in disseminating the doctrines of the 1870 Ghost Dance, its derivatives, the 1890 Ghost Dance, and the peyote cult. I suspect that Indians other than Homaldo, Frank White, John Wilson, and Ben Lancaster have profited by aiding the diffusion of native religions, and that the reason the individual and the economic motive have not received more consideration is the incompleteness of our data. It would be false, however, to say that these missionaries have been less devout believers than others; a judgment would have to rest on additional evidence. Likewise, it would be wrong to assume that the doctrines and rituals promulgated by these persons are necessarily different from those spread by others. The doctrines might be changed sufficiently to protect the proselyter's prerogatives, as in the case of Frank White, but only a small percentage of Ben Lancaster's innovations resulted from his desire to insure his income.

In the section treating Washo-Paiute reasons for accepting and rejecting peyote, notes were appended which showed that similar varied and personal motives for behavior had been expressed by peyotists among other tribes, so that there is considerable probability that Indians elsewhere reacted as arbitrarily as the Washo-Paiute. If so, we may assume that a knowledge of individuals and their varied behavior is as essential for a clear understanding of the Ghost dances, Shaker cult, and Plains peyotism as it is for Washo–Northern Paiute peyotism.

In conclusion, I wish to present a generalized picture of the diffusion of peyotism to the Washo and Northern Paiute, with the implication, on the basis of comparisons made, that something similar occurred with the spread of other native religions. Knowledge of the religion came when individuals desired aggrandizement, social, political, above all, economic; therefore becoming proselyters and deliberately setting about to convert the Washo-Paiute. Chance factors of kinship, friendship, and personality were very important in effecting the cult's reception. When the cult became known in the area, there came, also from the outside, opposition to it. In simplest terms, the reasons for rejecting peyotism diffused to the Washo-Paiute and grew in proportion to the cult's gains. Foreign Indians, returning travelers, letters, and Christian missionaries brought to the Washo-Paiute arguments intended to hinder peyote's acceptance. As the Indians had experience with the cult and observed its effects, its value was assessed differently by different persons. Local opinion became divided, each person of necessity judging

[a] Schultes, 1937, 129–131; 1938, 206. La Barre, 64.

[P 383, B]

222 527 [754]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1950's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances, however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. They implied that those who insisted on this were [801] simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes them pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them then [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824 [782]

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pinyon pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed destroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789 [182]

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the element lists (3621). This practice must have been occasional and relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

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Washo NT20

if the introduced complex is similar to some aspects of the indigenous culture, or can be interpreted in the light of existing principles." The second is the cultural disintegration theory, which says that peoples experiencing cultural disintegration and degradation will readily accept new religions, especially those which promise the miraculous restoration of former conditions of life." So satisfactory have appeared the interpretations based on these postulates they have almost become truisms in ethnology. Although no one has assumed they explained everything, they have been employed almost exclusively, either because data for more detailed analysis were lacking or because the problem seemed adequately solved.

How do the facts of the diffusion of the peyote cult to the Washo-Paiute fit into these theories? Application of the cultural compatibility theory does not result in a satisfactory explanation. The following ceremonial elements in the aboriginal culture might be said to resemble those in the peyote complex: the Great Basin curing performance is a semisocial affair in which both sexes assist the shaman by singing and smoking; staff, rattle, feathers, and eagle-wingbone whistle are used; curing ceremonies last all night and have midnight intermissions; the Washo have a ceremonial number four and clockwise ceremonial direction; shamans have visions; Jimson weed is used for curing, visions, luck, prognostication, clairvoyance—"Roots are ground, soaked, and boiled, concoction being drunk."" Thus, peyotism and Washo-Paiute ceremonial usage have a number of elements in common.

However, if the cultural compatibility explanation is carried to its logical conclusion, one should list the ceremonial elements which differ from those in peyotism, for if similarities favor acceptance, differences should hinder it. Elements in aboriginal Washo-Paiute ceremonialism unlike those in peyotism are: an extremely simple curing ceremony in which only the shaman's personal songs are sung and a tubular pipe is smoked; no drum is used; the rattles are made of cocoons, rawhide, or deerhoofs instead of gourds; the staff is not passed around but is stuck in the ground; single feathers instead of a fan are used; the Northern Paiute ceremonial number is five, and the ceremonial direction counterclockwise; powers are received in visions during normal sleep, visions being of spirits, water babies, and animals, which represent the shaman's supernatural power; in curing, the shaman goes into a trance to allow his soul to pursue and return the lost soul of the sick person, or he removes stones, insects, blood, etc., from the patient by sucking.

When dissimilarities as well as similarities are considered, analysis becomes complicated by the necessity of evaluating the relative strength of the opposing factors. Furthermore, with regard to Washo-Paiute peyotism, the problem is more

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" Radin, 1914, 7: "We have, then at the beginning, apparently the introduction of only one new element,—the peyote; with possibly a few Christian teachings. Everything else seems to be typically Winnebago, and in consonance with their shamanistic practices. On the whole, the extension of the Winnebago cultural background seems to have been so instantaneous that so far as the specific cultural traits of the Winnebago are concerned, there was no introduction of a new element." Shonle, 59: ". . . the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of Peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread." Opler, 164: ". . . the reason for [the peyote cult's] slavish acceptance is not far to seek. The elements, or quite similar ones, were already present in Apache ceremonial usage." La Barre, 121 (also, 7, 117): "Conceivably it could spread until it embraced all Plains, Basin, and Woodlands groups whose earlier culture is sufficiently consonant with its concepts . . . it appears that the pre-peyote mescal bean cult prepared the way somewhat for the use of the narcotic cactus."

" Kroeber, 1925, 868–873, assumes that the Ghost Dance of 1870 spread to California, whereas that of 1890 diffused to the Plains, because "the native civilization of northern California appears to have suffered as great a disintegration by 1870 . . . as the average tribe of the central United States had undergone by 1890." See also Lowie, 1923, 188–200, and many others.

" Steward, 1933, 318.

person never traded a whole deer. This indicates that the hide was about one-third the value of the deer.

Pinenuts were often carried and stored in certain kinds of buckskin bags and willow baskets. A tugabul full of pinenuts in the shell was something of a standard of measurement. The tugabul was a coarse scoop-shaped, open twined tray used for winnowing and roasting. It would hold about five gallons of pinenuts leveled to the rim of the basket.

Another basket used for measuring was the bayudate which was a single rod coiled bowl-shaped basket that varied in capacity from about a pint to two quarts. By converting from tugabul and bayudate to pints, quarts, and gallons it was possible to describe the value of a few objects in terms of volume of pinenuts. The following relationships were estimated by Hank Pete for a period in the middle of winter when food surplus was somewhat low: (1) a magpie tail feather = 1 pint; (2) an obsidian knife = 1 quart; (3) a pair of moccasins, an eagle tail feather, or a tugabul basket = 2 quarts; (4) a sinew backed bow and three arrows with stone points = 4 gallons; (5) an untanned deer skin = 6 gallons; and (6) a tanned deer skin = 7 gallons.

It is assumed that in late winter, when pinenuts were more scarce, this ideal scale of values would shift so that fewer pinenuts were worth more manufactured goods. Considerably more research needs to be done in this regard. The influence of extreme scarcity on the character of economic distributions is a problem that cannot be dealt with here.

The Washo had little trade with non-Washo peoples. Several influences appear to have contributed to this fact. The languages of the surrounding peoples were unintelligible. The Washo lived in a mountainous country where transportation by foot was difficult and occasionally impossible in the winter. They also ranged a large, productive, and diversified environment that supplied almost every kind of good used except ocean shells. A trek from Carson Valley over the Sierra Nevada for acorns (malung) might take them into every kind of vegetation zone and natural habitat in the Sierras. Salt (ungabi)[1] was available in Antelope Valley, obsidian (patsaga) from Mono Lake country, and red ochre (sawasang) from an area south of the present town of Dayton, Nevada. Foods such as pinenuts (tagum), fish (stabi), rabbits (p◊lleu), and deer (m◊mdewi) were plentiful within Washo territory.

1. This word (ungabi) came from the Shoshonean stock of languages so that phonetic variations of it were used by the Northern and Southern Paiute, the Ute, and Shoshoni (Steward 1938, 275-283).

Washo NTRC●
Achomawi NSS

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV--STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		To	Kl	Kt	Ka	To	Th	Pa	Wa	At	Im	Tg	Wd	Kl	All
	2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2687. Barefoot	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2688. Feathers carried in hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2689. Bow and arrow carried	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2690. Hook bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691.	Dancers paint: face	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2692. Body	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693.	Wasilcine: 2	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2693a.3 or 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2693b.5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694.	Split-stick rattle	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2695.	Wasalokin necklace	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2699.	Dancing: individuals perform separately	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701.	Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2701a.4 or 6	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2702.	Dancers: men	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2703. Women	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2704. Visitors	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2705.	Dancers paid by hosts	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2706. Coins held in split stick	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2707. Property spread on blanket	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2708.	Dance performed: at time of circle dance	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2709. At midnight, 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2709a.Several nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2710a.Several days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2711. Crazy Dance (tonongava)	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2711b.Special singers	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2712. Musical instruments	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2712a.2 sticks	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2713a.Men dressed as women	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2714. Dancing back and forth, sideways	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2715. Ghost Dance (nagava)	•	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	•	•
	2716. Circle dance	o	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2717. Shamans at center post	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2718. Dead return to post	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2719a.5 nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2719b.Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	MISCELLANEOUS														
	Calendar														
	2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2721. 12 month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2721a.4 season names	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	•
	Astronomy														
	2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2723. Dust road (kusipo)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2725. Sky path	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726.	Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
	2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2727.	Position of new moon indicates weather	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[P. 417]

Washo NT20

N 805 822 grove-high-month" (tokwinai mûha); "Indian-potato-month" (tenga mûha); "salmon-month" (arai mûha); "big month" (pava mûha); "spring-month" or "ground-hog-shadow-month" (tana mûha); "cold month" (tsese'-ddi mûha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W [805 822] 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Kl: Spring (March-May), tana muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tono muc. Kl: * (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N 821 789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N 751 2730a. Tû: Specularite (padupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Owens

N 787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N 522 773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 69, photograph). Wi: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

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I

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Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

The Soul—Spooks

775 The souls of the dead go south (Jack, Dave). But according to some Washo
[787] they remain near the living and listen to them. Some people dream of the dead, who appear as in life. Such a dreamer would report, "I saw So-and-so in a dream and talked with him." Whirlwinds are identified with the dead coming
[821] by; all the dead travel. When a person goes to sleep by himself and hears some noise striking the house, it is the ghost of a dead man; it makes a crack in the house and looks at the inmate. This was the belief of an old man, shared by some Washo and rejected by others. Dave, who quoted it, commented as follows: "He tells right, by God. I think he's right a little bit: dead people don't go anywhere, they stay right here. . . . If there were any people alive in Heaven, maybe they'd make a rope and come down, but no one does that."

[551] A dead person's name should not be uttered. Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: "He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!"

787 Some Indians see ghosts at night, that is, they see a good dress without a face and
775 are frightened. Once, of a night, Jack's son, when about two miles from Reno, thought
539 he heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw women sitting on the ground, and asked why they were not joining in the dance. They did not answer. Then he inquired for the owner of a horse standing there. Still there was no answer. Then he struck a match, and the women were gone. He went up to pet the horse, and it was no longer there. Then he got frightened and quickly went to an Indian house.

Once, in the old days, a Washo saw a strange figure hanging on the limb of a big tree
[763] struck by lightning. The apparition was this to the bone, curly-haired, with big eyes and black face, wings, and legs with little feet, but no arms. The Indian went home. That night he began to tremble; after another day and a half he died. Then the other Indians were all afraid and did not want to look at that thing any more.

776 A species of evil water-beings was called mɛtsuŋ'ɛ'. The Washo were afraid to meet them. Once, when walking in the sand around Lake Tahoe, Dave saw the tracks of one. These beings would travel about a little, always along the shore, at night, then go back into the Lake again. They made the sound of babies at night; the Indians would hear them. They live in a house under the water, possibly twenty feet below the surface. Men and women both live there. They do not like Indians; the Washo avoid them and never dream of them. A Washo would be terrified, paralyzed "a little bit," bleed from the nose, and fall sick if he saw one of these beings. Judging from their tracks, their feet are only the length of a little baby's.

776 Once, a Washo was fishing in the Lake with a line and reel, when the line got caught
539 at the bottom. He thought it was a snake, but it was a mɛtsuŋ'ɛ' pulling the line down. He was pretty strong. After a while he let go, and the line got slack. There was a tuft of hair on the point of the hook. The Indian was paralyzed and fell down unconscious in his boat for possibly an hour. There was no wind. At last he woke up terrified and made for home. He cut off the hook and line with the hair, and threw them back into the water. He told his wife and children about his experience. For a week after that the fish would not bite. All the Washo were afraid. About half a mile from shore there is a spring; that is where these water-beings probably come from. Their hair reaches down to the knee.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'ena) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

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824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

[224]

[262]

23

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

[262]

[224]

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

276

821

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

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Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

825

276

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

[P.371, A]

his wife to accompany him and when she saw him begin to sink into the water she screamed with fear. The rock stopped sinking with Mike only knee deep in the water. Since that time no one has attempted to enter the room. This promontory is the center of Water Baby habitation and is reported to be the upper end of a tunnel which extends under the mountains to Genoa so that Water Babies can move freely from the lake to the valley. The rock also marks the eastern end of a road of white sand reported to cross the lake bottom. On the northwest end of the road was located a bed of plants, probably wild parsnips, which doctors gathered for medicine. The wild parsnip was poisonous but doctors ate it to demonstrate their power. They also chewed it into a paste and spread it on rattlesnake bites.

Another spot familiar to doctors was a mysterious hole in the mountains near Blue Lake. The hole could be located by following a spiraling path of white quarts toward the center. According to the Washo tale, if a man dropped even as much as a hair into this hole it made a great roaring sound. Suzie Dick, a Washo woman, whose claim of being one hundred years' old is borne out by white residents, insists that as a fifteen-year-old girl she went to see this hole and was terrorized by a huge hand which reached up out of the darkness and tried to seize her.

Vaguely known to most Washo but familiar to doctors was a cave situated south and west of Gardnerville where ready-made grinding stones were to be found. These, depending on the informant, were made by old Indians or were put there by "nature" for the use of the Washo.

NONCURATIVE USE OF POWER

(2567-2593)

Indian doctors often used their power in spectacular displays, apparently to impress patients. Often these displays were competitive.

In the words of one informant: "Them old doctors used to see who had the most power. They'd stick four or five sticks in the ground, each one farther away than the last one, and see how many they could knock down." Then, disconcertingly, he added: "You can read about that in Kroeber. He tells about some other Indians who did that but I guess he didn't know the Washo did it too." This informant considered Professor Kroeber as an authority second only to himself in matters pertaining to Indians.

DIVINING AND RAINMAKING

(2553-2556, 2568)

There were no doctors with rainmaking power among the Washo. However, anyone, particularly a man deemed to be a leader, might encourage rain during the summer. The rite, which is still observed occasionally by individuals, consists of soaking a pine-nut cone in water and placing it on the ground in the pine-nut hills. Modern Washo look upon this more as a prayer, but in the past it may have been considered as a spell.

The ancient matriarch Suzie Dick steadfastly insists that less rain falls in the Carson Valley than in neighboring valleys because "nobody is talking to God anymore around here." While she talked she pointed to the clouds hanging over Washo and Antelope valleys and to

[P. 371, B]

791 the cloudless sky overhead.

789 Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers,
821 which is a source of much amusement among the Washo.
[648] Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

237 Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be
778 the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia.
[231] Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even
[437] to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (233-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Description of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped
[231] of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shed.

237 In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were impor-
291 tant parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers
778 were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

795 Modern peyotists have lost none of the traditional
237 Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial
778 fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

778 Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played
276 an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addi-
[756] tion it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are
[782] often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as
[795] if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

824 Incense cedar plays an important role in modern
795 peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire
778 to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.378, B] When the husband of one of my informants died, following a twelve-year illness spent in a secondary house, she went to visit a daughter living near Lake Tahoe. When she returned to Dresslerville her two sons had torn down the shed and disposed of all their father's possessions. In deference to their mother's rather modern views about funerals, nothing had been placed in the casket.

While I was in Dresslerville an Indian, of about forty put the torch to the house in which his mother and father had lived. The house had been unoccupied since their deaths. While the house burned no effort was made to extinguish the fire or to call the fire department. A nearby rancher saw the fire and summoned the fire department, but the Indians refused to tell the firemen how the fire had started. The local newspaper reported it had been burned to drive away evil spirits. This upset my informants, one of whom said that the sight of the house simply made the man sad. She elaborated that the Washo felt they were helping God wipe out the tracks of a dead person. The Washo claim that after a death there is always a rain or sand storm which wipes out the tracks of the deceased.

After the Washo return home from a funeral, they immediately wash their faces and hands. They would not feel safe in handling food or children until this ritual had been carried out.

The behavior of the dead is a matter of concern for most Washo (2606-2609a). Ideally, the spirit is supposed to go up and to the south where dead Indians are. This land of the dead is guarded by a number of men with bows. Some shamans were able to make the trip to the land of the dead (2541-2544). If they could elude these guards, they were sometimes able to recover the spirit of a recently dead person and return it. If, however, the spirit has partaken of the water of a spring immediately behind the guards, it can never be recovered. The by-now-familiar uncle of my informant once visited the land of the dead and reported that there were lots of Indians there playing games and having a good time. If murder victims were present they were with the celebrants, but the spirits of the killers were segregated and were not having a good time.

Ghosts, however, wander over the land. They are generally malevolent. If they feel they have been badly used in life, or are not properly honored after death, or have not been given the things they wanted when buried, they may wreak vengeance on the living. To prevent this, homes were abandoned, prayers were said, and names of the dead were not used. In discussing a recent murder, one of the most progressive of the Washo was extremely reluctant to give the name of the victim, and, when she finally did, she whispered it. One of the difficulties encountered by government agents when pine-nut lands were allotted to the Washo was a refusal to name the ancestors on whom the allotment claim was based.

Ghosts are often said to come in the form of whirlwinds or dust devils, and most Washo will avoid looking at a whirlwind. At night, a sudden puff of warm air is thought to be a ghost passing nearby.

Mormons recalled to Utah by Brigham Young.

1858 - The Comstock Lode was discovered at Virginia City and in the next two years an estimated 20,000 people came into Washo territory in the "rush to Washoe". 175

The newspaper "Territorial Enterprise" began in Genoa.

The telegraph line reached Genoa from Placerville.

1859 - The Carson Valley Indian Agent, Major J. Dodge (1859) wrote "The Washo Nation number about 900 souls, and inhabit the country along the base of the Sierra Nevada mountains, from Honey Lake on the north, to the west fork of Walker's River on the south. They are divided into three different bands. 'Capt. Jim's' band is located in the vicinity of Carson, Washo, and Eagle Valleys, and Lake Bigler. This band numbers 145 men, 110 women, and 87 children. Total - 342. I have had talk with this band and given them some presents. 'Capt. Jim' is the head of the nation. 175 161 131 175 621 162 622

'Pos-Larke's'band is located in Little Valley between the east and west forks of Carson River, and numbers about the same as Capt. Jims band, 340.

'Deer-Dicks' band lives in and claims Long Valley southeast from Honey Lake, and numbers about 300.

...I would here recommend that a large extent of country be taken up, and all in one body, and to concentrate the whole 'Py-Ute' and 'Wa-Sho' Nations upon it, making one expense do for both. 175

...A few days ago a Wa-Sho died from actual starvation and exposure in the vicinity of Lake Bigler which is situated in the 'Sierra Nevada Mountains,' and another was found dead at the base of those mountains yesterday from the same cause." [165]

The severe winter this year was blamed on the Whites by the Washo. [821]

Commercial fishing began by Whites on Lake Tahoe when the "Fishery" was established on the southeast shore of the lake (Scott 1957). [648]

Isaac L. Roop became the 1st Governor of "Nevada Territory" and J. B. Blake hosted the 1st territorial legislature.

1860 - Battle of Pyramid Lake, involving the Northern Paiute and Whites.

5,000 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River. 10,000 head of cattle, horses, and hogs were pastured in [648]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (icombisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

668*
533*
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[993]

creation, and also gives some indication of the process of variation:

When I was a child in Carson Valley I used to go out in the fields at night during a thunder storm to listen. Lightning and thunder had a special fascination for me, and I still dream about it. I remember how the sound of thunder seemed to strike against Job's Peak and then glance off and go rolling northward like the sounds which had followed and swallowed up "the old lady and the old man" (mythological creatures in the Washo creation tale). While the thunder was rolling away I could hear him singing a song; his voice was that sound thunder makes when it echoes among the mountains. I can remember that song, and I can sing it. I have sung it ever since I was a child. It is my song. The words went *li wa . . . li wa na*. That *li* sound was a kind of white man's language sound, kind of hard and rolling along . . . *li wan*.

[821]
[178]

Later, when the informant began to attend Peyote meetings, he started by singing this song, but in time he changed the "words" a bit to sound like *han a wan*. He did this to make it sound more like "Peyote song words." He was not sure that the original sounds were appropriate because they were filled with his earlier fears as well as his feeling that thunder and lightning were his "power." Peyote forces one to put these earlier powers aside and trust in Peyote. As time went on, he began to change the song slightly to include parts of other songs that struck him as similar to his. He heard one song from a member in Idaho which fitted into his own song. "But it is really my own song and pretty much the way I used to sing it when I was a kid; the way it moves and the words still remind me of the way thunder sounds when it echoes and bounces along the valley."

[177]

Variation, effect of recorder, and rivalry

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533*

It is difficult to ascertain many clear-cut patterns with respect to allowable variation in Washo Peyote songs. The range varies from a frank admission of improvisation during the course of the song, to saying about a "main" song that "It can't be changed in any way or it is wrong. You learn it that way and you keep it that way." It appears that, ideally at least, "main" songs are never changed; apparently other songs may be varied to the point of becoming "new." Under normal circumstances, the singer seems to try to keep the original version fairly well in mind—"I try to sing it the same way," or "If you can, you keep the song like you heard it"—but on the other hand, "I can't quite get it just the same," and "it is all right to change it some time." There is also a clear recognition of changing songs, expressed in such statements as:

I made lots of changes, but I don't know exactly what they are now. I put some of my own sounds in and changed the tune a little. You can do that if you feel like it.

I tried to keep the old words as much as possible, but I couldn't understand them anyway, so little by little I stuck in some sounds from my own language that seemed good.

At the same time, "it is important to keep the rhythm as much the same as you can; that's a special part of the song."

In the fifth cycle the singer sang five songs; when questioned he averred that "it doesn't make any difference outside the meetings," but he was more

undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

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Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

shaman, said that he called up the rain twice. He no longer calls up the rain, for he now eats deer meat. A shaman cannot eat the source of his power and then pray to it; if he does, he will become ill. A person with rattlesnake or blood wegeléyu is often a sorcerer who uses his power to cause sickness and to kill. But a man with rattlesnake power can also cure, and those with other kinds of power can kill. People with special powers behave in a familiar fashion with their wegeléyus or imitate them. People with power from the water-baby walk into springs and can stay under water for long periods; those who have rattlesnake wegeléyu can handle rattlesnakes safely; and men with power from the bear sometimes behave like bears.

The dreams that bring power to men and women are not sought by torture, fasting, or any other method. Many people desire these dreams, but nothing can be done to induce one. Henry Rupert described the dream by which he obtained power as follows: He dreamed he saw a buck that was looking at him from the west. The deer said, "Don't kill my baby any more." Since then, said Rupert, he didn't kill lizards or snakes without reason. When he awoke, his nose was bleeding and it was raining. The rain, the nosebleed, and the talking deer were the unusual features of this dream and its aftermath; from them, Rupert knew he had had an extraordinary experience. From the rain, he knew his wegeléyu was water. From the time of his first dream, Rupert has continued to have unusual dreams. He dreamed about future events, and in a day or two most of them happened. Rupert hears songs in dreams that were sung long ago by the bird, bear and loon. In his curing rites, he sings songs learned in dreams.

Rupert reports a dream related by another shaman who dreamed that he saw sagebrush shaking, but that no wind blew. Then two streams appeared, one of water and one of blood. A voice asked him which is good, and he replied that water is good. Then the sagebrush laughed. By this answer, the man had chosen to use his power to cure rather than kill.

When power comes, the individual who receives it must either get rid of it or learn to use it. Rupert apparently tried both procedures. Once he fell sick and hired a shaman to cure him. The shaman told him that the power to foretell the future was dangerous and that he would remove it. He sucked the power, a piece of bone, from Rupert's forehead. The bone, according to Rupert, was from a young male Hindu whose skeleton was stored at the Indian school at Carson City. Rupert used to play with the skeleton and says that at this time the Hindu "got on" him. Rupert has an intellectual bent and has told us he reads the National Geographic Magazine and studies psychology. This may account for the Hindu as a source of wegeléyu. After the shaman had removed the bone, Rupert lost part but not all of the power he had received from the Hindu. Apparently he lost the power to foretell the future which he had received from the Hindu, but the Hindu continued to help him in his curing.

753 Ghosts are the second of the two culture elements associated with the
775 fear configuration. When a person dies, his spirit goes east under the sun. However, the spirit of the dead person may not always depart, but may remain in the vicinity to cause sickness for a living relative. The ghost "travels" on some bit of his property that was not destroyed at the funeral but remained in the possession of a relative. In the seven cases and one general statement we have recorded of illness caused by ghosts, the ghost has been a relative of his victim.

753 All the encounters with ghosts reported by informants were in dreams.
775 Sometimes the ghosts were seen, but more often they seemed to exert their
787 influence without showing themselves to the victim. Of the seven cases of illness caused by ghosts, one of the victims saw the ghost in a dream, two others apparently did not, and there is no information for the other four. However, if a ghost is involved in illness, it will be identified by the shaman in the curing ceremony.

Lowie recorded several examples of people seeing ghosts while awake. One man once heard some Paviotso singing and dancing. He saw some women sitting on the ground, not dancing. He spoke to them; they did not answer. He spoke to the owner of a horse standing nearby, and again received no answer. Then everyone vanished. The Washo was frightened and went to an Indian house. Another man saw two Indians approaching him. He sat down under a tree and waited for them to reach him, but they never did. "It was the [755] Devil....I don't know whether these are dead people or what." He became ill but went to a spring, bathed, and recovered. In a third case, two Indians met half a dozen dead people who seemed to be alive. They spoke to these beings but received no answer. The ghosts sat around a fire cooking squirrels; but because they were dead, they neither spoke nor drank water. The Washo became alarmed and went away (Lowie, 1939, 322-3). Particularly noteworthy in these accounts is the fact that people saw ghosts who were not relatives and in one case the man became ill because of it.

775 Whirlwinds are thought to contain ghosts (Stewart, 1941, 415; Lowie,
● [82] 1939, 322). Holbrook says that when a gust of hot air hits someone, people
[551] say a dead person has passed by. Lowie (1939, 322) reports that a dead person's name should not be uttered. "Whoever broke this rule was rebuked as follows: 'He is dead, he is gone, don't call him!'"

When a ghost is the cause of the disease, the shaman has a vision in which he identifies the ghost and the property upon which it had traveled. The shaman then advises the patient to get rid of this property; or, if the patient wants to keep it, he makes an additional payment to the shaman who then gives instructions that, if followed, permit him to retain the property without getting sick. Rupert usually instructs the patient to give water to the property. Sometimes the ghost gives the patient orders. When the shaman discovers this, he advises the patient to follow the orders of the ghost. Rupert relates how one ghost told her niece to bathe in a hot spring. The niece failed to do so and became ill. Rupert treated another case in which a ghost traveled on a winnowing basket and some eagle feathers and made a granddaughter ill. Rupert told the girl to give water to these things. She did and recovered.

Two causes of disease affect only shamans. One is illness resulting from power that has come to an individual who cannot control it. Such a person either learns to control the power or else has a shaman cure him by sucking out the power during a regular curing ceremony. The source of the second illness is the loss or destruction of the shaman's curing implements. If they are lost, another shaman may be able to locate them by having a vision in the course of a curing ceremony. If the implements are permanently lost, new implements may apparently be substituted. This conclusion is based on a single case in which Rupert claims to have cured a sick woman by informing her that two small children had lost her implements and that she must replace them. The destruction of a shaman's implements results in his death, according to our informants.

Warfare was a second culture pattern in which supernatural power played a prominent part. Shamans accompanied all war parties and served two functions: since they were often specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded, and they called upon their supernatural powers to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault. The Washo attacked at night, hoping to surprise the enemy, and the shaman selected the night.

Shamans who had the power to control the weather sometimes aided in warfare. A story widely known among the Washo tells of a battle with the neighboring Maidu near Honey Lake in California. A leader gathered a band of warriors and two powerful shamans who possessed storm wegiléyu. The shamans summoned a north wind mixed with hail and the enemy froze to death. Lowie reports a similar version of this story (1939, 321).

Before a war party set out contests between shamans were held because the warriors wanted the shamans with the strongest powers to accompany them. Hank Pete says that the shamans filled their pipes and began to think about each other. They then exchanged pipes and began to smoke. After a

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[262] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyɬ̌u, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of
[431] her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

177
178
● 821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešiši, "to drag the feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next
[431] onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwi·ya, melehéhe? and [ɛtwé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NTRO
Achomawi NSB

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Ka	To	Te	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Nd	Ti	AS
2686. Fox fur hung behind on belt	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2687. Barefoot	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2688. Feathers carried in hand	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2689. Bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2690. Whole bow and arrow carried	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2691. Dancers paint: face	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2692. Body	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693. Musicians: 2	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693a.3 or 4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2693b.5 or 6	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2694. Split-stick rattle	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2695. Wasselskin necklace	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2699. Dancing: individuals perform separately	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701. Dancers: 2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2701a.4 or 6	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2702. Dancers: men	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2703. Women	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2704. Visitors	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2705. Dancers paid by hosts	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2706. Coins held in split stick	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2707. Property spread on blanket	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2708. Dance performed: at time of circle dance	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2709. At midnight, 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2709a.Several nights	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710. In afternoon, 1 day	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2710a.Several days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
*2711. Crazy Dance (toesaagwa)	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2711b.Special singers	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2712. Musical instruments	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2712a.2 sticks	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
*2713. Dancers in line, men 1 end, women other	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2713a.Men dressed as women	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2714. Dancing back and forth, sidestep	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2715. Ghost Dance (nagwa)	•	•	*•	-	-	-	•	-	*•	-	-	-	*•	•
2716. Circle dance	•	•	-	-	-	-	*•	-	•	-	-	-	-	•
2717. Dances at center post	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2718. Dead return to post	•	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2719. Duration of dance: 1 night	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	-	-	-	-	-
2719a.5 nights	-	•	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2719b.Any number	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
MISCELLANEOUS														
Calendar														
2720. Descriptive month names	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	*•	*•	*•	*•	*•	•
2721. 12 month names	-	*•	-	-	-	-	-	-	•	•	•	•	•	•
2721a.4 season names	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
Astronomy														
2722. Milky Way called: ghost road	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2723. Dust road (Kusipe)	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2724. Smoke from fire	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2725. Sky path	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2726. Thunder: pregnant women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	*•	-
2726a.Menstruating women cover selves	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-
2727. Position of new moon indicates weather	•	•	•	•	•	•	•	-	•	•	•	•	•	-

[P. 417]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 831 776 789

ANTHROPOLOGICAL EXCERPTS

	Yo	Kl	Kd	Kn	To	Tb	Pa	Wa	At	Bo	Tg	Wd	El	AP
Whirlwind (pitomawa)														
2728. Whirlwind is spirit or ghost	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2729. People hit whirlwind with stick	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730. People throw water on whirlwind	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2730a. People throw dirt on whirlwind	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Omens														
2731. Twitching back muscle: someone will die	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2732. You will carry a deer	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2732a. You will carry blanket because cold	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2733a. Twitching eye muscle: bad luck	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	+
2733. Twitching leg muscle: someone coming	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2734. Sneezing: someone talking about you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2735. Opposite sex talking of you	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2736. Omens of death: owl call	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2737. Magpie call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2738. Crow call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2739. Dove call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2740. Meadowlark call	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2740a. Coyote call	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
Various (See also 2296a-2301)														
2741. Pointing at rainbow: arm atrophies	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	–
2741a. Finger rots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2741b. Hand deforms	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2742. Toothache caused by: worm	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2743. Gopher	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
Petroglyphs														
2744. Petroglyphs occur in area of band	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2745. Informants had only heard of them	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2747. Petroglyphs made by: Coyote	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–
2748. "Devil"	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2750. "Old-time" (non-Paiute) Indians	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–

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WeSh0 NT20

N 805 822 grows-high-month" (tokwinai mûha); "Indian-potato-month" (tsoga mûha); "salmon-month" (arai mûha); "big month" (pava mûha); "spring-month" or "ground-hog-shadow-month" (tama mûha); "cold month" (tsosé'-ôdô mûha). (SC.) Neither the exact sequence, nor white man's equivalent, nor the remaining names could be given.

W [805 822] 2721. Wa: 7 month names (Smith, notes).

2721a. Ki: Spring (March-May), tama muc; summer (June-August), tatsa muc; autumn (September-November), uva muc; winter (December-February), tomo muc. Ki: ◊ (Kelly, 152): mentioned 4 seasons, but also recorded 6 month names.

Astronomy

N 821 789 2726. Wd: - (SC). Thunder is driven away by throwing a knife outside (BJ). As I was questioning BJ an electric storm came up. With the first distant roll of thunder the interpreter, a cigarette-smoking, whiskey-drinking, tap-dancing Indian girl with permanent-waved hair, became visibly nervous. After the second or third thunderclap, although there was no rain, she asked us to move so that she could sit in the tent.

2726a. Wd: - (SC).

Whirlwind

N 751 2730a. Tü: Speculorite (yadupi), sprinkled around house or rubbed on body, protects from whirlwinds.

Omens

N 787 2736. At: The old-timers could talk to owls and could ask where misfortune or death occurred; now the owl's cry means a death, but no one can understand what place (PS). Individual tribes understand different birds; for example, the Pit River Indians understand meadowlark; the Oregon Indians understand the coyote. Bad news comes from the same direction as the bark.

Petroglyphs

N 522 773 2744. Paviotso: Phallic rock painting at Walker Lake (Curtis, 89, photograph). Wd: Petroglyphs are found in Happy Valley near Crane, Oregon.

[p. 445(B)]

custom to leave the house standing regardless of where the person dies, although the house may be temporarily abandoned and purified with smoke from sagebrush or juniper (Freed and Freed n.d.).

The galis dangal was the only house the Washo made that was used for more than a few months. A galis dangal may be made by a family and used by that family for several years, although they might only sleep in it in the winter. It would be used in the summer for storage or to sleep in on rainy nights. A gadu or ta?a were often built right next to a galis dangal for summer use.

During the beginning of pinenut gathering, if one had not already been built, the family would gradually bring in material for a galis dangal and build one. The construction itself would take most of the family's spare time from gathering and other necessary activities for about a week. Often neighbors would help. The house would be gradually improved and repaired for the length of it's use with certain features, such as a packed clay floor or a windbreak for the smoke hole, added perhaps years after its initial construction.

A spring was considered the most desirable location because the water there would not freeze over in the winter as a stream would. Another consideration for the location of a galis dangal was the location of one's pinenut picking grounds. The sunny side of a hill was also preferred.

There was a great amount of variation in the construction and materials used in the galis dangal; however, a few generalizations can be made. There was always a smoke hole in the center of the roof. The door always faced east, just as it does today in most old Washo houses. Bertha Holbrook, Hank Pete, Roy James, George Snooks, and Suzy Dick all think of the east entrance of their houses as the front door regardless of the fact that the road may be on the west side of the house. Roy James said that this was to avoid the strong wind from the west. One reason for this custom seems to be that Washo refer to the sun and to the east for orientation. The puberty ceremony is all oriented to the east.

The galis dangal was usually round and ranged in diameter from about ten to twenty feet, depending upon the number of occupants it was built for and the availability of long poles in the vicinity. Another factor that determined the size of the galis dangal was the practice of sleeping with the head toward the wall and the feet toward the fire. With the fireplace in a center pit (about three inches deep), with a ring of rocks under the smoke hole, and the difficulty of building a large house, the optimum size was about 12 to 15 feet in diameter.

The door opening (itpasua) was from 3 to 5 feet in height and from 2 to 3 feet in width. The door (icmhisuk) was covered with an old rabbit skin

"A permanent bedrock mortar was near each camping site . . . portable property was scanty. It was a hard climb from the valley to the lake and the Washo took mainly bows and arrows, a mano and metate, a few necessary baskets and their fish harpoons. . . . The fish were speared from a fish blind. . . . At a suitable place on a stream the Washo would build a stone dam fine enough to catch everything except small minnows."

One thing to note here is that the Washo were stream fishers. They never went out onto the lake with rafts or boats of any kind and they never used a hook and line from the shore.[1] The hook and line is reported for stream fishing, but was not nearly as important as spearing and netting. The balsa boat was used on Washoe Lake to drive young ducks, but was never taken to Lake Tahoe.

The d'Azevedo Survey

In 1955 and 1956 d'Azevedo collected the names and descriptions of 249 habitation sites and geographical locations in the extended territory used by the Washo. Though not published, much of this information has been made available through the files of the California Archaeological Survey at Berkeley, and the present writer has made frequent reference to an unpublished manuscript (d'Azevedo, 1956) containing this material.

The survey is similar to Freed's survey for Lake Tahoe except that it presents a systematic coverage of Washo land-use and knowledge of terrain, rivers, lakes and natural resources over an area of about 13,000 sq. mi. This knowledge is so intricately woven into Washo folklore and mythology that a long tenure in this region is indicated for them. Furthermore, it would appear that the territorial "boundaries" now designated for the Washo ignore large areas in California which they at least shared with the Miwok and Maidu, and areas to the east which were shared with the Paiute.

The Heizer and Elsasser Survey

Heizer and Elsasser (1953) reported on 28 sites in their archeological survey of the high Sierras in the vicinity of Lake Tahoe. Two similar yet distinct archeological complexes were seen in the materials from their survey -- Martis and Kings Beach. The Martis complex type site is Pla-5 in Martis Valley, along Martis Creek, about 5 mi. northwest of Lake Tahoe.

[1] [footnote appears on p. 93 -- Analyst]

FIRE AND FOOD PREPARATION

372 When Bill was a small boy, more than fifty years ago (Bill *log.* 1926), he was taken over the mountains by his father, who made fire with a drill (wa'cu peti'li). The shaft was about twenty inches long, the hearth pitted, and sagebrush bark in the pits served as tinder. On another occasion Bill said that the point was tipped with pine gum. The fire-making implements were carried in the deerskin quiver for the bow and arrows. Henry Ridley (Glenbrook, Nev.) said he could drill fire, using a rosebush shaft tipped with sagebrush and a hearth of cedarwood, with cedar (?) bark for tinder.

252 A stone mortar, hollowed in the middle, was used with a basketry hopper.
415 But there were also flat stone metates and mullers for grinding. Pine nuts were
412 both pounded and ground.

WEAPONS

411 Bow (ba"ishot) and arrow (mucki'tsel) were the principal weapons. The wood for bows was that of a cedar-like tree from the California side. According to one informant, the arrows were painted with a green pigment obtained from a grass. The points were flint, the shaft made from a bush growing along streams. A poison (muce"gau nu"ci) was taken from a rattlesnake killed for the purpose, the substance being mixed with pitch, then put on the top of the arrow point. Shot half an inch into the body, this poison quickly killed.

The bowstring was of deer sinew. Jack illustrated the release as being with the finger on the right side of the arrow, the thumb on the other.

DWELLINGS

342 The huts recalled by Jack were conical structures with a smoke hole, the door being possibly three feet high and covered with an old rabbitskin blanket.

BASKETRY

285 Mr. E. W. Gifford learned from Lucy Farmer, the Washo wife of a Southern Maidu at Colfax, that only pifion-pine pitch was satisfactory for pitching water baskets; digger- and yellow-pine pitch will not do. She also said that Washo and "Paiute" water baskets differed, one being pointed, the other flat-bottomed.

Spotted George is the only man who ever made a basket.

DRESS AND ADORNMENT

302 Unlike other tribes, the Washo did not put red paint on their hair, but both sexes decorated the face for a dance (Bill). Women tied their hair in the back, but wore no headgear. The men, such as Dave's father-in-law, wore a netted cap made of string derived from some reed.

Men made moccasins for themselves as well as for their wives. When Bill was growing to be a man he wore moccasins of a Sunday (*sic*), sometimes pretty beaded ones. A moccasin consisted of a sole and an upper, both of buckskin, but the former from the tough part round the deer's neck. However, the

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Washo did not always wear moccasins. Sometimes they walked in the snow in their bare feet, as Dave declared he himself has traveled for miles.

Snowshoes (cume"li) are sketched by Dave as approximately circular in frame. They were made of pifion wood, eighteen inches in diameter, and had a buckskin netting, the foot being lashed to the middle. The walker supported himself with a seven-foot pole. Dave used snowshoes along the shores of Lake Tahoe.

TRANSPORTATION

Fishermen would make a cedar-bark raft 12 to 15 feet long by 10 feet wide. Dave remembered such a one from his boyhood and said it accommodated ten to fifteen people and, for fishing was propelled by a long pole along the shore. Jack recalled a rectangular raft (t'a"nup) of willows and tule (ta'a'ya) for crossing the Walker River. It held four to six persons and served to ferry women across with their children, blankets, and basketry. Dave, too, mentioned a willow raft for taking four or five people with their property across high creeks: one good swimmer would take a rope in his mouth and pull the raft to the other bank.

WAR

Sometimes there was friendly competition with aliens. At a joint meeting a Washo once offered to kill a grizzly, to put the Southern Digger Indians (ta'ne.u) to shame. Armed with a short bow and some arrows, he went to the den and killed the beast with four shots. The Washo said to the Diggers present, "I'm a man; you're no fighters, that is why you can't kill a bear. I've killed him." The Diggers were all ashamed and hung their heads.

At other times there was warfare. A Washo had killed a Digger, whose people tried to get even. They were watching all the time. A Washo and a boy about twelve years old were on horseback, looking for fish. Several Diggers surrounded them and killed the man, who had unsaddled, while the lad escaped on horseback.

At one time the Digger Indians had medicine to make people fall asleep. The Washo bought it, then put it out (distributed it among members of the tribe), and sent two young boys to the hills as scouts to find out how many hostile camps there were. In the middle there was a big house, the sweat house, and four bear hides and also some buckskins were hanging down. The war chief said, "We'll surely defeat them; this stuff makes them sleep; we'll all go there and kill their best man first." When the Washo approached, all the enemies slept and their nice big dogs, instead of barking, were also asleep. When the Washo jumped on them, the enemy woke up, but it was too late. The women, too, were knocked over the head with a club, the Washo killing nearly all the camp. After this event the enemy tried to get even. The Washo took all the skins away from the Diggers. They had a war dance (ma'haulos) in celebration. Women[a] and men danced over the capture of the best fighter's scalp without the loss of one Washo. The captain announced, "The day after tomor-

[a] On one occasion Dave denied the participation of women in the scalp dance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

788

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke'a! mi'k'eq ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

838

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

821

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

825

824

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

825

[224]

[262]

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

23

[262]

[224]

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

763

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

776

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Peta'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

821

789

276

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

821

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

825

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

752

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

776

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

755

825

276

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

boulder serves as a mortar (lam), upon which foods are ground with rough cobble stone pestles (bī'tsik). Such a mortar is shown in plate III, fig. 2, while three typical pestles are shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3. No basketry or other retainer is used as a hopper with this mortar, but a special brush, such as that shown in plate V, fig. 2, is employed to brush the meal back within the area in which the grinding is being done.

This meal brush (kŭmbĕ'it) is made by placing the flattened leaves of the soap root one upon another so that the natural curvature of the bottom of the leaf forms, with its stiff fibers, a claw-like brush especially adapted to gathering in the meal which has scattered. It is also used as a hair brush. These leaves are obtained largely by trade from the Miwok, as the plant does not grow on the eastern slope of the Sierra. With the constant wear of the grinding in one spot a cup, often six inches in diameter and as many in depth, is worn in the boulder. Frequently the top of such a boulder is used by several women at once. Thus it is not uncommon to find as many as a dozen such cups on the top of a single boulder. The mortar here shown is not quite typical in that it has a considerable area hollowed out about the cupping. Usually the surface of the boulder is flat except for the pits themselves.

The pestles, as a rule, show no special shaping. Any well worn cobble stone, usually of granite and of a convenient shape and size, like those shown in plate IV, figs. 1-3, is chosen and used directly. Sometimes such a stone may have its edges pecked off to give it a more desirable form, as in the case of the pestle shown in fig. 2, but usually this is not necessary.

Another type of pestle is the rather carefully worked, cylindrical implement, regularly used as a muller. When employed as a pestle, it is used with a small portable stone mortar for grinding medicines and certain foods. Such an implement is shown in plate IV, fig. 4.

Perhaps the most delicate stone implement is the obsidian or flint arrow-head. This is quite carefully chipped and is attached to the foreshaft of the arrow by means of a sinew binding. Four such arrows with heads are shown in plate VI, figs. 3-6.[2]

[1] [see cat. 116, p. 37 -- An.]

[2] [see cat. 116, p. 39 -- An.]

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

BASKETRY.

The Washo are quite justly renowned as makers of fine, coiled basketry. Certain of the Washo women make very smooth and excellent baskets and employ a great variety of designs. In many respects the basketry of the Washo closely resembles that of the Miwok to the west. Particularly is this the case with the coiled basketry. The twined basketry, on the other hand, resembles that of the Paviotso, especially the diagonal-twined cooking basket (plate VII, fig. 2),[2] the two types of burden basket (plate XIII, figs. 3-6),[3] and the two types of winnowing basket (plate XI,[4] and plate XII, figs. 1 and 2).

MATERIALS.

The principal materials used by the Washo in basketry are derived from the willow, *Salix*, which yields both unpeeled and peeled rods. These form the only foundation materials in coiling and the hard elements in twining. The inner bark of the willow furnishes the white sewing and twining elements and, when discolored in the sun, also a brown element.

The only other basketry materials used by the Washo are the root of the bracken, *Pteridium aquilinum*, which provides a black element, and the redbud, *Cercis occidentalis*, the bark of which furnishes a red element. This is obtained from the Miwok to the west as it is not an indigenous shrub to the Washo country, and is therefore sparingly used.

The following tabulation gives the Washo names of these various materials:

Willow	hi'mû
Unpeeled rods	mi'mû
Peeled rods	agaiye'we
Peeled rods coiled for storage	pelesû'sûyewe
Brown sewing element	ḫimû toto'coñi (literally, "willow sunburned"), also podocoñé'we, and poto'soñ

[1] [See cat. 116, p. 41--An.]
[2] [See cat. 116, p. 53 -- An.]
[3] [See cat. 116, p. 49 -- An.]
[4] [See cat. 116, P. 51 --

the cloudless sky overhead.

Older white residents speak of Indian rainmakers, which is a source of much amusement among the Washo. Until a few years ago an Indian, who still lives in Dresslerville, used to take advantage of the gullibility or generosity of white ranchers by performing "rain dances" on their property in return for handouts of food. The Washo generally frowned on this, but because white men were the victims of the fraud it was considered harmless.

The father of the false rainmaker was a diviner of stolen articles. His method was to sit and smoke until the location of the desired article was revealed to him.

OBJECTS OF POWER

Eagle and magpie feathers were considered to be the most powerful items of a shaman's paraphernalia. Doctors are reported to have captured eagles and even to have tried to raise them to obtain feathers (223-231) The tail feathers were the most prized. Eagle feathers were extremely valuable and could be traded for anything including "a woman or a sack of pine-nut flour or anything worth a lot." Ideally the eagle was tied up until the shaman removed three tail feathers. The doctor then tied a string of beads to the bird's leg and released it as a messenger to the spirits. Descriptions of eagle-down costumes suggest that birds were stripped of many more feathers than the ideal three. In historic times individuals have attempted to contain eagles. One old man in Woodfords is well known for having kept them on cradle-boards for easy transport, but such experiments usually ended in failure. Magpie feathers were considered less powerful than eagle feathers but still were highly prized. Today they are gathered by chance--taken from dead birds on the highway or picked up where they were shot.

In the past, eagle and magpie feathers were important parts of the dress of warriors. Magpie feathers were used to make a feather cap with a single feather suspended from the top. Informants recall their elders' describing eagle feathers' being suspended individually from the upper arms and thighs of particularly powerful warriors.

Modern peyotists have lost some of the traditional Washo feeling about these feathers. The ceremonial fans of road chiefs, believed the only persons capable of handling the immense power, are made of eagle feathers. Other peyotists favor the less powerful but nonetheless potent magpie feather (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1957).

Tobacco, as the foregoing accounts illustrate, played an important part in Washo shamanism. It appears to have been used as an offering to the spirits. In addition it is clear that it was felt to have special power of its own. Today older men smoke sparingly and are often somewhat embarrassed to be offered a cigarette casually during conversation. In prewhite times the tobacco was a native variety gathered and dried by the shaman. Today Bull Durham appears to have replaced the wild variety as "Indian" tobacco. The Indians seemed delighted to see me rolling a cigarette; they acted as if I were mastering what they felt was a particularly Indian art. Bull Durham is also important in peyote ceremonialism because it is "real Indian tobacco."

Incense cedar plays an important role in modern peyote meetings. It is dried and thrown into the fire to create a fragment smoke which is considered bene-

[P.372, A]

824 795 778

ficial. Meeting officials fan it into the atmosphere and "rub" themselves in the smoke to obtain power or purification. This has a connection with traditional Washo ritual, but the relationship is unclear and the aboriginal practices obscure. One group of Washo, which was assigned a special place in the large camp circle formed during the pine-nut dances held at Double Springs Flats in the late nineteenth century, is said to have special rights in connection with cutting cedar. Modern informants do not have a clear picture of what the rights were or what the customs surrounding cedar were. One informant did say that if the cedar "bunch" found anyone else with cedar they would say "you aren't supposed to have that" and would make fun of them. She could offer no further details or explanations.

SORCERY AND WITCHCRAFT
(2362-2364)

754 756 778 [172]

There is no real distinction in the Washo mind between a doctor and a sorcerer or witch. Particularly powerful doctors were able to kill their enemies. One of the most feared bits of paraphernalia was an obsidian point found by a doctor. These large points were not made by Washo and are apparently remnants of some previous cultural occupation in the area. If a Washo finds one point up he carefully knocks it over with a long stick before touching it. These points are called mankillers, but I was unable to learn exactly how they were used. They are still viewed with a certain amount of awe, and the finding of a large point in a sandpit in Smith Valley was known in Woodfords, fifty miles away.

754 [484] [361] [172]

Sorcery was used to explain the abandonment of an ancient campsite at Dangberg's Hot Springs. This site is a trove of grinding stones, points, and other Washo artifacts. Formerly there were numerous skeletons in the area, according to both Indian and white informants. However, the site has not been occupied in historic times because of the following incident.

[539]

"One winter there was a lot of Washos camped around the hot springs. My old aunt was camped there. There was this northern Washo [from Sierra Valley] came into the camp. Nobody know'd him and nobody would feed him. But my old aunt fed him. But he was mad at them people so he went to Markleville and made a lot of medicine. [Why he went to Markleville is unclear. This is the site of another hot springs, a fact which may figure in the magic used.] After he made medicine for a while he kind of spit on his fingers and pointed at Dangberg Hot Springs. Right where he pointed all the grass got brown; you can still see that line of brown if you know where to look, and a lot of Indians died. Nobody ever went back there. My old aunt she didn't die."

[731]

Only one Washo disputed this story. She, a very progressive old woman and sometime Christian, attributed the deaths to an epidemic and "didn't think" the doctor was responsible.

754

Witchcraft and sorcery among the present-day Washo is a difficult subject to investigate. Even among themselves it is treated with extreme indirection and veiled hints. In discussing the problem with d'Azevedo I found that we were in agreement that a number of

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] [124] [262]

active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

(This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202]

The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778]

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178]

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824]

The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824]

After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178]

[515]

After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302]

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178

The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574]

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

[731]

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27) —Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

[648]

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

[177]

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796]

Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] [825] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789]

> "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 379, B]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224
789

When I asked my informant the Washo word for this mixture he evaded the question.

> "I don't think they had a word for it. They didn't talk about it, just used it. If you used it you had to carry some medicine to work against it, 'cause if you got a scratch of that mixture and didn't have this other stuff [the counter agent], you was a goner.
>
> "A long time ago one man would hunt. Some of them fellas was superstitious about using real deer horns, so they would make horns of manzanita and then cover up with a deer hide. They'd move along . . . taking a long time, just like a deer. That old buck would try to get to the side away from the wind to smell you, but you kept circling around so he wouldn't smell you. Finally you could get real close, maybe only three, four feet . . . going around making sounds just like a deer. Sometimes them bucks would really believe you and want to fight and then it was dangerous. When you was close you shot that arrow into the deer right behind the shoulder blade. That way when he jumped, the shoulder blade comes back and breaks off the shaft. The man would grab the shaft and suck off the blood. Then he'd make a little fire on a flat stone and when it was hot he'd sweep off the fire and spit that on the stone and it would bubble up and disappear. Then you'd go after the deer and you'd find him laying there with blood bubbling out of his nose just like that blood bubbled on the stone."

[777]
[343]

Other rituals related to hunting dealt with the loss of hunting luck. To regain one's luck in hunting, a sweat lodge was built, consisting of a temporary brush shelter (688-758).

[824]
[777]

To insure luck it was common in the old days to bathe and rub the leaves of a certain mountain plant over one's body. Other Washo carried a plant on their persons while hunting, to insure luck. I was unable to get my informant to give me the Washo name of this plant. Certain other special medicines are reported. One man, it is hinted, has a medicine which he rubs on his gun to insure good aim. Old hunters are said to have obtained medicine from the Miwok which would put deer to sleep. Today this medicine is a subject of esoteric humor between my informant and his son-in-law. The latter insists that the bear has a medicine which will put his father-in-law to sleep because he came upon the old man asleep under a tree one day when he should have been hunting. Although the Washo depended on ritual to assist them in hunting, it is clear that they considered a successful hunter the possessor of power beyond simple magic. Like curers or dreamers, certain hunters obviously had been blessed by spirits and were able to outthink and outsmart animals and therefore were particularly good hunters. At least some of the Washo who hunt today attempt to give the impression that their success is based on something more than luck or skill.

[522]

[787]

224
[136]

Antelope (27a-75).—There are no Washo alive today who can remember antelope surrounds. It appears that most of the Washo territory was not inhabited by antelope, lying as it does between the northern and

[P 383, B]

222 527 [954]

ceremony despite the fear the Washo may have had of her.

Since her death in the early 1940's, pine-nut dances have been less frequent. Only one woman among the Washo is reputed to know all the songs, although I suspect that several others are in possession of this knowledge but refuse to come forth and serve as leaders, in keeping with Washo reluctance to assume responsible roles.

222 527 178

After a number of years without a dance, the custom was revived in the early 1960's at Dresslerville. The dances were staged because previous crops had been poor and it was felt a dance would increase the harvest.

These dances, supervised by the woman who knew the songs, were not considered too successful because both Indian dances and white men's dances were conducted. Indian dances were held outside the community house while younger couples danced in the white manner inside. The prayers, bathing, and dreams played [535] a very minor role, although food was supplied. From the accounts these dances sounded extremely secular with an emphasis on the recreational aspects, particularly dancing. However, the consensus was that the ceremonies were not successful because of the introduction [177] of white-style dancing suggests that the Indian dances still retain some of their former sacred character. It was agreed that a dance might be held today or in the future if the crops were poor. Here again the present economic situation of the Washo tends to limit these affairs to weekends. The impossibility of holding four-day dances however, is not considered serious by most Washo. Several informants stoutly denied that there was any requirement that the dance last four days. They implied that those who insisted on this were [80] simply trying to make it sound more important (note that using the figure four makes something more important). Their accounts report that the dances might last from one or two days to a week during which time games were played, dances held, and the ritual described earlier carried out. However, there is no doubt that the dances were important to the success of the harvest and the well-being of the harvesters. One informant recalls that: "Sometimes the pine nuts was ripe before the dance. If we picked them [before the dance], we took a bath every day before we started picking but we didn't have to do that after the dance."

222 824

The following incident illustrates the attitude most conservative Washo have toward the pine. D'Azevedo (personal communication) accompanied an elderly woman to her pine-nut allotment where she discovered that illegal Christmas-tree cutters had topped a number of trees, which she believed de- [782] stroyed their ability to bear. Her response was of sorrow rather than anger. She sat under her trees for a long time apologizing to her father, from whom she had inherited the plot, and to the spirits of the trees.

222 789

There seems to have been little ritual involved in other gathering activities, except for the dances to make the seeds grow mentioned in the ethnobotanical lists (3621). This practice must have been occasional and [182] relatively old, because it is no longer part of the memories of older informants.

5:Kroeber E-5 (no date) 1925 NT20 Washo NT20

CULTURE.

The customs of the Washo will undoubtedly prove interesting once they are known. Their habitat on the flank of the Sierra Nevada must have made them in the main Californians. But being over the crest of the range, they must have had something of an eastern outlook, and their associations with the Northern Paiute, who maintained direct affiliations with the tribes in the Rocky Mountains, and were apparently subject to at least some indirect influences from the Plains, can hardly but have given the civilization of the Washo some un-Californian color. 101 177 [131]

BASKETRY.

Their basketry, which is deservedly noted for excellent finish and refinement of decorative treatment, is of the central Californian order, with coiling predominating in fine ware (Pl. 55, *f*), whereas the adjacent Shoshoneans, like most of those of the Great Basin, incline to plain and diagonal twining. The nearest analogues are in Miwok work. Both single and triple rod foundations are employed. The shapes are simple; the designs are characterized by a lack of bulk that is typical also of Miwok patterns, as well as by a delicacy and slenderness of motive to which the Miwok do not attain. The direction of the coil is from left to right, as among the Miwok and Maidu; the edge has the herringbone finish of diagonally crossed sewing, where most California tribes, except sometimes the Miwok, simply wrap the last coil. 285 171

A twined and pitched water jar is no doubt due to Shoshonean influence. The conical carrying basket is either of plain-twined wide-spaced openwork of peeled stems, as in northwestern California, or unpeeled like the wood-carrying basket of the Pomo, or diagonally twined in openwork, or closely with a pattern. The nearer Californian tribes use chiefly a narrow mesh filled in by smearing over. Oval and triangular trays, elliptical seed beaters, and the like were of the types common to all the Sierra tribes and the nearer Shoshoneans; with the weave in plain or diagonal twining. The latter technique is in use also for cooking baskets. Three-strand twining is employed for starts and reenforcements. [177]

The almost universal basket material is willow, with fern root (*Pteridium aquilinum*) for the black of patterns, and redbud (*Cercis occidentalis*) for red. The latter material was also used for warp and coiling foundation. It is said to have been imported from west of the Sierras. 285 824

Cradles are of the hooded basketry type described among the Yokuts. A band of diagonal bars or crosses—diagonals in two direc- 285 352 171

1/1 [This plate has not been processed -- Analyst]

The skin was tied on a smooth pole when it was scraped. The hide was then tanned with cooked brain and spinal cord which was stored in a piece of intestine. The hide was soaked in the brain for a day or two and then stretched and scraped again. The result was magu tau susi, or tanned deer hide. Antelope skins were prepared in the same way. 281 [415]

Thread came from the sinew (dideu or tashukido, "loin sinew") along the back of the deer. There is a strip of meat on the loin of the deer called dashkapush. This was removed and the sinew was taken off that and separated into strings. 283

Another kind of thread was made from Apocynum cannabinum, locally milkweed or Indian hemp. The fine silk-like fibers of this plant were separated, pulled, and twisted between the palm of the hand and the thigh into a strong twine (dumbaysǂgi). It was collected in the fall after the frost came and the outer bark began to fall off. Both the outer and inner bark were used. [824]

Apparently there was little difference in the dress of the men and the women. The women wore a belt (meliiu) with a front and sometimes a back apron (imboshude) attached. The woman also used a sagebrush bark napkin for menstruation and wore more jewelry. The men wore a G-string type of breechclout and occasionally a twine net on their heads. Other than these few items, dress, hair style, and ornamentation was essentially the same. 29

The breechclout was gumyoyaburwe while a piece of skin wrapped around the body from the chest to the knees was mangumtash. The latter was formed, according to Hank Pete, by wetting untanned deerhide and wrapping it around a tree to dry. A poncho (damu) with a hole for the head and with or without holes for the arms was made from a single deer skin. This simple dress sometimes had flaps that hung down over the upper arms made from the leg skin of the deer. Lower leg pants (pǂkishu wigas) were made from an untanned deer hide, sewn of the skin of a fur animal, or of a wrapping of sagebrush bark and covered the lower leg from the ankle to the knee to keep one from being scratched by brush. [192]

Everyone went barefoot most of the time, but moccasins (moko, the No. Paiute use a similiar word) were used. The most common moccasin was a single piece of untanned deerskin with a seam on the outer side of the foot and up the heel to the ankle. A hard sole may be added to the bottom. Another type of moccasin was in two pieces with a hard sole, soft upper part, a seam up the heel, and possible ankle flaps and a tongue added. In cold weather the moccasin was made extra large to allow room for a sock of sagebrush or cedar bark wrapped around the foot. [197] [824]

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau watl dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices, or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

Task Group Sharing[1]

Task group sharing among the Washo occurred in connection with the breakdown of products that resulted from efforts of hunting, fishing, and gathering parties that were larger that the household. The division of goods in this case was not necessarily in proportion to the amount of work contributed. Often mere presence with the party was sufficient to receive an equal share. Goods were usually divided equally among all the adult members of the task group. The meat of a single deer shot by a party of hunters was divided equally regardless of whose arrow actually brought the deer down. No information is available on how the hide and head were divided. In view of Washo techniques of clothing manufacture we would think that it would not be cut up, but given whole to one man. The Kawaiisu gave it to the hunter whose arrow brought the deer down (Cappannari 1960).

Slight variations were present in some divisions of the products depending on such things as ownership of a rabbit net or shamanistic powers in antelope drives. Rabbits (p¢lleu) were killed by individuals for meat anytime of the year, but winter communal drives (p¢lleu ush¢¢sh) provided most of the skins used in blankets and a great deal of meat. In winter the furs were in their prime. Also the diverse fishing and gathering activities of the summer were over so that people had spare time on their hands.

Rabbit nets (p¢lleu digush) were woven of plant fibers. These nets were about four feet high and usually from 20 to 40 feet in length. The nets were repaired and gradually added to in length over the years. Fremont wrote that "These nets were, perhaps, 30 to 40 feet long kept upright in the ground by slight sticks at intervals, and were made from a kind of wild hemp, very much resembling in manufacture those common among the Indians of the Sacramento Valley." (Nevins 1956, 355). Barrett (1917, 11) said that the rabbit nets were reported to be like those used by the Paviotso and usually some 300 feet long. The present writer's informants said that individually owned nets were tied together during a drive to form a single net 300 feet long. The combined nets were strung out across the floor of a valley or along the side of a hill. As the rabbit drivers moved across the country they shot rabbits with their bows and arrows and pulled them out of holes by forcing sticks down and twisting the stick into the rabbit fur. Plate IV, A illustrates a rabbit drive.

The people who owned the nets with some of their family would club, strangle, or crush the temples of the rabbits that got tangled in the nets. Each day for three or four days the nets were set up and a drive was held in

1. This writer is indebted to Anastasio (n.d.) for the term and concept of the "task group" as it is found in the Basin-Plateau area.

[see cat. 116, end plate IV, following p. 74 -- Analyst]

881 (777) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes (224) contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their (574) friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would 881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance (856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when (824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-(526) relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the 535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left (778) foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed (533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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funeral speech, the destruction of property, and the abandonment of the house are all connected with a belief in ghosts who can cause sickness for their living relatives. Property is the "road" by which the ghost can return from the land of the dead. Its destruction prevents the return of the ghost (Freed and Freed, 1963). Houses are not destroyed for they are too valuable, but tney are abandoned for a time and purified by smoking with sagebrush before reoccupancy. We did not observe any hair cutting for funerals. Holbrook says that the first thing people must do on returning to their homes from a funeral is to wash their faces. Thus it is doubtful if the year's prohibition on washing the face is still maintained, but we have no testimony on this point with regard to mourners. The name of the dead is permanently taboo, as it was formerly. The modern Washo funeral often takes place immediately after a Baptist service held by a white missionary in the Dresslerville church.

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The Shaman's Curing Rite

The Shaman's curing rite is described in some detail in Freed and Freed (1963) and so only a summary will be given here. The shaman cured diseases by means of supernatural power. If the disease was caused by a ghost, the shaman identified the ghost and the property it had traveled on. He then told the patient either to get rid of the property or to treat it properly. If the disease was due to the intrusion of a foreign body into the victim either through sorcery or because the victim had mistreated food such as pinenuts, the shaman sucked out the object causing the disease. The shaman used a variety of implements in his curing, some of which represented the sources of his power. A tubular bone pipe, tobacco, and a cocoon rattle were used by all shamans. The eagle feather was frequently used, for the eagle was a potent source of power for many shamans.

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The curing ceremony was held each night for four nights in the home of the patient before a crowd of spectators. The shaman prayed to his power, sang songs received from it, smoked and blew smoke on the patient, shook his rattle and walked about. He alternated these activities until about midnight on the first three nights of the ceremony and continued until dawn on the fourth night. On the morning after the fourth night everyone took a bath to conclude the ceremony. At some time during the ceremony the shaman had a vision that told him whether or not the cure would be successful.

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The modern curing rite is apparently similar in all its essentials to the aboriginal one. Minor changes have occurred. Cigarettes are used instead of a tubular stone pipe; the ceremony is sometimes shortened to two nights; and the shaman no longer goes into a trance, vomits out the disease object, paints the patient, or brushes away the disease as reported by Stewart (1941, 413-14).

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(1941, 413-14). Although the rite itself has changed but slightly since white contact and the shaman is a respected figure and widely patronized, the shaman's curing rite is on the point of disappearance because the shamans themselves are dying out. Only one remains and he was born in 1885.

The Pinenut Dance

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One special man, says Hank Pete, dreamed about pinenuts and prayed for them. He was not a shaman but he had power (see Freed and Freed, 1963). He prayed that the pinenuts increase in number and not be full of worms. This man was the leader of the pinenut dance and was the person who decided whether the pinenuts were ready for picking. If people were to pick the pinenuts without the leader's consent, says Pete, the nuts would be wormy and rotten.

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Pinenuts were probably the most important single food of the Washo. The pinenut dance (gumsabaʔai) was held in the fall of the year before the pinenut harvest. The leader called the people together in Double Springs Flat by sending around a knotted cord. The knots represented the number of days remaining before the ceremony was to begin. The messenger untied a knot every day as he traveled about calling people. As the people assembled, the leader of the communal rabbit hunt gathered as many people as possible for a large rabbit drive, and outstanding hunters would organize communal deer hunts. The hunting drives lasted four days after which the Washo began the pinenut dance.

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The pinenut dance lasted four nights. Each morning everyone had to take a oath. During the day the Washo engaged in a variety of games and races, all accompanied by heavy gambling. People of different moieties opposed each other in the games. The most popular games were men's football, a ball race, foot races, archery contests, the hand game and women's shinny. Usually teams from the different moieties played each other in all the games.

Men's football was played on a field with goals at either end. The object was to kick a small buckskin ball between the two sticks forming the goal. Five or six men played on a side. The game began with the throwing of the ball between the two teams in the middle of the field. Wrestling was allowed in the football game. One goal won the game.

The ball race was also played by men. Two teams arranged themselves in straight lines at right angles to a line between the paired sticks forming the goal. Each team had a ball which at the start of the game was in the possession of the team member at the end of the line farthest from the goal. The

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaš gepímiʔ milíʔgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milíʔgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, milíʔgimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ǯémuyi hakí.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš hákí milíʔgiʔńawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášaʔ ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil).[3] Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

[844]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [525]

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A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire.

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In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

[757]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?ĕmluhaya?).[4] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

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The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

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[824]

The staff (bá·du? čúhu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

[431]

During the woman's dance (?uwí·ya) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

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One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

881
[574] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[462] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyášu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
302 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer ap-
782 propriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881 After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony
[515] used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1954) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939,
[824] 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[431] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

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821 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
525 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
524 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (sešíši, "to drag the
535 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution
[431] the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí'ya, melehéhe? and (e?wé?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

762
[824] Suicide was sometimes accomplished by eating Western Water Hemlock (díme? dé·gus).[6] Hank Pete related a modern double suicide. "Up at Coleville at a rodeo a young lady killed herself with a pistol in the head when she was refused money by her grandmother. The mother of the girl killed herself when she heard about her daughter. They saw her going down to the river. They thought she was going to jump in. Instead, she ate some wild parsnip that grows there. It took her about an hour and a half to die. That's the only time I've heard of Indian suicide. There have been a lot of killings."

764 There was a great amount of variation in disposing of the dead. They could be left where they fell if they died away from camp, buried, cremated, put up in a tree, in a hollow log, or left in the house where they died. The most common means seems to have been burial with the body extended. A trench big enough for the body and about 2 to 3 ft. deep was dug with digging sticks. Baskets were used to place the dirt to one side. The body was prepared by male relatives, but any person could do the job. The body was laid flat on its back. Some of the property of the deceased and gifts of food were laid in with him. The whole was covered over with dirt and a pile of stones. The deceased was dressed in his own clothes and wrapped in his own blanket. Harry Hawkins, an elderly white resident from Woodfords, California, said he often saw the Washo wrap the deceased in a bearskin robe for burial. The remainder of the property of the deceased was broken up and thrown away, or burned. Those who participated in the burial would wash themselves afterward.

768
764 The house of the deceased was usually torn down and left to rot. It was occasionally burned, sometimes with the deceased and his property inside. The latter practice was more common during the winter when the hard ground and snow prohibited burial.

764 Hank Pete (born about 1884) told of a winter burial he saw as a youth. "They burned out the stump of a tree and dragged the body there and wrapped him up in some hide and got willows to tie him up and put him in there. His legs were in the hole and his head was up. He froze there. Later they saw the magpies were after him so they threw brush and rocks on top of him."

Lowie (1939, 310) related that "All used to dance around the fire and cry. They would put sagebrush two to three feet high and place the corpse on top. The clothes of the deceased were hidden lest anyone wearing them should fall sick. . . . According to Bill, the Washo sometimes -- but not [765] very often -- burned the corpse, putting it on a pile of brush. In the latter event the bones were subsequently interred."

6. Literally "water sweat potatoes", Cicuta douglasii. (Juanita Schubert, personal communication)

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Mourning took place around the grave. Both male and female relatives cut their hair short and buried the hair clippings. Ashes were smeared on the mourners' heads. All mourners would abstain from washing until the [515] mourning was over and then would take a bath. The people cried, wailed, and spoke to the deceased saying "You are dead now. I'll never see you again. My wife [or other appropriate term of address], I don't want to see you any more. We can't talk like we used to. Don't make any noise outside our house. You live under the ground. We don't want to see you any more."

[775]

It is reported that if you did not appear sorry the spirit would come and take you or another relative away with him. The mourning ceremony might last up to four days. After that most of the people attending would wash and be finished. But the wife or husband of the deceased is reported to have remained in mourning for a considerably longer time, perhaps a year or more. There was a permanent taboo against speaking the name of the deceased in [551] front of the deceased's close relatives.

765 824 789

Hank Pete said that one way to get a deceased person out of your mind and to stop hearing his voice was to hang a pendant of manzanita berries from the lobe of the ear. The berries were tied with sinew through a hole made in the lobe.

764

Susie Dick told Dangberg (1919, 5-6) of the following funeral.

"Susie's niece died Thursday, August 7th. On Friday Susie went to the funeral. . . . This dead woman's grandfather was a doctor. He kept trying to give her a dream, but she would not believe it and died as a result.

[787] [761]

"Her funeral will be conducted in this way. The people will all gather about the corpse. The relatives will wail. Those of the spectators who do not join in this will be forced to do so by the relatives.

764 775

"A doctor will address them and when they grow tired standing he will permit them to sit down. Everyone present will go touch the corpse and repeat in so doing a short exhortation to the spirit: 'Go away,' 'Do not bother us,' etc. At this time each person will lay a handkerchief, a piece of money, etc., upon the corpse an an offering to the spirit to make it content to stay away. Finally the people will take the corpse to the burial ground and bury it. Susie said, 'There is such a ground near Woodfords. One can hear the dead Indians singing and speaking there.'

[782]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

		Te	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tó	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
	1933. Leaf of kinikini (manzanita?)	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1935. Root of tonap for colds	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1937. Other bark	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1940.	Tobacco ground on metate	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1942.	Tobacco kept in: buckskin pouch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1943. Fur pouch	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS														
	Rattles														
*1944.	Cocoon rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1945. Attached to stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1947. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
1950.	Split-stick rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	*	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1951. 1 split	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1952. Used in exhibition dance	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
*1953.	Sheep-horn rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1955.	Rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1956. Used by shaman	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1956a. Used by dancers	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
1957.	Rabbit's-ear rattle	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	1958. Used by shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1960.	Deer's-ear rattle (witoavigə)	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
	1960a. Skin from ear used for rawhide rattle	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1963.	Wood-rat-fur rattle	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
*1965.	Hoof rattle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1966. Antelope hoofs	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	1967. Mt. sheep hoofs	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	1968. Deer hoofs	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1969. No. of hoofs indeterminate (25-50)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1970.	Hoofs in bunch	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1971.	Hoofs in line	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1972. Used by shaman	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1973.	Notched stick (wuhunagi)	-	*	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	*	-	-	-	+
	1974. Plain, notched	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1976. Rubbed with stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+
	1978. Used by antelope shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1979. Used in "bear dance"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
	1981. Buzzers (tɔ́zaˊsɔ̀hinyu)	+	+	-	-	-	*	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
1981a.	Hoofs twirled on string	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+
	1982. Deer patella	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
	1982a. Wood disk	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1983. Buckskin disk	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1983a. Rock	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	Bull-roarer														
	(See Gamas)														
	*1986. Drum	+	+	+	+	*+	*-	-	-	+	-	+	*+	*+	+
1986.	2-headed drum	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	1987. Body of willow rings	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1988.	1-headed drum, or tambourine	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1989. Body of wood	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
	1990. Diameter (in.): about 18	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1990a. 24	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
	1991. Depth (in.): 1-4	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	1992. 6-12	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

Ben himself drew my attention to two unorthodox particulars. First, he always places the ritual paraphernalia on the ground to his left (near the north end of the moon) with the tips of the feathers pointing north, "so they are always on their way around." The Ute alternate from left to right side according to a definite rule, which Ben considers wrong. A second peculiarity is the erection of a circular wall of canvas for meetings, instead of a tipi. Calling his method the "tipi way," Ben admits tipis are good for small crowds, but says they are inadequate for his meetings. It is possible this practice is partly conditioned by a similar method among the Cheyenne,[*] familiar to Ben, or is adopted from the Paiute shaman's custom of doctoring in brush enclosures. However, convenience is surely the chief determinant, for Ben also holds rituals in houses, sheds, and brush and grass enclosures.

"The use of parched corn . . . for the peyote breakfast may be regarded as universal for peyotism, wherever found," writes La Barre (p. 56). The Washo and Northern Paiute, however, use boiled rice. No explanation for the substitution is given. Since the Goshute sometimes use rice, Ben may have picked up the idea on his way to Nevada.

Although *Artemisia* is readily available in the Washo-Paiute area, it is not arranged for members to sit upon during meetings, as is done throughout the Plains. A few twigs, however, as elsewhere, are passed around at the start of meeting; and leaves are picked off, chewed, and rubbed over the body before the bundle is attached to the staff. Washo and Northern Paiute also have the hitherto unreported practice of mixing chopped "sage" leaves in their special prayer cigarettes.[*] The local *Artemisia tridentata* is not used, a special "sage" being imported from Texas. Although no mention is made of it in the literature, Voegelin wrote me that this feature is present among the Absentee Shawnee; also Lone Bear and John Wright, peyotists well acquainted with Oklahoma ritual but who do not attend Ben's meetings, both prepared "sage" cigarettes to clear my throat while we were practicing peyote songs. As with the Ute, the Washo-Paiute peyotists use ordinary wheatstraw cigarette papers instead of the cornhusks characteristic of the Plains.

The Washo-Paiute peyote paraphernalia differ slightly from those reported as typical: the staff or cane is undecorated; two feathers are tied near the top of the cane with the *Artemisia* after midnight; small feathers sometimes replace the usual horsehair decoration on the distal ends of the gourd-rattle handle; nearly everyone has his own rattle; and the chief's fan is not passed with the staff until after midnight (the Ute, at least, pass it all night). The custom of passing the chief's staff and rattle around the circle after the formal ending of the ritual is, I think, also limited to the Washo-Paiute cult. Each member sights along the staff as if aiming, then presses it to parts of his body; finally, holding it in front of him, he gives four long shakes with the rattle. Since Washo-Paiute shamans tie two feathers to the stick used in curing, this may have prompted peyotists to do the same, although the same practice occurs among the Delaware (Petrullo, 51). On the other hand, since shamans sometimes touch their patients with a stick, it is likely that the Washo and Northern Paiute simply added the staff to the custom of touching the body with the drumstick, usual in Utah and Colorado. The drinking of the blackened water from the drum after the buckskin has been removed and touching the water to the body with the drumstick is also unusual.[*]

In other respects, Ben and Sam seem less exacting than Ute "chiefs." The butts

[*] La Barre, 61.
[*] Schultes wrote me that he had never heard of the practice.
[*] At a meeting at Randlett, Utah, Ben persuaded the Ute to drink the water from the drum, but it was not done at other Ute peyote meetings that I attended.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

APPENDIX I. WASHO–NORTHERN PAIUTE PEYOTE RITUAL

The chief, or leader, arrives to prepare the crescent altar early Saturday afternoon. Weather permitting, the moon is constructed within a canvas corral with walls from 6 to 10 feet high;[a] otherwise, large dwelling rooms or sheds are utilized. Constructed west of the center of moist, clayey earth, the moon is about 2 feet long, 8 inches high in the middle, and its tapering tips point east. A shallow groove is marked on the crest, and a fifty-cent piece (signifying nothing) designates the spot midway between the tips where the chief peyote is to rest.

Members arrive during the afternoon and evening. Often those coming from the greatest distances receive dinner from the host. Although all are instructed to bathe for purification before attending meeting, only a small percentage do so.[b]

A three-legged iron kettle is converted into a drum by filling it one-third full of water, dropping eight pieces of glowing charcoal into it, and tying wet buckskin over its mouth with a rope after seven small stones have been pushed into the skin to form knobs. A star is produced on the bottom of the kettle by the rope lashings. The tying is done by anyone proficient at it, usually Ben or Sam, the leaders, instead of the chief drummer, who is often the wife of the chief. The fire chief makes a fire just east of the crescent altar, from the start maintaining a near right angle with four sticks, the apex being nearest the moon.

At eight or nine o'clock, the followers (including the fire chief) line up behind the chief, who makes a short prayer at the door of the meeting place. Both Ben and Sam wear beaded moccasins, as do several others; often, however, the discomfort of store shoes is avoided by removing them while in meeting. Several wear silver water-bird or eagle pins, and all dress in their best. Brightly colored (Pendleton) blankets are worn by certain fortunate persons. But comfort is the dictum, and most are loaded down with pillows, ordinary blankets, and quilts, which are especially necessary in winter because the whole family may attend and then infants and many adults are required to sit behind the circle warmed by the fire.

The chief, entering immediately after the prayer, arranges the seating. To sit in the front line is a privilege often reserved for men, but women occasionally are honored. Using a flashlight, the leader directs the Indians clockwise around the altar, walking about and studying how to accommodate the crowd. The chief directly west of the center of the moon, the chief drummer at his right, the cedarman at his left, and the fire chief just north of the entrance occupy the only ritually determined places. The chief has complete charge of the meeting, the fire chief conducting individuals in and out upon signals from the chief. Other activities of the fire chief are maintaining the fire in its angular shape, handing the glowing cigarette stick from its place east of the fire, forming the accumulating ashes into a crescent between the fire and the sand half-moon, cleaning the entire floor and altar from time to time, and helping with water and food ceremonies at midnight and at dawn. He is the most active person in the meeting.

Following the seating, the leader replaces the coin on the moon with the chief peyote, a large specimen with tufts forming lines curving out from the center.[c] Next he directs clockwise round the circle a bundle of *Artemisia* sprigs; and each person takes a few leaves to smell, chew, and rub over his body, a further purification. The fire chief starts two sacks of Bull Durham tobacco westward along each side of the altar. Men roll cigarettes made with regular wheatstraw papers for their wives and small children as well as for themselves. The fire chief takes the undecorated fire stick from its place in line between the fire and the door, lights his cigarette, and passes the stick clockwise around the group.

When cigarettes are lit, the chief prays aloud to Jesus, God, Mary, and Peyote. Besides general requests for guidance during the meeting, and for "health, strength, energy, and ambition," special invocations are voiced for leaders of the Native American Church in Utah and Oklahoma and for sick members, whose names are called. At meetings which I attended, half an hour was required to name and pray for all who desired special mention. After the prayer, cigarette butts are stood without regard for special order around the western base of the crescent. From near the crescent the chief takes a three-gallon bucket about half full of peyote "tea," passes it four times through the smoke rising from cedar leaves sprinkled on the fire by the cedarman, and sends it clockwise round the circle, a part of a cup being taken by anyone who wants it. Women, children, and the very ill often limit themselves to this brew, even babies receiving small amounts;

[a] At Campbell Ranch, Mason Valley, only willows were employed for the peyote corral. The members themselves call these structures corrals.

[b] This rule is not observed as carefully as it is by the Ute.

[c] Ben showed me several he had gathered to be used as chiefs. He carried his own loose in his shirt pocket, although he gave one to Mary D. Creek in a beaded pouch. Sam Dick carried his chief peyote in a large silver watchcase.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

some others take brew in addition to dry peyote. Then a sack of peyote buttons is passed clockwise, the leader instructing devotees to take four buttons and to pray "through them" for forgiveness, purification, faith, health, happiness, charity, for everything, "even money," and warning them that they must eat the four or must return uneaten ones to him because peyote cannot be concealed and anyone leaving with uneaten peyote will be punished by God.

After the chief has eaten four, he removes from his satchel his eagle-feather fan, gourd rattle, and drumstick, the drum and staff having been carried in separately. The fan is made by attaching to the quill of each eagle tail feather a buckskin string, then binding the strings with a beaded band to form a handle. The rattle is a gourd cleaned and fastened on a stick which extends through it. The inch or two projecting beyond the gourd is plain, beaded, or decorated at the end with small feathers or dyed horsehair.[50] The handle, sometimes beaded, usually has a twelve-string buckskin fringe at its end. To the top of the staff is tied the remains of the bundle of *Artemisia* (Sam Dick also ties two feathers). Before the singing begins, the cedarman sprinkles cedar leaves on the fire, the chief passes the fan, staff, and rattle four times through the incense, and the chief drummer does the same with the drum and drumstick.

Instead of a fixed starting song, the Washo-Paiute leaders commence the meeting with any peyote song they wish.[51] As he shakes the rattle with his right hand and sings the four songs, the chief holds his fan before him with the staff, the end of the staff then resting on the ground. His chief drummer drums for him; he in turn drums for the chief drummer and the cedarman, starting the staff, gourd, and drum clockwise round the inner circle. Those in the circle closest the fire, including women and boys, take turns holding the staff and singing four songs of their choosing, accompanied by the drumming of their right-hand neighbors or by someone especially requested, frequently the chief or the chief drummer. The chief's fan remains in front of him until midnight.

Although it is preferable that the staff make two rounds before midnight, the second round is seldom completed before the chief recalls the staff and drum for his song preliminary to the midnight water ceremony. While the drum is being recalled, the fire chief arranges the ashes into a crescent between the moon and the fire, replenishes the fire with four new logs, and cleans the center of the meeting place. Those with personal fans and rattles place them on silk handkerchiefs for use following the midnight ceremony.

Like the opening song, the midnight water call is not always the same: the Washo-Paiute have no fixed songs. After the leader has sung two of his four songs at midnight, water is brought by the fire chief and aligned with chief peyote, apex of fire, smoke stick, and door.[52] Kneeling on a blanket east of the water bucket, the fire chief waits until the last two songs are sung; then with his cupped hands he draws over the water the cedar incense produced by the cedarman. A special cigarette of ground "sage" and Bull Durham is rolled by the chief and carried to the kneeling fire chief by the cedarman, who hands him also the cigarette lighting stick. As he smokes, the fire chief blesses the water and prays for everyone, especially the sick.

Before the bucket and cup are handed to the first person south of the door, a little water is spilled on the ground. All drink from either the bucket or cup, most squirting water into their hands from their mouths and rubbing it over head and body. Personal fans and rattles are arranged in the same way as the paraphernalia of the chief, with the tips to the left. The chief drummer gives the drum a "drink" by pouring water on the skin head; the chief sprinkles the chief peyote and the crescent.

While the fire chief, the last to drink, removes the water bucket, walking with it clockwise around the altar, the drum and staff are returned to their places for a song while the chief is outside praying to the cardinal directions.

When the chief returns, those who can pass clockwise without passing the drum leave the meeting for ten or fifteen minutes. Possibly the water or merely the absence of restraint account for the vomiting at this time, for about a fourth regurgitate the peyote when outside at midnight. With a few exceptions, everyone who eats more than one or two buttons vomits during the meeting. Some, eating peyote after the first vomiting, retch three or four times.

The use of incense being an important part of the curing ceremony and also a purification, everyone is fanned or fans himself with cedar smoke as he reënters. The chief uses his eagle-feather fan to give the ill special attention. Whenever cedar is sprinkled on the fire, smoke may be fanned to oneself, a friend, or a relative.

Peyote "tea" and buttons are passed two or three times between midnight and dawn. Eight to twelve buttons are the average number eaten, but some eat from twenty to thirty. The process is

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[50] Ben had the top of his gourd decorated with a red celluloid button set with rhinestones. One Washo made a rattle of the dried "shell" of a sea urchin.

[51] Because of the late start, the long prayer, and the time required to administer the brew, it is almost midnight before the singing begins.

[52] The eagle-humerus whistle is not used by the Washo-Paiute leaders.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tiha'p'i'ea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya ecuke'a! mi'k'eŋ ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'eu, diku'eu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltai tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

276 stone bowl and wooden stem. It was held up so the tobacco would not fall out.
[249] Tobacco (pa'ɣkuc) was never planted, but grew like a weed. In the fall the Washo gathered it into sacks, and, discarding stems, dried the leaves, which
[177] they ground up but did not mix with anything else. Women formerly did not smoke; now, some smoke in imitation of white women.

825 A ba"kumta'liɣe, bat (?), has different kinds of hide on—that of a bear,
777 mountain lion, mink, game animal. If a Washo caught a bat, he killed it, dried the hide, and divided it among his friends and relatives. This gave luck in hunting and games of chance. If a p'alaa"ci, the owner would not show the
[614] bat's hide to the other patrilineal group lest they acquire luck when playing against him (Bill).

[P.374, B]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

787 they confer power is still common among the Washo. One informant said, in talking about "old-time dreamers": "Today a lot of people will say they had a dream about something, and act real big. I just tell them they are crazy. They aren't real dreamers. They couldn't have a dream about their girl friend."

Until very recent times a dream was justification for [535] almost any group activity. The most common motivation [721] for such events as a pine-nut dance, a war party, or a [224] rabbit or antelope drive was usually that "So-and-So had a dream." An announcement would be made and others would gather for the event.

[956] These dreams are clearly different from the visitations of spirits to prospective shamans, which occurred repeatedly and were kept secret. Dreamers, on the other hand, publicly reported individual dreams. Being a dreamer 791 appears to have been one of the important factors in at- 622 taining positions of leadership, informal as such positions were among the Washo. The almost legendary Captain Jim,[1] who was acknowledged as a leader by all the Washo in the late nineteenth century, is considered to have been a dreamer by many of the Washo. Those informants who remember the big times at Double Springs Flat, in which a large number of the Washo of the day participated prior to the pine-nut harvest, usually begin their accounts with the statement that Jim would have a dream and announce the date of the meeting. Various parts of the ceremony were also validated by dreams. It is equally clear that although Jim was an honored leader and had dreaming power he was not considered a doctor.

Negative testimony also indicates the importance of dreaming in Washo life. It is to the advantage of certain individuals to deny the "chieftainship" of Captain Jim; they vehemently deny that he was a dreamer but insist that he was simply a good man who was trusted by the Washo. "That Jim was just a good old guy that everybody obeyed because they liked him and the whole group selected him. He wasn't no more of a dreamer than I am," is the way one claimant for the Washo chieftainship put it. However, his own claim was based on his relationship to a man who was a rabbit boss and who dreamed when it was time to hunt rabbits.

787 Clearly the Washo believed and still believe that dreams 178 make one privy to the future and provide important insights on which one can base decisions. The specific uses to which dreams can be put change with the situation. Ante- [224] lope dreaming is no longer important because there are no antelope. Rabbit dreamers no longer exist because the rabbit drive has lost much of its importance in Washo life. Conversely, dreams dealing with modern problems appear to be taken seriously.

787 One informant often dreams of snakes and evidences a ● 825 great fear of them. The Washo view this behavior as a rational response to a real warning and consider the man's caution as good judgment in the face of repeated warnings.

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[1]Captain Jim is the only Washo whom the Washo generally accept as having been a leader of the entire tribe. Other claimants to the title of chief of the Washo are contemptuously discounted. There were in the past a number of men, usually considered leaders of a "bunch" who were called "captains" or, less often, "chiefs" because they dealt with the white population. The entire institution of captain may well be a post-white development.

[p.379, A]

RITUAL IN SUBSISTENCE

224 222 789 Hunting, far more than gathering, appears to have been the focus of much ritual activity. This suggests that for the Washo the importance of ritual may have increased in proportion to the element of chance inherent in the activity undertaken. Gathering was a surety, assuming of course that there was a harvest to gather. With the wide variety of plants available within the Washo territory during the spring, summer, and fall it seems highly unlikely that the failure of one species of plant created a serious problem. This, [731] of course, was not true of the pine nut. A failure of the pine-nut crop was a harbinger of a starvation winter. The gathering of pine nuts, in contrast to the gathering of other plants, was the subject of a great deal of ritual and, in some degree, of ceremonialism uncommon to most Washo gathering activities. This will be dealt with later in the paper.

HUNTING

224 Deer (1-27).—Deer were hunted in a number of ways. Barrett reports, and old informants confirm, that hunting parties of as many as thirty or forty men were formed in the old days to go to the western [648] slope of the Sierra in pursuit of deer. The large number may have been necessitated by the possibility of meeting hostile Miwok or Maidu. My own informants claimed that these large parties often set fire to the forest to drive the deer into the open, and that the large number of men was needed to cover the escape routes.

More common, apparently, were small groups of five or six men, usually relatives, who went into the deer country together. Their technique was to drive along a single deer run toward one of their number [177] who was considered the best shot. This method was very common after the introduction of firearms, particularly repeating firearms.

Finally, any Washo man might hunt singly. Often groups of five or six men went hunting together but each did his own stalking.

[796] Whatever the technique, hunting magic was an individual affair which did not require any ceremonial activities.

[824] A single hunter, before the days of firearms, often stalked in the antlers and hide of a deer. Washo were [825] often superstitious about using the real antlers and made artificial sets from manzanita branches. This fear of using real antlers appears related to the treatment which was accorded to the bones of deer. These, once the meat had been completely stripped off, were submerged in a stream to prevent their being eaten by dogs or wild animals. Perhaps the best account of the magic involved in stalking is the following by an aged informant, reputed to have "hunting medicine."

[789] "We never had no poison arrow for bear or deer but had something just as good. We took red paint and mixed it with marrow from a deer leg and rubbed it on the shaft and point of the arrow. Arrowheads for war were little but those for big game like deer or bear were pretty big."

[P. 381, A]

224 [539] I've heard that they cook it and eat it . . . not only here but up north. After they get the rifle they get to killing bears around here but hardly ever hear of dividing up the bear meat."

This last remark appears to be significant as all informants emphasized that Indians shared food equally. [825] Thus a statement made voluntarily that bear meat was not shared suggests different attitudes about bears.

Another informant adds the detail that when the bear left his lair, the companions of the man who entered the den would block the entrance so the bear could not return. The first man to place an arrow in the animal could claim it and get the hide. This informant also added at this point: "It's funny that the [302] fella who went inside was just an ordinary fella [emphasis mine]." He also insisted that after a bear was killed the hunting party painted their faces black. Other informants claimed not to know of this or said such painting was done when a mink was killed but they did not know why.

One traditional story (Dangberg) sheds a bit more [539] light on the bear. In this tale a group of Washo were camped near a band of Paiute who challenged the [848] Washo to fight. Instead of fighting, the Washo drove a bear from its den and killed it and thus defeated the Paiute.

I had all but given up the pursuit of information on [124] the bear, being convinced that my informants either honestly did not know any more (the bear having been relatively rare in this area for a good many years) or were unwilling to discuss something of an extremely sacred nature, when a chance remark suggested at least part of the explanation.

224 554 A pioneer white resident who had lived in Alpine County, California, for ninety years casually mentioned [764] that every Indian man who was buried during his boyhood was wrapped in a bearskin shroud. This, coupled [789] with an earlier mention of "rough" men having bearskins, suggests that the killing of a bear represented the ultimate in Washo bravery and the possession of the skin conferred extra powers on the owner. The rifle made such acquisitions much less hazardous and [764] in the late nineteenth century it had become common for Indians to own a bearskin cloak, which became their most prized possession and was buried with them.

796 825 171 114 Stewart's element lists show no evidence of any formalized bear cult among the Washo. However, Smith's notes, which Stewart used, report a bear shaman who impersonated a bear (2558). Certainly the bear was one of the spirits who could give power to a man destined to become a shaman. Bear shamanism [795] is reported only for the Fish Spring Valley Paiute by Steward and for the Tago and Wada Northern Paiute [756] by Stewart. These three groups constitute the only ones having formalized bear ceremonialism of any sort in the Basin. The bear dance and a note about impersonating bears (Steward 1941, pp. 266, 322) sug- [177] gest that formalized bear ceremonialism came into the Basin from the Rocky Mountains via the Ute and Bannock. However, Kroeber reports awe of the bear, special euphemisms for them, and ritualized secrecy about hunting them among the Miwok which seem more closely related to Washo behavior. Bear impersonators among the Battle Mountain Paiute were credited with 825 invulnerability in war, which is reminiscent of the use 771 of a bear-hide cloak by Washo "rough men." Although it is not possible to make any conclusive statement about the role of the bear in the supernatural life of

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

[787] [535] [782]

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

[825] [439] [262]

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine composed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

[773]

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MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during mens-
[881] truation, they do recall being warned against combing
[582] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
● 825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand
[525] game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minis-
[178] ter, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832]

cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

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Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

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The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

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INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

8: Merriam& d'Azevedo E-4, 5 (1954-1955) 1957
NT20 Washo NT20

Every few months "runs" are made by automobile to Texas and New Mexico in order to replenish dwindling supplies of "the herb" from the "Peyote gardens."

Ritual procedure and ideology has undergone some noteworthy changes since it was first observed by Stewart in 1938. Most of these indicate an alignment with the practices of the Peyotists of eastern tribes as standardized by the Native American Church. Women no longer preside nor do they sing at meetings, as they were encouraged to do during Ben Lancaster's early dominance. It is now considered preferable to hold meetings in a canvas tipi rather than in a member's cabin or temporary windbreak. There is insistence upon members learning "real Peyote songs" rather than bringing "any old song" to meetings as was once allowed. The performance of leaders in conducting meetings and in their personal lives is critically evaluated by the membership in terms of an ideal which is frequently expressed as "the way those old-time Peyote Indians back east do it."

Some changes are especially significant in that they appear to be unique and to suggest Washo cultural influence. Eagle feathers were formerly used by the shaman and were considered too powerful for ordinary people to handle. While used in Peyote today, informants admit that the Washo are not as free with these feathers as are Peyotists in other tribes; the use of eagle feather "fans" is carefully restricted to the "strongest" roadchiefs and old members. Other members make fans from the feathers of various birds, each with its special qualities and degree of "power."

The traditional Washo concept of spirit guidance or power is strenuously opposed by Peyotist ideology. All "power" is in Peyote, and the devout are merely its instruments. Peyote is "good" but the medicines of the old shamans were "bad" because they were the gift from evil forces for the personal gain of the shaman. This has been one of the primary arguments of the local Peyotists in their struggle to defend and improve their status among the more conservative members of the tribe. Many Peyotists take the position that the idea of "power" itself is alien to the true spirit of Peyote, although the same persons may attribute the eclipse of shamanism over the past twenty years to the superior "power" of Peyote. More sophisticated versions of this same view hold that God gave Peyote to man as a weapon to fight evil, and that shamanism was one of the evils. Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in "the old way." Coyote, loon, eagle, and snake are seen at meetings and are a sign that some member is clandestinely associated with them.

The rivalry among leading Peyotists for success in curing and ritual proficiency is no less intense than that once exhibited by the shamans in public competitions. Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader. Eating of Peyote in large quantities may be admired as a proof of devotion, but it is more likely to be considered as a slightly unethical swaggering too reminiscent of a trick of the old shamans who ate the poisonous wild parsnip to show their "power."

N W 182 To anyone familiar with the Washo territory as contrasted to the area occupied by the Paiute it would seem logical to postulate differences between these groups in terms of different environments at the time of contact. However, if we examine the environments of these two groups in terms of what Steward has called significant ecological factors (Steward, 1955, 30-42) it becomes clear that the differences are in degree rather than kind.

W 136 182 262 Hall (1946, 44) points out that the area occupied by the Washo contains 12 species of mammals not found elsewhere in Nevada. These include a species of shrew, the marten, the mountain beaver, the snowshoe rabbit, the Douglas squirrel and the black bear. The shrew, marten and mountain beaver were of little or no importance as food animals, and the marten was considered desirable only for its fur. The snowshoe rabbit was taken occasionally when encountered, as was the Douglas squirrel. It should be pointed out that there were other species of rabbit and many species of squirrel distributed throughout the Basin which served as food resources. The bear, despite its size, had little or no importance in the economic life of the Washo. Its religious significance was high, and bear hunts were important in attaining social status, but its flesh was eaten only in cases of extreme hardship.

W [825] [771]

Mule deer, pronghorn antelope, mountain sheep, jack rabbit, gophers and ground squirrels -- all important food sources -- were distributed throughout the Washo and Paiute areas in Nevada. Waterfowl and fish were found wherever sinks, lakes and watercourses existed. It appears that the Washo area was distinguished from the remainder of the territory by a greater concentration of these various food sources. However, this concentration was not so plentiful as to permit long term sedentary village life or the permanent organization of large political groups. Moreover, there were within the Washo area no animals or plants whose taking required social or technological organization different from that of the Paiute.

W [361]

W N 171 [114] An examination of the culture element lists prepared by Stewart (1941) shows that the Washo shared many traits with Paiute bands. In fact, the Washo often shared traits with some Paiute groups, which informants from other Paiute groups denied, suggesting that variation among various Paiute groups was as great as that between the Washo and the Paiute as wholes. My own field work tends to show even more similarity in the area of political organization than is revealed by Stewart, with a number of traits admitted by my informants which are denied in his work (Stewart, 1941, 406-7). Differences that do exist seem to be in large part attributable to influence on the Washo from California and influence on the Paiute from the north and east, or south and east (see also Heizer and Elsasser, 1953, 4 and Spier, 1928, 1929 on Basin relationships).

W N [177]

231 not very good and entered only the minor events. Usually the Washo quite openly express the view that horses are a bother, and they seem to enjoy making remarks about the amount of meat the white man's prize mount might provide. On one occasion a Woodfords Washo had allowed a white man to pasture two horses in a fenced meadow, but he expressed relief that they were [177] gone. It might be mentioned that this man's half-Paiute son, exposed to the [233] agricultural curriculum of public school, wants to raise a sheep in the family meadow. His Washo father chooses to ignore the boy's importuning, but his Paiute mother encourages his ambition.

233 554 Only one Washo man appears to have attempted to raise cattle. Surprisingly, he is a very traditional young man, respected by Peyotists, non-Peyotists, mountain, and valley Washo alike. He is perhaps the only Washo today who might conceivably develop into an effective and generally accepted tribal leader. His small scale cattle operation is conducted on an allotment near Woodfords, on the banks of the Carson River. He has purchased a small tractor with a cutter bar attachment and hay rake. He cuts hay for his [246] stock in his own meadows and those owned by his friends. In exchange for [313] the hay he assists his friends in gathering winter wood. This small cattle [476] enterprise is as yet too young to allow prediction of its eventual success or [178] failure. It is being watched with patronizing interest by local whites. The Washo, however, view the experiment as an unusual departure from expected Washo behavior. A few grudgingly admit that it might yet point a new direction for their people.

123 124 231 It should be mentioned that I found Washo attitudes, when asked about pets or animal husbandry, to be embarrassment, curt, almost hostile, reluctance to comment, or confusion. Otherwise loquacious informants were apt to lapse into speechlessness when asked about domestic animals. Informants who claimed an impossibly total recall concerning times past (often years before their birth) seemed to experience memory lapses when asked about horses or cattle. A man who discussed with enthusiasm the minute details of the life and habits of game animals lapsed into embarrassed silence when asked why he kept a rabbit in a hutch near his house. In fact, his only response to the question was to disclaim ownership and state that he was keeping it for a friend.

224 825 As stated earlier, not all Washo hunt, but almost all men retain a lively interest in hunting and wild animals. One informant, generally conceded by other Washo to have hunting medicine, approached a discussion of native fauna with the enthusiasm and attention to detail of a zoologist. He invariably referred to the various species as if he were using a personal name, speaking of Wolf, Bear, Coyote, Deer, and using a personal pronoun. With obvious enjoyment he would describe the intelligence of various animals he

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[825] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild

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178 that the shift has been gradual, with each adjustment a relatively minor one
231 when contrasted to the stage immediately preceding it.

On the other hand, the adjustments needed to adopt animal husbandry as a basis or even important adjunct to the Washo economy would have required at one time or another a major shift in orientation, the abandonment of certain aboriginal practices, and the adoption of many new skills and values. This major shift the Washo did not make, continuing instead their gradual adjustment to changing conditions until they became inextricably involved in the socio-economic system of the area, and no longer in a position to undertake any large scale experiments in husbandry.

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231 In questioning informants about domestic animals and the earlier relationships between domestic animals and the Washo, one trend becomes increasingly clear. The Washo are for the most part uncomfortable when involved in such a conversation. Description of the details of their behavior in this regard must perhaps await psychological testing, but it is clear that for the most part this is an experience they find uninteresting and unpleasant.

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825 The explanation of this attitude may well lie in that area of Washo
773 culture which appears to have survived most completely. The Washo world
77 view and related attitudes about the supernatural and the nature of the world
177 are clearly aboriginal and have been little affected by white contact (Downs,
171 1961b). An integral part of these aspects of Washo culture is a view of the nature of the animals man encounters in this world.

The Washo view of the animal kingdom is similar to that of many other Indian tribes in the West. Animals are the product of acts of creation essentially similar to that which produced man. At one time the prototypes of the animals lived as part of the human social system, conversing and interacting with mankind. As essentially the same class of being as man, animals are subject to many of the same laws as man, and are the possessors of power. Thus, to be a successful hunter one must have more power than the animals he hunts and at the same time he must propitiate them so that they will allow themselves to be killed for mankind's benefit. Thus the Washo view animals as a combination of fellow, powerful magician, and willing sacrifice. As such, animals must be treated with respect and viewed with awe.

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825 Much of this attitude is summed up in the Washo usage of the word
231 <u>musĕge</u>, which in its simplest translation means wild beast or dangerous beast. However, further probing of the many connotations of the word reveals that this is applied to any hunted animal, large or small, which eludes or outwits the hunter. Thus a bear is inherently musĕge, but a deer, or even a squirrel, is musĕge only if he manages to show his superiority to

the hunter or more particularly to the hunter's medicine. Moreover, musĕge is also applied to men who displayed aggressive power as hunters, warriors or in modern times, men who are bad-tempered. Finally, musĕge is the common Washo term used in reference to the most powerful and dangerous and inexplicable of animals, the white man. By extension the attitude appears to cover also the white man's livestock -- large, often dangerous animals that destroy wild plant foods, and for whose control are required new (and difficult to acquire) skills. The Indian's fear of domestic animals when he was first confronted with horses and cattle is clear from Cortez's invasion of the 16th century to the Blackfeet in the 18th and 19th centuries (Ewers, 1955), and the Pit River tribes of the 1860's and 70's, (de Angulo, 1950). If we recall that Washo enmity toward white men -- the commercial sheep grazers who lease the pinenut allotment lands, for instance -- is apt to be couched in terms of hostility toward the sheep rather than the sheep herder, we see yet another extension of this admittedly vague but nonetheless real identification of animals and men. In short, the white man and his animals appear never to have been clearly distinguished from one another. Moreover the ritual or magical skills of aboriginal Washo life, which enabled the Washo to deal with the native fauna, were of no use in dealing with domestic livestock. One cannot view a sheep or cow or horse as semisacred and at the same time carry out the tasks necessary to the proper conduct of husbandry. At this point the example of Hindu India, where the cow is considered so sacred that the millions of bovines on the subcontinent cannot contribute their full potential to the welfare of human society, may help illustrate the point I am attempting to make about the Washo. Essentially what has happened in the Washo case is that the Washo have not succeeded in making a clear distinction between domestic animals and wild animals, and therefore, have not been able to adjust their own behavior in terms of domestic-wild categories. This failure to draw these distinctions has made it difficult for the Washo to undertake any real husbandry activities.

However, in the final paragraphs of this paper, it might be well to see exactly what the Washo have or have not rejected. Clearly the Washo have not rejected or failed to incorporate domestic livestock. The Washo language borrowed or developed words for all the more common domestic animals. The Washo willingly eats beef, veal, pork, bacon or ham, although he tends to reject mutton and lamb. There are within Washo culture clear-cut patterns of behavior that direct actions concerning domestic animals. Moreover, in the recent past many Washo developed the skill necessary to ride and drive horses, although this skill was soon lost with the invention of the automobile. What the Washo failed to develop were the attitudes and skills necessary for animal husbandry as distinguished from "domestication" or "domestic animals."

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 262 825 114 222 kutsavi. There were none in Carson Lake. The Toe did not use the larvae said to occur in Soda Lake near Fallon. It was not important to them. Tö: Larvae kutsavi were obtained from Mono Lake by trade or expedition. Maggie and Goggles wondered why the Toe did not use the kutsavi which occur in Soda Lake, between Fallon and Hazen, Nevada. Pa: DV said he knew that kutsavi was obtained in old days from Mono Lake primarily, but also from Soda Lake and from a small slough near Pyramid Lake. Wa: Larvae were obtained from Mono. At: In the old days kutsavi larvae were found in the sloughs of Quinn River near Sod House. In the same place a green marble-like water plant was found, called ica pui ("wolf eyes").

W [222 825]

342. Tö: Ant "eggs" were used as medicine.

344. To: Informants said cicadas (küa) did not occur near Stillwater.

348. At, Sa, Tg, Wd, and Ki: Informants pronounced the word miju, the other Paiute bands said niju.

A [222 251] 356. AE: Grasshoppers were caught by encircling with fire to drive them together and roast.

358. AE: Grasshoppers stored in woven vegetable-fiber sack.

A [262] 360. Wd, Ki, and AE: Only antelope liver eaten raw.

W [262] 361. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

362. Tö: Deer heart and kidney only of his first deer was taboo as food to a youth lest become lazy. At: Deer heart was taboo to women and young men. A boy would be short-winded if he ate deer heart. Tg: Heart meat made all people lazy. Wd: - (SC).

364. Tg, Ki: Young people were allowed to eat cooked liver. Wd: - (SC).

W [262] 365, 368. Wd: - (SC).

367. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

368. Wd: - (SC).

N 796 262 369. Ts: Not only the first kill, but any game shot with bow (or gun) was taboo to a youth until performance of a ceremony. Neither father nor mother were allowed his first game, but the youth's brothers and sisters would eat it. This taboo did not apply to game trapped or clubbed. ND said he never ate his own kill until he was nearly 25 years old. At that time, an old Indian, not a shaman, suggested to ND's parents that the boy was old enough to eat his own game. ND then killed a deer which he carried to camp where it was cut up. ND was smoked over a small fire of sagebrush, and then a willow hoop, wrapped with strips of meat from the game he had just killed, was prepared and he stepped through it 5 times. Next a small piece of meat was cut from either the right or left side just behind the front legs of the deer and roasted, and then handed to ND to eat. "I was afraid. I had never eaten meat that I had killed. The old man told me to go ahead and eat; said it wouldn't hurt me. I thought I would be sick, but I took the meat inside me. It almost came up again, but I tried hard and kept it down.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

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[842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this.

[824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period.

[844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire.

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In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

[759] [302]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (ńšwnan ?ēmluhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication
4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

interrogated, resisters refused to mention these previous illnesses. Opposition to peyotism is comparable to most Indians' attitude toward government hospitals.[a]

Five informants condemn peyotism because of its unsanitary ritual, citing the chewing of peyote buttons by the chief for others to swallow, the drinking of blackened water from the drum, and the use of a common spoon for the ritualistic breakfast. Two maintain peyote turns the skin black; another insists it dries the blood. Only six believe peyotism is bad because it keeps patients from proper hospital treatment, whereas twenty are certain peyote is unnecessary because shamans cure better. Three of these latter are former peyotists, treated by shamans after unsuccessfully using peyote.

Other arguments for supporting peyotism have a religious basis. Five members said they joined because it was a satisfying way to worship "the one true God," at least four being active in both Protestant and peyote meetings.[b] Peyote visions of dead relatives in a happy state, of God and Jesus welcoming the Indians in a beautiful land, of witches frustrated, of the creation of the earth and all living things are proof that peyotism is the true Indian religion. Bright fields, kaleidoscopic colors, attractive nude women, and many other types of delusions are pleasurable experiences, but in most hallucinations the Indians find divine instruction.[c] For three or four members, these revelations constitute the principal appeal, whereas most consider them incidental, and seven report seeing nothing, even after eating twenty-four buttons. Visions reveal peyote's power, but only Henry Jack believes they impart individual power. All consider peyote a great teacher and already new peyote songs have been received by three. Visions are merely part of the religious aspect of the cult.[d]

For several Washo-Paiute cultists, peyote protects from witchcraft, a function also attributed to the cactus by the Taos Indians and emphasized by the Mescalero as peyote's principal virtue.[e] Some Washo-Paiute also carry "chief peyotes" as fetishes, such as is commonly done in the Plains.[f]

Among the opponents, only half a dozen Indians fight peyotism on religious grounds, and they stress other reasons. Their arguments are of three types: First, peyotism is not really a religion at all. In denying that peyotism is a religion, resisters accuse Ben Lancaster of praying, quoting the Bible, and making moral speeches only to attract Indians to be robbed or raped.[g] The Christian missionaries, of course, attack peyote on religious grounds and provide arguments for their followers. Second, aboriginal religion is better. Preference for aboriginal religion is implicit in preference for shamanism; shaman Blind Mike (W,2) said his personal guardian spirit warned him against peyote and protected him during the one meeting he visited. Third, Indians lose missionary gifts. Hank Pete (W,2) condemns

[a] U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[b] Joe Green and Johnny Cleveland were invited to speak at a conference of Nevada missionaries at Reno, October, 1938. The Rev. Mr. Dunlap affirmed that neither ever believed in peyote or used it.

[c] Petrullo writes, ". . . a prime law of peyotism is that Peyote is the teacher of Religion."

[d] My data are in accord with Schulte's' view (1938: 712) concerning the Plains: "The peyote vision is incidental and of little significance," and in contrast to Shonle's thesis (p. 59) that "the underlying belief in the supernatural origin of visions is important among the factors contributing to the diffusion of peyote and in a general way defines the area of its probable spread," and to La Barre's (p. 58) that, "though infrequently expressed as an official motive, the vision-producing physiological effect of peyote is probably the major reason."

[e] Parsons, 67–68; Opler, 1937; La Barre, 72, 97–98.

[f] La Barre, 72.

[g] Ethnologists have often said that Christian elements in peyotism were recently added in order to make the cult less objectionable to white men. La Barre (43, fn. 85) states: "In the Plains peyotism largely followed the Ghost Dance frustration of anti-white sentiment and preached conciliation instead; such Christian elements as were added had a largely propagandist function in that direction."

[P. 374, A]

DREAMS AND DREAMERS

(2566)

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[756] Mentioned almost as frequently as doctors are dreamers, whom the Washo view as distinct from shamans. The so-called antelope shaman and rabbit [624] boss fall into this category rather than that of doctor.

Dreamers were gifted with a power to foretell special classes of events in dreams. All Washo believe [828] dreams are likely to foretell the future, and they are alert to find meanings in any dreams they have. Certain persons, those thought of as "dreamers," are reported to have special gifts of this nature.

There are apparently no dreamers among the Washo today, in the sense that the term was used in times past. That is, no one is especially singled out as having infallible dreams foretelling certain classes of [178] events. It may be that the breakdown of the band structure, which was related to economic exploitative activity, in effect, forced everyone to dream for himself. In 987 the past, dreamers were particularly important in set-[756] ting the time and place for activities which were carried out by large groups, such as hunting, fishing, [621] pine-nut gathering, and war. With the disappearance of the last seminomadic bands in the middle 1930's, [178] as well as with the reduced importance of hunting and fishing as group activities, persons having dreams which directed group actions were no longer useful. Today, dreams appear to occur to a number of individuals, and those felt to be of social significance usually deal with catastrophe or other foreboding subjects. The following stories were told to me by the widow under the shadow of witchcraft. When I asked her if she thought any of her friends would tell me their dreams, she replied: "No I don't think no Washo would tell you their dreams. But I'm not superstitious about them things and I'll tell you these two dreams I had."

"One summer I was up at the Lake [Tahoe] with my husband and I had a dream that the gambling house at [539] Dresslerville [a structure known officially as the community center] was on fire. There was kids inside and they was screaming but there wasn't no water. I saw the men all around with buckets but they couldn't do nothing because there wasn't no water. I told my hus-[828] band about the dream the next morning and he said I should take a bath and pray. That's what we do to keep a bad dream from happening."

The following winter the community center did in fact burn down. A young Indian in a rage after having an argument with his father hurled a bottle of kerosene against a wood stove. The resulting fire could not be extinguished because the Dresslerville pump was not working. Whether the dream was really a prophecy after the fact I do not know. It is significant in any case that the prophecy appeared in the form of a dream. My informant's second dream foretold the violent death of a young Indian woman. The prophecy came true two years later.

Her statement that other Washo would be reluctant to discuss their dreams was all too true, confirming the importance that dreams play in their daily lives. A number of tangential remarks suggest that the belief that dreams confer advance knowledge of the future and that

969 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

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844 Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off.
846 Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

even where Washo and Paiute occupy the same colony, as in Reno, peyotists and nonpeyotists are not friendly and keep to opposite ends of the street."

The unification of peyotists into a small vigorous minority roundly denounced by the majority of Washo-Paiute is one of the most significant features in this acculturation study.[a] To understand it, let us review the opposing opinions and attempt to ascertain their foundations. To learn the bases for the different reactions to the new cult, direct questions were asked. Although individuals may have basic, even subconscious, psychological compulsions which are not exposed by this procedure, we do obtain a valuable understanding of the forces operative in opinion formation. Asking peyotists and nonpeyotists why they believe as they do reveals that the reasons for and against the cult fall into the same categories. Almost every explanation in its support has a counterpart in the statements of the opposition. They can be arranged under medical, religious, ethical, prestige, and economic reasons for acceptance and rejection. Kinship and desire for social contacts also aided the diffusion.

As might be expected from the fact that peyotism was first presented and widely advertised as a curing ritual, the greatest number of arguments in its favor have to do with its therapeutic value. Thirty-seven peyotists told me of more than fifty cures supposedly effected by peyote. Seventeen types were enumerated, ranging from cuts, colds, and headaches to goiter, rheumatism, and tuberculosis, whooping cough, blindness, and hemorrhoids. To the believers, peyote, "just like X-ray," reveals the location of the malignancy and, in some cases, the progress toward recovery.

Distrust of government doctors, nurses, and hospitals, and faith in shamans contributed to this belief in peyote.[b] Nonmembers, however, fear hospitals as much as do peyotists, some of whom do go to hospitals at times.[c] Most protracted illnesses for which peyote is used have been treated also by white doctors and Indian shamans.[d] Even many nonpeyotists believe that peyote may cure in some cases, shamans in others, and that sometimes even government doctors succeed where others fail. Joe Green considers himself a shaman regardless of participation in peyote meetings, and Tom Mitchell (P,4) "doctors" his wife between meetings. To Joe, peyote is more potent than his shamanistic power, although analogous, just as peyotism is better than Protestantism, although similar."

Opposition to peyote on "medical" grounds takes the form of two beliefs: that peyote causes insanity, and that it actually causes death. Forty-five Indians told me they resist peyote because it leads to permanent insanity. Joaquin Brown's crimes and derangement are cited by Indians from Nixon to Fish Springs (beyond Bishop) in Owens Valley.

When Joaquin espoused peyotism, he did so with the enthusiasm he probably dis-

[a] The unification of intertribal peyotists in western Nevada and eastern California appears analogous to the Plains practice of intertribal meetings. La Barre states (p. 60) that "at a Shawnee leader's meeting at McCloud there were 12 Kickapoo, 6 Shawnee, 3 Caddo, 2 Kiowa, 2 whites, 1 Wichita, 1 Seminole, 1 Sauk and Fox, 1 Oto, 1 Potowatomi, and 1 Negro."

[b] See Appendix III for statistics.

[c] Reported in U. S. Senate Hearings, 1932, 15131–15141, 15202.

[d] Willie Smokey went to the hospital when he was most active in the cult. Sam Dick's wife Ida was in the hospital in November, 1938, with bladder trouble. Joe Green was at the hospital for trachoma treatments in June, 1939.

[e] Peyote's appeal on the Plains was also curing. La Barre, 43, states that "doctoring . . . in a majority of cases is the expressed purpose of calling a meeting," and that "peyote doctoring has been the occasion many times for the spread of peyotism from tribe to tribe." Radin, 1914, 12, found that among the Winnebago "Rave relied principally for new converts upon the knowledge of this great curative virtue of the peyote." Schultes, 1938, 704, states that in the Plains "the medical reputation of peyote has been fundamental in the establishment, spread, and, to some extent, in the maintenance of the peyote cult."

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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shown that increasing age is associated with increasing percentages of hypertension, the correlation of younger age with white schooling would tend to blur real blood pressure differences between the groups with different educational experiences. To put it another way, the finding that Washo students from white schools had more hypertension than others occurred despite the fact that these were younger Washo, whom we would normally expect to have lower pressures.

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Discussion

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The long standing hypothesis that stress is associated with hypertension, possibly figuring in its etiology, is supported by the data in the present study. The fact that Washo blood pressure levels are high either when compared to acceptable normal limits, or to mean levels of other societies throughout the world (for a discussion of comparisons of mean blood pressure levels of the Washo with those of a number of other groups, see Scotch, 1957, 42, 93) may be attributed under this hypothesis to the stresses to which the Washo are subject. Chief among these are poverty and the discrimination the Washo face as an extremely small minority group within the dominant white culture of Nevada. Furthermore, gainful employment is extremely difficult to get, first, because there are so few jobs available in Nevada that do not involve gambling enterprises and, secondly, because of discrimination. Further, attempts by the Bureau of Indian Affairs to alleviate the economic situation by such schemes as the relocation plan had met with complete rejection at the time of the study. To our knowledge, not a single Washo had agreed to be relocated despite the many attractive features of the plan. When Washo were interviewed concerning their reluctance to relocate, their typical attitude might be expressed:

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> "Things are bad enough here where we only have to associate with whites for limited periods of time, but at least we continue to live within the tribe. We maintain many of our customs, and we know and understand our neighbors. But if we agreed to move to a new city we would be torn from our land and tribe and we would have to compete with whites on the whites' home grounds. It is better to suffer from poverty in a situation we are familiar with than to take a chance to make a decent living but live in an unfamiliar situation."

With this kind of attitude is associated a rather pessimistic world view. [829]

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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Although modern informants do not remember taboos dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women. Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P. 384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 [881] 825 789 778 763 825 Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

peyotism because it takes the Indians away from the mission," thereby angering the missionary, who retaliates by giving no Christmas presents to any Indians.

Those who consider peyote a religion also believe it an ethical force. Dewey Charles (P,8) is certain that President Roosevelt has peyote in his room "because no one can face it and lie." Streeter Dick (P,5) confesses having been so bad that his wife left him, and says she returned when he accepted peyote and reformed. "Straight living," "charity," and "brotherliness" are the ethical ideals of the cult. Whether the members actually become better is questionable; they appear more charitable within the group but more cantankerous with outsiders.

At least seven affirm they affiliated expressly to stop drinking.[a] Don James (W,2) and Seymour Arnot (W,13), for example, antagonistic even after members of their families joined, reconsidered after a narrow escape from freezing to death while drunk. Emory Dick (P,8) accepted after his wife had left him because of his drunkenness. White and Indian opponents admit peyotism keeps its members from drinking, but they falsely accuse it of attracting only confirmed alcoholics. Although most peyotists, like the majority of Indians, drank prior to their conversions, the Smokeys, Kenos, Dyers, and others never were topers. The devotees' claim that peyote makes drinking whiskey impossible is equally unfounded, for several former members returned to drink, two admitting inebriation between meetings.[b] Peyotists do not drink, considering alcohol a poison the fumes of which may kill a sick person; also, they believe years of peyote-induced vomiting may be required to purify whiskey from the "system." Dr. Bambauer reported that some even refuse to use rubbing alcohol because of fear of contamination. A number of hallucinations convincingly portrayed the evils of whiskey.

Several reject peyote because they like whiskey; others refer to it as "just a cheap drunk"; another argument is that certain Indians have returned to whiskey after using peyote, which is supposed to destroy the taste for alcohol. Apparently, peyotism is shunned both because it stops drinking and because it does not. Another common objection is that peyote is a habit-forming drug, worse than whiskey.[c] Opponents allege that the nfirm feel better for a day or two, but "get bad again when the dope works off." They argue, "If they don't get the habit for peyote, why do they follow Ben around and go to meetings when they aren't sick?" One interred that Ben holds the people until noon following an all-night meeting because he is afraid they will do something wrong while doped. Two reformed narcotic addicts declared that peyote was like other drugs, and would not touch it. A third asserted, "Its action is different and doesn't give you the habit."[d]

There is also the idea among opponents that peyote meetings are sexual orgies or at least lead to such debauchery. Rumor, unconfirmed even by embittered former members, aroused suspicion among government officials that possibly aphrodisiacs were being used with peyote. For a year and a half, Ben was carefully watched and

[a] None of the 64 Baptist Mission members in "good standing" and only one of the 31 "active members" of the Fallon Reservation Mission in 1936 became peyotists. (Mission records examined.)

[b] La Barre did not state that Plains Indians became peyotists in order to stop drinking, but he did generalize that "it is . . . considered hygienically, if not ethically, unwise to use peyote in connection with alcoholic drinks; indeed many insist that the former cures addiction to the latter." But La Barre also reports (pp. 101–103) that a Sauk informant quit the cult because peyote "'gives you the same effect as whiskey.'"

[c] La Barre, 147, mentions instances in Oklahoma of a few peyotists getting drunk in spite of their belief they should not.

[d] La Barre, 148–150, reviews the evidence relative to the "possible ill effects or habit-forming nature of the drug," and concludes there is no great danger in its use. The fact that peyotists use it only periodically, once a week or once a month, plus the fact that many cease using it after taking it for years, proves that no physiological appetite is created.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

his car was fruitlessly searched three times by the California border patrol. At least a dozen persons claim definite knowledge that Ben added marihuana to the cigarettes he gave in meetings. Lane Dixon (P,1), a graduate of the Nevada Reform School, who has served several short jail sentences and locally is known to be a congenital liar, was informer for the Federal officers. He assured me, also, that marihuana was used because he had smoked marihuana cigarettes and felt the same sensations others described experiencing from eating peyote.[a] The basis for this accusation is Ben's practice of mixing a "white powder" in prayer cigarettes and burning those cigarettes after meeting ("to destroy the evidence"). Ben put some in my prayer cigarette and afterward gave me a sample from his large supply. It was a type of sage leaf chopped fine.

Federal authorities also suspect that Spanish fly (cantharides) has at times been given to girls in peyote meetings. Since I could obtain no real evidence of any display of sexual excitement during or following meetings, and since Lane Dixon is the principal source for the story, I doubt the charge.

The desire for prestige, or the fear of losing it, motivates Washo and Paiute reactions toward peyotism. Members seemed to enjoy vicariously some of the honor and position of their leader. Ben talked with Commissioner Collier (November, 1937), he spoke before the Minden Rotary Club (October, 1937), he prepared an attractive peyote exhibit for the Carson Valley Day Fair.[b] On the other hand, Hank Pete, self-styled chief of the Washo, naturally protests against submission to the rules of the peyote ceremony and to the authority of Ben Lancaster, feeling it detracts from his own prestige. Another nonmember argues, "The President of the United States and the white people in this valley don't use peyote." Shamans probably fear the loss of both money and honor, and, therefore, in the main oppose peyote, notable exceptions being Joe Green, Tom Mitchell, and Sam Dick.

Arguments for and against peyotism have been based on economic grounds. Ben's insistence that contributions are free-will offerings seems to have attracted a few who consider a peyote meeting cheaper than, yet equal to, a shamanistic treatment for which a price, from $2.50 to $5.00 a night, is fixed and paid in advance. The willingness of peyotists to donate liberally probably results from their having been conditioned to paying their shamans well, a practice which still continues, especially among the Washo. Having given up liquor, several reiterate that in spite of traveling expenses and contributions they have more money than formerly for food, clothing, shelter. Don James epigrammatized: "A dime now goes as far as a dollar used to." Several peyotists have recently purchased automobiles. A few may imagine economic gain by picturing themselves replacing Ben Lancaster. However, in his meetings, Sam Dick, the most likely successor, hardly collects expenses. Perhaps some of the Indians wish to associate with the influential Jameses and Arnots, who might provide them with jobs.

Economic objections to peyote, such as that Ben gets too much money, that the Indians should use their money for better purposes, and so on, are mainly rationalizations because the Washo-Paiute are typically unconcerned about their fellow man's economic condition, even when, as often happens, their poorer kinfolk move in

[a] From Bromberg's (1939, 4–12) review of the reactions caused by marihuana, which are increased motor activity, mental confusion, talkativeness, increased desire for alcohol, and sexual excitement, it is clear that marihuana and peyote produce opposite effects. Also, see Lundquist, 1939, 2, for the Schurz missionary report of the use of marihuana with peyote by Nevada Indians at a "National Fellowship of Indian Workers." Rev. G. E. E. Lundquist, who visited Schurz in 1938, heard Lane Dixon confirm the story.

[b] Sam Dick spoke and had peyotists sing at the Fair in 1939 (personal communication from Miss Grace Dangberg of Minden).

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

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SUMMARY

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Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

769 114 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843 844 [854] Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. 846 Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. 844 Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth [842] was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. [828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 [431] The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which [751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate [461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the [431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two [514] weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

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Rupert hired a shaman to teach him to use his power. The shaman told Rupert that he must fast four days and four nights every spring and fall for four years. On the final day of every fasting period he took some Indian food and placed it in a river or spring. After four years Rupert had his power under control. This shaman, or possibly the one mentioned above who had treated him, told Rupert that an eagle and a little boy were beside him. The eagle was to talk to Rupert during the curing ceremonies and tell him if the patient would recover.

Rupert is occasionally inconsistent. He says the [illegible]e Hindu boy (sometimes Rupert says that the Hindu is a girl) is not his w[illegible]éyu, but in describing a curing ceremony, Rupert lists his wegeléyus as water, the Hindu, the eagle and the little boy. Because all four of these function as wegeléyu in curing ceremonies, we regard them as wegeléyu. It is interesting that only water wegeléyu came to Rupert in his dream. He learned about the Hindu only when the shaman who had treated him sucked the bone from his forehead. Rupert also learned about the eagle and the boy from another shaman.

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Hank Pete's mother was a shaman. She became one before she was married. She ate no meat, grease or salt for four years and demonstrated the strength of her power by walking around in the snow without moccasins. Pete says sexual intercourse was forbidden to people training to be shamans, but this information was given in the course of a general discussion and not when talking about a specific case. Rupert does not mention sexual abstinence. Hank Pete's mother had a group of six people with her whom she was training as shamans. They went about, in Pete's words, like the Salvation Army, praying for the Indians, singing their power songs, and accepting donations of food and perhaps a rabbitskin blanket.

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Hank Pete told the following story, which he said is true, about a boy's receiving power from the water-baby. A famous shaman, Welukúshkush, frequently took a young boy around with him. One day the boy had a fit and became unconscious on the shore of Lake Tahoe. His parents sent for Welukúshkush whom they blamed for the boy's condition; they wanted to kill Welukúshkush. Welukúshkush said that the boy's soul had been taken by the water-baby and that he could bring back the boy. Welukúshkush had the water-baby for his wegeléyu. Welukúshkush began to shake his rattle and pray. He walked into the water and stayed underneath for 10 minutes, according to Pete. He walked around the boy four times and had the boy's mother call his name four times. The boy began to revive; his nose bled and blood covered his chest. Welukúshkush faced the boy toward the lake and gave him his rattle to shake. Then Welukúshkush walked the boy around in a circle four times. The boy acted as if he had been asleep. After this experience, the boy became a shaman.

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

played in 1920 when the Mission Record of the Baptist Mission reported: "Joaquin Brown, our Sunday School Chieftain, said, 'I have been very happy today. While I was doing chores I sang Nearer My God to Thee. I felt all day that my life had been changed.'" But when Joaquin visited each family on Fallon Reservation soliciting money for a peyote meeting and demanding attendance, his neighbors only remembered his violent fits of temper, which had provoked him to club a cow to death, cut out a horse's tongue, permanently cripple his son by flogging, and murder his wife with an ax. Although Joaquin had been released from prison because of model behavior after serving two years of his ten-year sentence, most of the Indians feared him. Apprehension heightened when he was converted to peyotism and excitedly attempted to convey his belief to others. In peyote visions he saw his criminal acts, and thinking other peyotists also saw his hallucinations, he talked freely of his crimes. He wished all men to eat the cactus, be cured, and start life anew. When his desire to advance the religion prompted him to threaten white merchants who refused to contribute large sums to the cause, he was arrested and tried *for insanity. Indians, fearing retaliation, declined to testify against him and Joa*quin was pronounced sane. Local authorities, however, thought him too dangerous to go free; consequently, he was tried and convicted of incest. The man whom Joaquin accused of being the father of his daughter's child died a year before the infant's birth; and Joaquin confessed in peyote meetings to having had sexual relations with his daughter. Under the influence of peyote, Joaquin's son also confessed to incestous relations with his sister.

Emma D. Powell (P,1) and Sara Baker (P,5) were sent to institutions after attending peyote meetings, and Wally Johns (W,9) was probably eligible for one if accounts of her actions are true. Altogether, seven were judged by the unconverted as completely crazy because of peyote, and three others as temporarily deranged. Two women in the latter category were charged with attempting infanticide. Also, several nonpeyotists accused members of looking and acting irrationally after meetings. When carefully questioned, objectors admitted that most peyotists who became "permanently" unbalanced were "very queer" before eating peyote; and in all cases but one, government records revealed long histories of mental instability. The exception was Henry Jack, named by only three as an example of peyote-caused insanity, yet possessing unmistakable delusions of grandeur, believing himself the son of God and ruler of all western Indians. Johnny Cleveland and five nonpeyotists equate peyote and "muipu" (*Datura meteloides* D. C., or something similar), which, they had heard, made California Indians crazy.[a]

That peyote kills is frequently asserted. It is said that all who had used peyote with Leo Okio died within five years, that all Goshute peyote users died, that three McDermitt Indians died after eating it, and that twenty Washo and Paiute Indians died after using peyote during the first two years of Ben's cult. Two Indians expired in meetings, a half dozen others shortly after, the rest several months after using peyote. So loud were these accusations that government doctors made three postmortems to see if death may have resulted from administration of some drug besides peyote. All believers allegedly killed by peyote demonstrably suffered from disease or senility which might at any moment have brought death and which figured as the cause in official reports. It is probable, however, that the rigors of peyote meetings hastened the deaths of a few dangerously ill individuals.[b] Except when persistently

[a] See Steward, 1933, 318, for use of Jimson weed in Owens Valley. Some similarities with peyote are striking.

[b] La Barre reports (114) that one Cheyenne opposed peyote because it was used "to witch people and make them crazy" and that a Kiowa apostatized because her daughter died in spite of a peyote ritual.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

(in answer to a leading question) that he liked his father's brother better than his mother's. According to Dave, too, the paternal uncle was more helpful than the mother's brother and would give money to his brother's son. When Jack married, he went to Markleeville, settling with his wife's parents, for whom he would hunt deer. When he was successful, they would say, "You have done well, we'll eat well." Sometimes Jack would return to visit his own parents.

If a woman did not like her husband, she would bid him be gone. In the reverse situation, he simply took his belongings and moved. Either was free to marry again. Young children stayed with their mother. Later the father might help his offspring.

Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. "Now I don't know what's the matter, most of the girls leave their husbands and run around." His own marital ventures were somewhat irregular. He was living in Alpine County, but came here across a river where the Indians were having a big dance. A woman followed him and caught up. Bill did not care and went to his father's camp. She came in, and he lived with her permanently. She had no parents living. About fifteen years ago (in 1926), he lost her and remarried. This time he was the wooer, saying, "I want to sleep with you." She agreed, and he did not have to pay her anything. Then, last fall, an old woman came and wanted to marry him. She was staying around Gardnerville and came directly to him.

The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. Thus, if Sally (p. 313) had a daughter, it would not be right for McCarty to marry her. Similarly, he would not regard the daughter of his mother's brother as a proper spouse, for she, too, is a sister. "Indian people don't do that. They say they would spoil themselves." If a person marries a kinswoman, they say, "Shame on you! You are spoiling yourself." The women would talk about an offender, saying, "kum k'ica'eacia" (On him shame!). But there was no objection to marrying within one's patrilineal group if there was no relationship.

Neither Dave nor Jack had ever heard of a man who married a wife's daughter by a previous marriage.

The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. Sometimes the parents-in-law liked their daughter's husband and gave him a second daughter. Dave knew of only one occurrence of sororal polygyny, but if a woman died the widower would take her sister to wife; wives from different families would quarrel. The Washo attitude is illustrated by an incident told me by Miss G. M. Dangberg. Her father, a resident of Minden, once jestingly asked a supposedly bigamous Indian's friend, "Why haven't *you* got two wives like So-and-so?" The answer was, "*My* wife has not got a sister." Bill, however, knew of a man near Markleeville who had three wives from different families. Dave had never heard of any man who had more than two wives; laughingly he added, "That's all he wants, anyway."

A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. When Jack's son died, the widow married Jack's brother's son.

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888 were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelé́yu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelé́yu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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762
775 Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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[837] The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister.
[593] The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left
[461] home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

762 Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

V. MISCELLANEOUS NOTES

A person who sneezed (sneeze, tihe'p'i'cea) was addressed by the formula: "laiyuya cuke'a! mi'k'ey ka' kumi'ya!" ("Do not call me names! Call yourself names!")

Jack had never heard of any man who dressed in a woman's clothing.

Once an Indian saw a rainbow (t'a''umatapa''li) and pointed at it, saying, "Look, what is that?" His finger got sore and he lost it. Other Indians warned children against pointing at the rainbow: "Whenever you see him, don't talk to him, don't point, that's a bad thing. Never make fun of that one at all."

A Washo once was bitten by a snake and got a scar. He looked at the pine nuts before they were ripe, so all the fruits were killed by the sun. Because he had been bitten by a snake and then walked by the pine nuts before they were mature, they all dried up. The Washo all blamed him for this.

Old people would warn their children against walking too close to a grizzly (t'a''ba): "He may smell, chase, catch, and eat you." Grizzlies were surrounded, one brave man approaching them. They were not eaten, but cinnamon bears were.

The Washo call dogs by saying, "diku'cu, diku'cu" (my dog). They did not have many dogs and did not eat them, being afraid of getting sick thereby. Dogs were used in hunting squirrels, also because their barking at night gave an alarm.

On the top of De.omule'lek mountain there was always a fire when people were about to die. One Indian saw it and wondered what made the fire, so he set out to find a track, but there was no track and he found nothing (Dave).

Four or five miles from Greenbrook there is a big cave, and a wild man lived there before the whites were here. He had a big belt and his name was Pets'i'ltsi tekme'liwi (Dave).

When there is a storm, a Washo would sometimes smoke and say to it, "You had better stop; if not, I'll be dead." Then sometimes it stopped.

One star (evening star ?) is said to be a rabbit hunter.

Someone lives in the moon, and according to Bill's father the spots are mountains and trees.

Mosquitoes (tamuk'ai'k'ai) come from the bottom of the water.

Wild parsnip is the only Washo remedy against snake bite (Bill). It was dug up, dried, mixed with water, then rubbed all over.

Sometimes Indians see a water baby by a spring, with the hair flowing 'way down.

Once the sun did not show up for two days. The Indians were dark and cool, they could not see how to get home. Some bundled up dry willow and all cried. "If there is no more sun, there will be nothing to eat," they thought.

A horned toad is caught by a doctor and stuck on a rheumatic patient's leg. It gets full of blood, pukes, and dies. It is called "doctor lizard."

A doctor made a pipe of black stone, like other people's, with a six-inch-long

Washo NT20●
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Yd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

Joking Relations

2086. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2087. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

2088. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2089. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

2090. Male berdache (tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moroni noho or tuvasa)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NWA 591
NWA 684
NWA 586
NWA 548
NA 836
N 606
NA 602
NWA 605 607
NWA 597
NWA● 838●
NWA [842]
N [787]

[p. 405]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

881 galo'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly dis-
[178] tinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galo'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut.
[785] She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must
[224] not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting
881 hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow
574 properly nor get along well.
535 After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who
[481] gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick
[778] (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[6] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[7] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness.
[431] A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white
[533] people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes
[624] women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged
[583] after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

● 844 According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack de-
535 clared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but
[262] the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

881 After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[6] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[7] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.'

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[5] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special [illegible] at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table I shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[see category 11b, pp. 138-139 — Analyst]

[P. 306, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] [302] in deference to white notions of modesty which are strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 178 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 381, B]

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the Washo, it seems clear that the animal is held in special awe and esteem by modern Indians.

FISHING
(252a-296)

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Fishing appears to be far less subject to ritualization among the Washo than was hunting. Here again there may be a correspondence between the amount of ritual and the degree of certainty involved in obtaining the desired food. The Washo area is rated by Rostlund as being one of the higher fish-producing areas in North America. Certainly the many lakes, streams, and rivers were the source of great amounts of fish every year. Indians who could at most be described as only middle-aged, recount the tremendous numbers of fish which swept up the streams from Lake Tahoe during the spawning season. While the numbers may have varied from year to year, the large number of fish plus the intensive fishing methods employed by the Washo almost guarantee a large catch.

However, d'Azevedo reports that Northern Washo [787] describe some degree of ritualism connected with fishing (d'Azevedo personal communication). Dreamers are [535] said to have predicted the day of the spawning run. Dances were held and prayers said, suggesting a rather [782] attenuated first-fish ceremony for some of the Washo (2618). Other Washo report "big times," which included dancing and prayer, during the spring gathering on the lake. However, in the actual catching of fish there was much less ritual.

Some fishermen carried a fishing medicine com- [825] posed of dried larvae of the Ephydra hians (Say), called [439] kutsavi by the Paiute (Heizer 1950) and matsi babaša [262] by the Washo. These larvae were obtained from the Mono Lake Paiute in trade or as gifts. They were considered good food and are still eaten by some Washo. However, in addition they were credited with having great powers to lure fish and were rubbed on harpoons, hooks, and lines. Perhaps this material was considered a fish medicine because these larvae are said to be generated from the scales of a giant fish. This leviathan is reported to have traveled through all the lakes [773] in the Sierran area looking for a lake large enough in which to live. At Mono Lake it scraped some scales into the water before it left to find a permanent home in Lake Tahoe (Steward 1936). Whether the Washo share this story with the Owens Valley Paiute, I do not know, but Mono Lake, because of its saline water and its lack of any fish life, is thought of with some fear and awe. Today I get the impression that some Washo still keep a bit of this material with their fishing gear, although they are apt to rationalize it as a lure rather than real medicine. It should be remembered that hook-and-line or spear fishing accounted for a much smaller percentage of the total annual take than did trapping, damming, netting, or other communal methods which entailed no ritual.

MISCELLANEOUS CONCEPTS ABOUT HUNTING AND FISHING

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A number of ritual activities cluster around hunting and fishing. Perhaps the most important is the requirement that women, particularly menstruating women, avoid the hunting and fishing equipment. If a woman touched such gear the owner would bathe it and pray

841 [P.382, A]
224

[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my in-
[886] formants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or in-
[841] ternal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, al-
[562] though at least some Washo women own fishing poles,
[226] and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it incluedes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

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Although modern informants do not remember taboos dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers, who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered extremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

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The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women. Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion rather than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pinenut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

[431]

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121

The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127

The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1/ The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843

513 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back
845 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

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843 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows
784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women
[224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child
[162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of
[621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844

When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/ [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaš gepímiʔ milíʰgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milíʰgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melčʔmi, milíʰgimelčʔmi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
šémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš háki milíʰgiʔŋawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. [777] Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisáásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses. [753]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

	Ya	Kl	Kt	Kn	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
2361. Scratching stick of wood	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-
2362. Single	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-

NWA 841

MENSTRUATION (menstruvai)

2364. Seclusion	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2365. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2366. Until flow stops	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2367. Special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2369. Attendant: grandmother	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2360. Woman forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2360a. 4 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2361. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2362. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2363. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2365. Cooking forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2366. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2367. Scratching self forbidden	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
2368. Woman must: use scratching stick 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2369. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2370. Avoid sick	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2371. Avoid dances	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372. Avoid hunters	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2372a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2373. Husband forbidden to hunt	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2374. Fishing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2375. Gambling forbidden	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2376. Sweat bath forbidden	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2377. Husband must build new fire in home	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2378. Husband must hunt	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

BOY'S PUBERTY
(See also 369-374.)

NWA 881

2379. Confinement 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2380. Head scratcher used	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2381. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2382. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2383. Father talks for hunting luck	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2384. Mother washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-
2384a. Father washes boy	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2385. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2386. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

DEATH CUSTOMS

NWA 764

2389. Corpse removed from house at death	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2395. Trunks of dead covered	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2396a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	+	+	+	+	+	+
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

NWA [767]

[p.411]

14:Stewart E-5 (1936-1938)1944 NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20

contained in the appendices (pp. 103–121). There are, nevertheless, some unique features about the western Great Basin manifestation which merit consideration.

Perhaps the most unusual feature is the position accorded to women: they lead the singing while holding the staff and rattle, beat the drum, and sometimes even act as chief drummer. In contrast to this, La Barre (p. 60) reports that most tribes formerly forbade women to attend meetings at all and that in more recent times "only two cases are known of women who fully participated in meetings," one among the Cheyenne, the other at Taos. If they tie feathers on their wrists, even menstruating women are allowed in meetings by the Washo and the Paiute, a practice never permitted in the Plains. Could it be that women are allowed full participation because in the Great Basin women were shamans? Possibly; but more likely it resulted from Ben's need for an experienced helper in the early period of peyote's spread and, to a lesser extent, from his observance of Cheyenne ritual. Admitting the practice was unusual, Ben simply said, "It's all right. . . . It makes them feel better, more equal."

La Barre (pp. 60, 69) reports that women never use eagle-feather fans, but this privilege, along with drumming and singing, is accorded to Washo-Paiute women.[a] The use of all individual fans, however, is prohibited until midnight. The participation of women naturally brought infants of both sexes to the Nevada peyote meetings. All these are given "tea," that is, diluted infusions of peyote; once two eight-year-old boys sat in the front row, took their turns with rattle and drum, and ate dried peyote buttons.

The Washo-Paiute peyote ceremony lacks the "Morning Water Call" ritual found elsewhere. Sam Dick explains that it is omitted to make the procedure easier; Ben, admitting the "Morning Water Call" is customary, insists the "oldest way" did not have it. I suspect the large number of inexperienced people tends to make the meeting too long, and Ben shortens it where it will be least noticeable.

The Ute and the Plains tribes use four fixed songs: Opening, Midnight Water Call, Morning Water Call, and Quitting; and usually they sing only peyote songs during the meeting. In Washo-Paiute meetings any song may be given in any part of the ritual; there are no fixed songs. Ben allows new converts to sing any songs they know—handgame, dance, gambling, and so on, making another departure from conventional peyotism. However, peyote songs are required as soon as possible; and for a month after his first Dresslerville meeting, Ben conducted nightly singing practice to teach regular peyote songs. Altering of the cult song pattern did not allow, as one might expect, aboriginal Washo or Northern Paiute words or the Great Basin musical style to be introduced; for in spite of the fact that some new songs were "received from peyote" by Nevada converts, form and syllables of all Washo-Paiute peyote songs sound very similar to those of the Ute, Plains, and quite different from Washo-Paiute handgame, dance, and doctoring songs.[b]

Another unusual feature of this peyote ritual is the absence of whistle blowing. Other tribes have an eagle-humerus whistle placed near the altar during the ritual to be blown at the Midnight and Morning Water Calls and before the midnight prayers to the cardinal directions. Ben asserts he omits whistling from the ritual because he cannot get any sound out of the bone, claiming he gave his whistle to Sam. Sam does not use it, explaining, "We are just learning and do the best we can." This omission is especially noteworthy since a characteristic of the indigenous culture is the use of an eagle-bone whistle by shamans in their curing.

[a] Sometimes Uintah and Southern Ute women also owned eagle feathers or were lent them to use.

[b] Curtis, 1930, wrote down music and words for some Oklahoma peyote songs which appear to me similar to those of the Washo. I recorded Washo and Paiute aboriginal songs and peyote songs, which Professor Herzog is analyzing.

[P.395, A]

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847] [848]

842 789 However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

[178]

842 754 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

[845] [843]

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

[263] [856]

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[262] [302] [178]

969 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843
844 Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observ-
[854] ances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. 846 Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. 844 The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939,
[751] 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (ǯigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dõ·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tšša? ʔi·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

846

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawášan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nášwnan ?ěmluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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[833]
[524]

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes [753] explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Se	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2038. Postmarital residence: patrilocal	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2039. Matrilocal	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
2040. Variable	+	-	-	+	+	•	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2040a. Matrilocal until 1st child	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2041. Adultery: wife sometimes beaten	-	-	-	•	•	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
2042. Wife sometimes killed	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2043. Wife sometimes rubbed with blood	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2044. Paramour beaten	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2045. Paramour's horse killed	-	+	+	-	•	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2046. Husband sometimes divorces	+	+	+	-	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2047. Divorce may be for: sterility	+	+	+	+	•	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+
2048. Infidelity	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2049. Incompatibility	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2050. Prostitution	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2051. Premarital intercourse: with betrothed only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+

KINSHIP RELATIONS

Avoidances

2053. Mother-in-law son-in-law	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2054. Speech taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2056. "Respect" required	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2057. Passing in front of is taboo	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2058. Avoidance continues for life	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2060. Brother sister	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2061. Obscenity avoided	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+

Joking Relations

2066. Brothers-in-law (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2067. Cousins (aid each other)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

Adoption

2068. Orphan adopted	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2069. Adoption when parents impoverished	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

BERDACHES OR TRANSVESTITES

2090. Male berdache (tüvasa)	+	•	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	•	+
2090a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2091. Wears woman's dress	+	-	•	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+
2092. Does woman's work	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+
2093. Has female organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2094. Marriage to man	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2095. Lives with man	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2099. Regarded indifferently	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100. Female berdache (moreni noho or tüvasa)	+	+	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2100a. Sterile	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2101. Wears man's dress	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	+
2102. Does man's work	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2103. Has male organs	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2104. Marriage to woman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
2105. Lives with woman	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2106. Is shaman	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2109. Regarded indifferently	+	•	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2110. Fire test in youth	-	•	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

N W A
591
N W A
684
586
N W A
548
N W A
836
N W A
606
N
A
602
N W A
605
607
N W A
597
N W A
838
N W A
[942]
N
[787]

[P. 405]

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre- 789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent 754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

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(2178-2293)

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The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843 [845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

846 827 826

During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852

When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

881 [178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

881 114 [178]

Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the [302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that [784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time [182] between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

302 784 178 881 [177]

The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

881 [115]

The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

band by sending a messenger around the country carrying a knotted cord (ba?ló·go). The knots represented the number of days remaining until the persons who wished to take part in the fight were to gather at the place of assembly, and the messenger untied one knot every day so as to keep track of the time that remained.

After the warriors had assembled, they engaged in a war dance which lasted four or eight nights. During this period, they manufactured bows and arrows. The arrows were smeared with rattlesnake poison obtained by letting a rattlesnake strike a piece of deer meat. The war dance was a kind of test and training for warfare. A man demonstrated by vigorous dancing that he was strong and fit to go to war; and the dance itself consisted of sudden, jerking movements as if one were dodging arrows. The war dance resembled the pine-nut dance in that features of both dances imitated the coming activities: in the war dance, men danced with bows and arrows and acted as if they were at war; in the pine-nut dance, people carried their implements for gathering and cooking pine nuts. Several taboos were observed during the period of the war dance: (1) men and women were forbidden sexual intercourse; (2) warriors could not eat meat and salt; (3) pregnant women could not throw their shadows on men engaged in dancing and they could not touch the bows and arrows.

Shamans who accompanied the war party served two functions: they called on their supernatural power to keep the enemy and his dogs asleep during the assault; and since they were specialists in herbal medicine, they treated the wounded. The shamans also selected the night for the attack. While the Washo were surrounding the enemy camp, the shamans became very intent on their praying so that none of the enemy should awake. The Washo then entered the camp of the enemy, set fire to their huts, and killed them with clubs and arrows as they emerged. Everyone was killed, even small babies.

When the Washo returned, they had a dance which lasted two or four nights. Lowie reports that men and women danced over the capture of the scalp of the enemy regarded as the best fighter. The scalp was tied to the top of an eight-foot, peeled, willow pole, which everyone except young girls seized and shook. The people finally burned the hair of the scalp and then went home (Lowie, 1939, pp. 329-330). My informants omitted mention of the scalp, but said that an important feature of the dance after the fighting was a ritual bath. This was necessary before the warriors could eat or have intercourse with their wives. The Washo apparently were militarily superior to the Miwok and the Maidu on the west, but they found the more numerous Paiute on their eastern border more formidable opponents. The fact that the Paiute obtained horses earlier than the Washo would also have given the Paiute some superiority in warfare.

SUMMARY

Aboriginal Washo culture may be thought of as a blend of Californian and Great Basin cultural traits Heizer and Elsasser (1953, p. 4) note the following ties with California:

> . . . the conical dwelling made by piling up bark slabs; semi-subterranean assembly house; "community" or bedrock mortar; emphasis on coiled

769 114 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843

844 Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook [854] says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed 846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil- 844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth [842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. [828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846 The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a [431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which [751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate [461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced [431] it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two [514] weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

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Childbirth

● 843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwell- [621] ings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1/1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

846
527
431 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
603 mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
852 ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dípek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
751 grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maʔyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
531 Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
754 One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 A Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

616

Patrilineal Groups

[526] [302] [611] In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɲlélc'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɲlélc'lt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: [526] Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

[361] [221] [526] At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɲlélc'lt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pc"uldlt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, [177] respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɲlél, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name [184] indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

[177] Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

● 844 [603] [846] A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

2: Barrett E-5 (no date) 1917 NT20 Washo NT20

Each village or unit is presided over by an hereditary chief, called teûbĕ'yû, whose duties are to call his people together for ceremonies, feasts, and other special purposes, and to adjudicate disputes. In former times this office passed in the direct male line to the eldest son. More recently the office has been filled, to some extent at least, by selection of the most likely individual as a chief's successor regardless of relationship.

It is said that there is but one other official, the "rabbit boss" or hunting chief. This office is discussed in speaking of the rabbit hunt.

SOCIAL CUSTOMS.

No special customs concerning birth were noted except that the father usually gives presents to anyone to whom he sees fit. On the other hand no presents are given by others to the father, mother or to the new born babe.

In former times polygamy was practiced, there being no restrictions placed upon a man as to whom his second or other succeeding wife should be. On the other hand, monogamy was quite as prevalent as polygamy.

No special ceremony was required for marriage, according to informants. Even an exchange of presents was optional.

Upon death, cremation was formerly practiced. Nowadays the body is buried. There is no stated period of mourning, but there is an annual mourning ceremony, or "cry," accompanied by a big feast.

PERSONAL ADORNMENT.

The men formerly wore a clout and belt, and had, when necessary for warmth, or when desired for adornment, a buckskin or other skin blanket thrown over the upper part of the body. Informants state that there was no shirt or coat-like garment worn by the men.

The women, on the other hand, wore a sinew-sewed waist and a separate skirt, both of buckskin. The most universal and persist-

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become preg- [178] nant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

969 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

843

Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observ-
844 ances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

846

The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

9: d'Azevedo et al. E-4.5 (1952-1961) 1963 NT20 Washo NT20

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

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844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed. 844 [824]

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house. [184]

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two. [841]

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position. [845]

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver." 844

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr. 844 782 539

gólaš gepímiʔ miíʔgihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ miíʔgihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melémiʔ, miíʔgimelémiʔ.	Hurry out so I can see you.
ʔémuyi hakí.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš hákí miíʔgiʔnawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

844
[272] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother
[263] from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not
[515] washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given
[834] birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord
[752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[2] was put on next to the abdomen
[824] and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

854
[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to
[757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or
[824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in
[842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on
[754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

2 From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

846

As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178 [431] [777] 846

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo.

[757] [302]

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (sawšan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (nšwnan ?émluhaya?).[4]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schabert personal communication
4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	Tō	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AE
2143. Temporary large organization: for annual dance	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2144. For rabbit drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2145. For antelope drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2147. For mud-hen (or duck) drive	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2148. For pine-nut trip	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Chiefs (vohemavi or voinavi)														
2149. Band chief (tuvisi-voinavi) (leader of named and localized group)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2150. Patrilineal succession	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2151. Community approval required	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2152. Chief's assistant	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2153. Chief's announcer (navoinapomo)	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2154. Chief's messenger	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2155. Special chief: for dance (nugava voinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2156. For rabbit drive (kamovoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2157. For antelope drive (tunavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2158. For mud-hen (or duck) drive (saiyavoinavi)	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2159. For fishing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2160. For hunting generally	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2161. For pine-nut trip	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2162. Village chief	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
PROPERTY														
2165. Band owned hunting territory	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2165a. Band owned valley in which lived	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2166. Band owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
2166a. Individuals owned pine-nut territory	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2167. Band owned fishing streams	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2168. Disputes settled by fight	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
2169. Family owned seed plots	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+
2170. Family owned fishing place	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2171. Chattels all privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2172. All destroyed at death	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–
2172. Eagle aeries privately owned	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
2173a. Cold springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2173b. Hot springs public	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
WARFARE														
2174. Raids only	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2174a. Protection only	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+
2175. Warfare rare	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
2176. War ritual	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2177. Captives	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
BIRTH CUSTOMS														
2178. Moleskin, stuffed, for charm (sex, gambling)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	–	+
2179. Special house for childbirth	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2179a. Dwelling-like	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2180. Domed willow house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2180a. Regular house	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2181. Confinement (no. of days): 22	·	·	·	·	·	·	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	·
2181a. 30 ("month")	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–
2182. Ground warmed	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2183. Ground covered with grass, bark	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA 571
NWA 622
NWA [624]
NWA 621
423
NWA 721
NWA 727
NA 778
832
NWA 844

[p.407]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS-

		To	Kl	K2	Kü	To	Tö	Pa	Ka	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	All
	2184. Hot stones for warming ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
	2185. Pit warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
	2186. Husband gets firewood	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2187.	Delivery: mother kneels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
	2188. Mother lies flat	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
	2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2191. Strap tied around waist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194.	Midwife usually is: husband	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2195. Person with special power	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2196. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2197. Any female relative	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
	2199. Grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a.	Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2200.	Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
	2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2203.	Afterbirth (noa'pö): buried	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
	2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
	2205. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2207.	Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	+
2208.	Treatment of mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2212. Salt taboo	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2213. Work taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2214. Uses scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2215.	Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2216. Paints self	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2217. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
	2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2221.	Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2222. Steamed when born	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2224. Bathed every morning	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2225.	Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2227. Tied with string	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2229.	Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2229a. Placed in sack with yadupi	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
	2232. Placed in antelope wallow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
	2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
	2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
	2238. Buried shady side of sage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-
2239.	Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2240.	1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241.	2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242.	3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243.	Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
	2245. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 408]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	Kl	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	–	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2250. Runs after bath	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	·	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
2254a. During wife's confinement	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2254b. Indefinite period	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2256. Smoking forbidden	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	–
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2259. Father must: run daily	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2260a. 10	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2260b. 30	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2262. Run any direction	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
2263. Run in morning	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2275. Paints self red	–	+	·	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2281b. 6-12 months	–	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2284. 1 twin killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	–
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	–
2288. Unwanted infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2290. Killing: By sitting on	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2291. By putting in badger hole	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292. By leaving outdoors	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292a. Any way	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2293. Abortion	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2294. By pressure	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2295. By lying on rock	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

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NR13 Northern Paiute NR13
Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

N 844 birth; 4 days separate first, second, third, and fourth bath; the last bath is taken 5 days after the fourth.

2181. Kü: GN said 60 days; AL, 22. To: 15 days or until well (MW). Pa: 10 days (DV). Wa: About 10 days (CR). AE: 2-7 days (SF).

W [844] 2182. Kü: - (GN). Ki: + (Kelly, 159).

2184. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2185. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 289). Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2187. Ki: + (Kelly, 158): "parturient kneeled" and "the midwife supported her from behind," which seems contradictory to me.

2188. To: + (Lowie, 269).

2190. Tg: Held in case of difficult delivery.

W [844] 2191. Wa: - (Smith, notes). Tg: Belt of weasel fur helps delivery: fast animal, fast delivery.

N [789] 2199b. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2202. Kü: + (GN).

2203. The Hunipui near Canyon City, Oregon, bury the afterbirth with the cord up as though it were growing. Ki: + (Kelly, 158). AE: Afterbirth is buried in delivery house or burned.

A [844] 2205. Tg: Afterbirth is placed on a bush. If it were buried the child would die.

2207, 2249. Paviotso: "After parturition the mother and the child were bathed every 5 days by an elderly woman, and the father received similar treatment from a man" (Curtis, 79). Kl: See note 2181.

2215. Kü: As with Kuyui, Küpa mother bathes 5,4,4,4,5 days apart during 22-day confinement.

2216. Kü: - (GN).

2217. Paviotso: + (Curtis, 79). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

2219. Kü: - (GN).

2221. Kü: + (GN). AL said baby bathed at same time as mother, 5 times in 22 days.

2222. AE: Baby is steamed if something is wrong with it.

2224a. Kü: See notes 2221 and 2215.

2225. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

2226. To: - (LP). Wa: - (Smith, notes).

N 846 2228. Kü: + (GN).

2229. See note 1365.

2229a, 2230, 2231. Kü: - (AL).

2230. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

N 844 846 2239. The first cradle and those used during the confinement were crude and simply made. (See Kelly, pl. 28.) Paviotso: "Every five days his child's basket is changed for a new one, and the five are all carefully wrapped up, and all put into a tree" (Hopkins, 49).

2241. There was no agreement, even within the same band, as to the correct number of permanent cradles (i.e., cradles used longer than 5 days) for a child. Some mothers made 5 different cradles after the ones used during confinement, other women used but 3. The same cradle is used for different children.

2448. Kl: Father bathes after 10 days if girl, after 6 days if boy.

[p.444(6)]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre- 789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the wo- 754 man concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

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[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

SOME ASPECTS OF WASHO LIFE CYCLE

by John A. Price

121 The intent of this paper is to present a descriptive report of practices concerning birth, puberty, marriage, and death among the Washo as they have been reconstructed through elder Washo informants after more than a century of contact with whites.

127 The author is indebted to Grace Dangberg of Minden, Nevada, for the extensive use of her unpublished field notes. Miss Dangberg worked among the Washo between 1917 and 1920, sponsored in part by a University of [128] California research grant. Miss Dangberg was the major contributor to the section on childbirth, although the author is responsible for the analysis and 114 interpretations throughout the paper. 1 The author worked among the Washo 122 in the summer of 1961, supported by a National Science Foundation Graduate Fellowship.

Childbirth

843 A pregnant woman (dawákaši?) must avoid sleeping flat on her back 513 for this will, according to some, cause her to have twins or problems in 845 delivery. She must be careful to turn from side to side frequently.

841 A pregnant or menstruating woman should never touch or cast her 843 shadow on bows and arrows or rabbit nets. This is one reason why bows 784 and arrows were hung up out of the way. It was a practice for these women [224] to stay away from hunters.

843 Except for these proscriptions the pregnant woman continued her normal daily activities and worked until a few hours before delivery. With a multitude of tasks the Washo woman was always busy, but when the child [162] arrived she stopped all normal work for a period of weeks. The attention of [621] her small community of from 15 to 50 people, in about two to seven dwellings, was then focused upon her, her husband, and the child.

844 When a woman was about to be delivered she left camp and retired to a place nearby where a temporary shelter and bed had been prepared for her by her mother or an old woman who acted as a midwife (demedugétiyi?). The bed was made in a shallow trench about as long as the woman. The ground was heated by raking hot earth into it. This layer of earth was covered with

1 [footnote appears on p. 114 -- Analyst]

a cold layer to prevent her being burned. Grass, bark, or cedar boughs were then used to make the bed. The most common bed was a pad of braided sagebrush bark. The used grass, bark, or cedar boughs were buried and the ground was reheated each time the bed was changed.

There was considerable variation in these practices. For example, Clara Frank had 13 children. Her mother was the midwife for the first two. For the third baby Clara hired a midwife, who did not tie the cord properly and the baby died. Clara did not use a midwife for her next 10 children and did everything herself, including the making of her own warm bed of sand for delivery. Clara Frank and Hank Pete claimed that a separate house was never prepared, the delivery taking place within the regular house.

Bertha Holbrook said that the use of this type of warm bed delays menstruation until six or seven months after the delivery, whereas menstruation after a hospital delivery takes place within a month or two.

The woman lay flat on her back during delivery. The midwife tied a buckskin belt around the mother above the child and then worked the belt down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. One woman said that the woman was shaken to aid the delivery. Should the infant be in a difficult position for delivery, the midwife attempted to manipulate it into a better position.

Hank Pete said "Sometimes the little baby is twisted around. They have the mother sit up and they feel for the position of the baby's head and legs. Then they have the mother lay on one side while they press at the baby's legs and push them into position and the mother is rolled to her other side. This is done again until they are satisfied. The first baby a woman has takes longer. Maybe a couple of hours to deliver."

Just before the infant was born a prayer for the health, life, and quick delivery of the child was given. The following is an example from Dangberg (1919, 30) with a translation by Roy James and orthography by William H. Jacobsen, Jr.

gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	"Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
gólaš gepímiʔ milí·gihi.	Hurry up. Crawl out. I'll see you soon.
melé·ʔmi, milí·gimelé·ʔmi.	Hurry out so I can see you.
šémuyi haki.	For sure that's the way.
gólaš háki milí·giʔáŋawhi.	Hurry up. That's the way. I'm going to see you."

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant."

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	K1	AE
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	-	-
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2260b. 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2262a. Run to water	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-
2263. Run in morning	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-
2274. Bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2275. Paints self red	-	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-
2276. Hunts	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2281b. 6-12 months	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	-	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+

NWA 844 846

NWA [784]

NWA [784]

NWA 845

NWA 847

NWA [348]

[P.409]

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

Patrilineal Groups

In football (palo'yapi) and other athletic games, two groups faced each other, the p'alaa"ci and the t'aɬɬa'lt'aiyadi. The former, who were called by Jack pe"uldt'ai'yadi, put white paint all over their bodies and two straight white lines under each eye; the latter painted themselves red all over. Descent was paternal: Daisy Bender and Big Susie, like their father, belonged to the t'aɬɬdt'ai'yadi; Big Susie's mother and maternal grandfather were p'alaa"ci. Bill, his brothers, and his children were all p'alaa"ci, as were Dave's brothers. However, according to all informants, these groups were *not* exogamous: Dave's mother thus belonged to the same division as himself and would align herself with her fellow members in a women's game. Contradicting Bill, however, Dave says this division did not hold rigorously for the hand game, where a man might leave the losing side to join the lucky opponents.

At major gatherings—usually in the spring or summer—the Washo camped in an unclosed circle or a U-curve, dances and ball games being held within this space. Then there was a *three*fold subdivision, the groups mentioned flanking a smaller central group, the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi. Jack guessed that at one meeting there might be 15 t'aɬɬdt'ai'yadi lodges and 15 or 16 pe"uldt'ai'yadi, with 6 or 7 t'atsilgact'ai'yadi between them. Informants tried to clarify the matter by identifying the larger divisions with Republicans and Democrats, respectively. Henry Moses Rupert, who had worked in a printer's shop, even considered the third group equivalent to pacifists or neutrals! Henry Ridley, interviewed at Glenbrook, Nevada, said the t'atsilgact'ai'yadi might ally themselves with either of the major divisions, but according to Jack they always sided with the p'alaa"ci.

Bill derived one name from p'al, "cedar," another from t'a'ɬɬl, "the other side of the mountains," namely, California; in the third appellation he construed "ta'ilga"s" as corner, but left the rest unexplained. The second name indicates a local group, but the divisions were said to be common to Carson and Antelope Valley Indians.

Virtually all informants conceived the grouping as fundamentally dual. Presumably the Washo borrowed paternal descent, distinctive painting, and association with festivities and games from the Miwok moiety system without taking over exogamy.

The Life Cycle

Childbirth

A woman—not a "doctor"—acted as obstetrician (Jack). An old woman, say the infant's maternal grandmother, cut the navel cord, which was kept until the child was big,[1] when it was thrown away. The mother ate nothing for three or four days; then the midwife washed her and the baby all over in hot water. The mother must not eat meat for a month. After that, her husband went

[1] Here Jack was obscure. I am not sure whether he did not mean until the mother's recovery.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

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[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

22

A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] THIS paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be. [221]

The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance. [785] [574]

881 252 [415] [422] The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk. [846]

[262] [222] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The course would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was poured on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

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[P.375, A]

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Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

832

Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

[847]
[848]

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However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

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Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2193)

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Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

[845]
[843]

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

[263]
[856]

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The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[262]
[302]
[478]

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

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[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852

When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2308-2383)

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[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the
[302] hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that
[784] the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time
[182] between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern
[177] of change is a matter for further investigation.

The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 193. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

464 178 [434] [439] 881 178 745 177 361 [162]

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

[431]

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

844 846 178 [431]

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nearrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

[785] [262] [841]

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

[178]

769 southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry
114 and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

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Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observ-
844 ances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its
[854] arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed
● 846 in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbil-
844 ical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth
[842] was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark.
[828] When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

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The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a
[431] present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which
[751] helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate
[461] no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the
[431] child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

[834] For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart
[514] (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

846 852 302

A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

846 178 852 [302] [431]

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

881 [461]

The girl's puberty dance (ʔeʔwé weʔ) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tášša? ʔí·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

844 [842]

would come to the mother. Or if it were turned over, her wish, either for more children or for none, would be thwarted. The place where the placenta was buried was remembered so it might be turned at any time the woman may change her mind.

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As the placenta was associated with the life of the mother, so the piece of the umbilical cord that fell from the child was associated with the life of the child. This piece of the cord was carefully preserved until a convenient opportunity arose for disposing of it according to custom. The cord of a girl[3] was finally placed in a hole bored in the root of a living sunflower (su·gil). Care was taken that the cord was straight so the child would not have a crooked back. The cord of a boy was placed in the cavity of a short length of the femur of a deer and hung perpendicular from a tree. Stewart's (1941) informants said that the cord was placed on the infant's cradle, and Clara Frank agrees with this. [824] [826]

While the mother was being delivered of her child, the father had to stay away. He could not sit in the doorway of the house, or the baby would not be born easily. As soon as the father heard of the child's birth he took a bath in a nearby stream. Stewart (1941) reported that the bath was given to him by another man, that he ran before the bath, and that the father was forbidden meat, fat and salt during the wife's confinement. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything." Gambling was also forbidden the father during this period. [844] [525]

A present of a buckskin or other clothes was given by the father to another man after the birth of his child. At the end of the observances he gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill. Throughout the confinement the father supplied the wood for the fire. [431]

844 178

In recent times, both baby and mother were bathed the first morning after the baby's birth. The mother cut a small tuft of her own and her baby's hair and gave a small present of dress goods, a handkerchief, or money to any of the women present. This helped to bring good luck. The month of meat taboo is still observed by the more conservative Washo. [431] [777] 846

The mother used to stay in bed for a long time. She was massaged with a salve (do·ša?) and had red ocher (saw̓šan) applied to her body. She was instructed not to get up too quickly, and she would exercise a little each day. She would have her hair trimmed on the day of the baby feast (n̓šwnan ?émluhaya?).[4] [759] [302]

3. Wyethia mollis Gray, according to Juanita Schubert, personal communication

4. Literally "she (or they) feed the baby," acc. to William H. Jacobsen, Jr., pers. communication

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[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

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302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dîβek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
[751] grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maʔyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

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847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdonen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5. Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

NWA 854

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		To	Kl	Kd	Kn	Te	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Af
	1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
1264.	Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1266.	Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1269.	Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [942]

MUTILATIONS

NWA 304

1271.	Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1275. With bone awl	–	+	·	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1276. With wooden awl (tavisigup)	–	+	·	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1278. When youth	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1279. All males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1282. All females	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1285.	Man's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1285a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+
	1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
1295.	Woman's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1301.	Nasal septum bored	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
	1303. Females	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
1304.	Man's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	+	+
1305.	Woman's bone nose pin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1306.	Tattoo (mawagi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1307. Cactus needle	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1307a. Porcupine quill	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1311. Done when: child	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
	1312. Youth or maiden	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1313. Any time	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1316. Legs	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1317. Body	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1318.	Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
1321.	Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

NWA [844]

[p. 390]

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Tr	Kl	K2	Kn	To	To	Pa	Ma	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
2184. Hot stones for warming ground	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+
2185. Pit warmed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+
2186. Husband gets firewood	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2187. Delivery: mother kneels	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-
2188. Mother lies flat	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	-
2190. Mother is lifted, held on knees	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+
2191. Strap tied around waist	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2192a. Mother is squeezed	+	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2193. Mother drinks hot water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2194. Midwife usually is: husband	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2195. Person with special power	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2196. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2197. Any female relative	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2198. Strong man, if extra-difficult delivery	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	+
2199. Grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2199a. Husband bathes if extra-hard delivery	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2199b. Gives away clothes	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2200. Midwife in difficult case is: person with special power	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
2202. Man to squeeze or shake	+	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	-	+	+
2203. Afterbirth (noa'pō): buried	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+
2204. Wrapped in bark	+	+	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+
2205. Thrown in brush	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-
2207. Mother bathed after birth for 5 days	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
2208. Treatment of mother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2209. Has nurse or attendant	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2210. Drinks warm water	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2211. Meat and grease taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2212. Salt taboo	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2213. Work taboo	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2214. Uses scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2215. Mother, at end of confinement: bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2216. Paints self	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2217. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2219. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2221. Treatment of infant: bathed when born	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
2222. Steamed when born	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2224. Bathed every morning	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2224a. Bathed about every 5 days	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2225. Umbilical cord: cut with stone knife	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2226. Cut with sharp cane	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2227. Tied with string	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
2228. Tied with (antelope) sinew	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-
2229. Umbilical cord: removed when drops off	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2229a. Placed in sack with yadupi	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2230. Placed on cradle	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2231. Placed in rat hole, if boy	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2232. Placed in antelope wallow	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2232a. Placed under a bunch of grass, if girl	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	-
2233. Placed in red-ant nest	+	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2236. Buried shady side of sage	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2239. Cradle: 1st cradle on day of birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2239a. New cradle after each bath during confinement	-	+	-	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2240. 1st permanent cradle at end of confinement	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2241. 2d when 1st outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242. 3d when 2d outgrown	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2242a. 4th and 5th	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2243. Cradle made by: maternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2244. Paternal grandmother	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2245. Any woman	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 408]

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ts	K1	K2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	Al
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	–	–	·	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	·	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	·	–	–	·	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2250. Runs after bath	–	–	·	+	+	·	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	·	·	+	+	–	+	+	–	·	+	+	·	·
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
2254a. During wife's confinement	–	–	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2254b. Indefinite period	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2255. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	·	–	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2256. Smoking forbidden	–	+	·	–	–	·	–	·	+	–	+	·	–	–
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	·	+	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–
2259. Father must: run daily	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+
2260a. 10	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2260b. 30	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
2262. Run any direction	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2262a. Run to water	·	+	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–
2263. Run in morning	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	·	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	·	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	·	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	–	–	·	·	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	·	–
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	·	·	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	·	·	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	–
2274. Bathes	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2275. Paints self red	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	–
2276. Hunts	+	+	·	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	·	+	–	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	–	+	·	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	–	–
2279. For 1st child only	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2281a. 3-6 months	–	–	·	+	–	–	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–
2281b. 6-12 months	–	+	·	–	+	+	–	+	·	–	–	–	–	–
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	·	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	·	–	–	–
2284. 1 twin killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	·	–	–	–
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	·	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	–	–	–
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	+	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	·	–	·	–	+	–	–	–
2288. Unwanted infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
2290. Killing: By sitting on	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2291. By putting in badger hole	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292. By leaving outdoors	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–
2292a. Any way	–	–	·	·	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	–	–	+
2293. Abortion	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2294. By pressure	–	–	·	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	+
2295. By lying on rock	–	–	·	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+

[p.409]

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771

Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842

Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of [848] the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 789

However, it is believed that conception can be prevented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 754

Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2179-2293)

844

Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846

The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its [262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

846
527
431
603
852

A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302

The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dißek).

352
854

The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew.
757
Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (mafyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
531
Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854

A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843

If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
754
One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847

A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5A Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

845

There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins. [847] [777]

847

If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

577 605 736

Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant.".

842 [833] [524]

Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

881

When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumiaŝaum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

841 881 574 302

Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

841 881

Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses. [753]

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	Ta	Ki	Ki2	Ku	To	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Ni	Ki	AK
2246. Treatment of father: bathed	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2247. Hot bath at birth	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2248. Cold bath at birth	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2249. Bathed by another man	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250. Runs after bath	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2250a. Runs before bath	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+
2254. Father forbidden meat, grease 5 days	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254a. During wife's confinement	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2254b. Indefinite period	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Salt forbidden 5 days	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2256. Smoking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2257. Gambling forbidden	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2258. Sweat bath forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2259. Father must: run daily	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260. For 5 days	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260a. 10	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2260b. 30	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2262. Run any direction	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2262a. Run to water	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2263. Run in morning	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2267. Bring back firewood from run	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2268. Use scratching stick	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2269. Bathe on day of birth	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2270. Do housework	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2271. Father at end of observances gets new clothes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2272. Gives away old clothes	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2273. Throws away old clothes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2274. Bathes	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2275. Paints self red	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2276. Hunts	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2277. Gives away first kill	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2278. Father's requirements observed: at all births	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2279. For 1st child only	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2280. For 1st of each sex only	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2281. Parents continent: 1-3 months	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2281a. 3-6 months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
2281b. 6-12 months	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	+
Twins														
2282. Twins feared	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	+
2283. Twins regarded as good luck	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2284. 1 twin killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2285. Death of 1 twin brings death of other	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
2286. Mother's sister adopts 1 twin	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2286a. Twins considered illegitimate	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
Infanticide														
2287. Deformed infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-
2288. Unwanted infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2289. Illegitimate infant killed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2290. Killing: By sitting on	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2291. By putting in badger hole	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2292. By leaving outdoors	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2292a. Any way	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2293. Abortion	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2294. By pressure	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2295. By lying on rock	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+

NWA 844 846
NWA [784]
NWA [789]
NWA 845
NWA 847
NN [348]

[P.409]

[P.375, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

971 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanticide among the Washo, although they have heard of [848] the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become pregnant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down [178] afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow [843] birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three [856] days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its
[262] birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [302] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [178] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying-in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

14. (8) In the other galis dangal lived Jack's youngest wife, her daughter, the mother of the three wives, and a related family consisting of a man (D¢beh¢¢sh, "gun shooter"), his wife, and three girls that walked down from Loyalton because "this galis dangal needed a man too." 592 596

15. (8) Shortly after Little Josie, her husband (Damtanga), three girls, and her mother moved to Truckee, her mother died so the family tore the galis dangal down. "Little Josie had her man make the new galis dangal big and four men worked together on it. Then her husband froze to death while hunting. She stayed in that galis dangal for about another year. She was glad to leave it when she married Budish and they built a new galis dangal over the hill." Budish brought a son (shin) by a previous marriage into the house. [768] [165] [587]

Little Josie's oldest daughter (Minnie Truckee) was not married, but she had a half breed "railroad daughter." The middle daughter (Josie) had a Washo husband (Jim Winters) in Reno and a son and daughter living with her. The youngest daughter, her White husband, and their three or four children lived in a separate cabin some distance from the galis dangal. [848] [361]

The mean number of occupants in these fifteen galis dangal is seven while the range is from three to thirteen. The number for any single galis dangal varied from season to season when the men and often the whole family moved to Lake Tahoe to fish, hunt, and gather plants. The Washo in the town of Truckee around 1900 worked at menial tasks for the Truckee Hotel or the sawmills and peddled the fish and game they caught to the White residents. Washo baskets were just beginning to be sold as curios to the Whites and probably not more than a dozen were made for sale in any given year of that period. [162] [221] [439]

Some Historical Considerations

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History begins in the Washo territory comparatively late. We have no definite information on the presence of Whites in Washo territory prior to 1826. The Spaniards had been in California, primarily along the coast, sometime previous to this, but their contact is questionable and their influence was extremely meager.

The decade of the 1850's was for the Washo a period of the most rapid cultural and environmental change they have ever experienced. In those few years the White intruders displaced the Washo and changed their environment sufficiently to require them to depend upon the former for survival (Fairfield 1916; James 1921). [177]

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In the early 1900's the Washo used the word "kavayo" for horse, which is related to the Spanish term, but this term seems to have been borrowed from

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843
[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

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When a child loses a milk teeth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2298a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2342)

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[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom had survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

[302]
[784]
[182]

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The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

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The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

> "When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

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[302]
(431)

Girl's Puberty Dance

The girl's puberty dance (ʔe?wé we?) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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527 A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the
[431] mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was par-
[603] ticularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed
[852] to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was
302 thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dí²ek).

352 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was
854 used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back. The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child
[751] grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk. The hood or sunshade (maŋyó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket
847 was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

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[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

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[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (ʔiʔip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

[834] For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

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[412] [752] [824] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dõ·ša?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen and cottonwood tree bark (tšša? ?i·š) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

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[853] [757] [824] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

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[842] [754] After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

824 [291] [513] [854]

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

481 [824]

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

352 [824] [856] [531]

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

854 352 [824]

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, I illustrates a basketry cradle.

302 [291]

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

involved in gift and ceremonial exchange was culturally defined in specific ways and had more of a ritual quality than familial sharing. The transfer of goods between households in setting up a marriage involved a formal sequence of gift and counter-gift that might go on for over a year. It involved a stronger demand for reciprocity than familial sharing and in some cases had the characteristics of trade. The negotiation, however, was implicit and not directly verbalized as it is in trade.

Gift and ceremonial exchange is, in economic terms an "exchange" while familial sharing and task group sharing are not. There tended to be a time lapse between the giving of a gift and a return gift. The gift was usually accepted without question of its value. Social status was a primary factor in gift and ceremonial exchange.

It was in connection with the life cycle events of birth, puberty, marriage, and death that gift and ceremonial exchange became customary and highly integrated with social ritual. Birth and puberty were also occasions for fasting and exercise of food taboos. These are two customs that should be included in any analysis of food distribution. The taboo on meat and salt occurred at these times and at every menstruation while salt was never considered good for children.

Childbirth among the Washo was a long and arduous affair involving fasting for both parents and extensive gift giving. A midwife prepared a bed with woven sagebrush bark mat over warm sand. If the child was in a poor position for delivery the midwife manipulated the child within the mother. As the delivery was being effected usually one or two women came in to help. A buckskin belt was tied around the mother above the child and the belt was worked down by pressure in rhythm with the birth movements. As the child was being born the midwife recited a short exhortation to the child: "Hurry up and come out so I can see you."

The umbilical cord was cut by the midwife about four inches from the child's abdomen and then tied with string or sinew one inch from the child's abdomen. Following this was the washing of the baby, the careful burial of the afterbirth, and intricate care of the mother. The mother was given the sap of the sugarpine dissolved in warm water and massaged with a greasy salve. The mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt for a period of a month after the child was born. She could not eat anything but a thin pine-nut soup, and she could not be washed until the umbilical cord fell from the child, a period of about four days. At the end of her period in bed, usually nine or ten days, the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

The baby was wrapped in furs and placed on a sagebrush bark mat in a temporary cradle. A new temporary cradle was used after each bath.

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

PLATE V 1/1

342
291
415

a. Winter house and baskets.

342

291
482
854

b. Summer shelter.

d. The carrying position of the cradleboard.

291
516
524

c. Paiute Dixie holding two sets of hand game pieces.

2½ [Legend appears on p.74, cat. 116 -- Anal(ysis)]

[End Plate V]

southern California; but since the statement came in answer to direct inquiry and no further details were forthcoming, its truth cannot be accepted without further evidence." None of the other investigators among the Washo has found evidence of an annual mourning ceremony. Our informants did not report it.

Birth Ceremonies

Women were active during pregnancy and there were no special observances before birth. When the baby was born, it was bathed, wrapped with its arms at its sides, and placed in a winnowing basket (modal). Bertha Holbrook says that the baby was not bathed again until the umbilical cord fell off. Stewart (1941, 408) says the baby was bathed about every five days and placed in a new basket after each bath. The afterbirth was arranged with the umbilical cord inside and buried upright. Stewart (1941, 408) says the afterbirth was wrapped in bark before burial. The Washo believed that if the afterbirth was buried upside down the woman would have no more children. The baby's umbilical cord was kept moistened and was wrapped with ground pinenut bark. When it fell off it was tied to a stick and this in turn was tied to the right side of the winnowing basket. The Washo believed that this would make the baby right-handed.

The husband went to a stream and bathed after the birth. He left a present beside the stream which anyone could come and take. Lowie (1939, 305) reports that after the birth the husband gave some man a buckskin, which helped to keep disease away from the infant. Until the cord fell off, the husband took a cold bath every morning; was not supposed to sleep at night; ate no meat, salt or grease; did not gamble or smoke (Stewart, 1941, 409); and was constantly working. The husband's incessant activity was to make the child industrious in later life. When the cord fell off, the mother announced it. Then the husband went hunting, killed some animal, and distributed it in his household. On this day any nonrelative could come and help himself to the property of the husband. After the cord had fallen off, the husband returned to normal life and could again eat meat, salt and grease.

For a month after the birth, the mother did not bathe; ate no meat, grease, or salt; drank only warm water; used a scratching stick (Stewart, 1941, 408); and she and her husband had no sexual intercourse. Stewart (1941, 409) says the couple was continent for from six to 12 months. For two weeks the mother lay tightly covered upon a warm bed. The bed was made by digging a shallow ditch, putting hot sand and ashes in it, and covering it with grass. She did not leave the house during this time, even to relieve herself. The Washo believed that the woman had to be cured inside after a birth and that the hot bed and food taboos aided in draining out the bad blood.

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[3] [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

Frustrations did not begin until later

childhood when boys and girls found their omnipotent parents subjected to a dominant white population (Eggan, 1950, 231), and when they began to recognize the difficulties of obtaining a subsistence living in their extremely harsh natural environment.

It is of interest that just as frustrations were not imposed until later childhood, so knowledge and fear of shamans was acquired comparatively late, between the ages of five and 10. Mead has suggested in her work that the anxiety of a mother over sorcery can be transmitted to an infant (1942, 57), and the same was probably true for the Washo; but in terms of directed learning, the adults were careful not to begin to instruct children at too early an age on this matter. Parents mentioned animals when trying to frighten young children into obedience, but sorcerers were never referred to for this purpose. The reason given by one elderly man for waiting so long to tell them that so-called "bad" Indian doctors were the cause of sickness and death was that children were particularly susceptible to being witched. If they were threatened or even told about the power of the shamans, the parents might be overheard by one of the shamans who would then actually make the child ill to accommodate, or spite, the adults.

In discussing the Washo of the 1930's, we have been concerned with their beliefs in witchcraft, the child rearing patterns that were characterized by first permissive and then restraining practices, and the education of the children regarding witchcraft. Each of these had changed by the time of our study in 1956.

From my observations and the opinions of my elderly informants, the child rearing practices had become more severe than those described over a decade earlier in the literature. The ideal pattern of attending to the baby's needs immediately was no longer adhered to in practice. Babies were left to scream in their baskets for long periods of time before their mothers attended to them. Toilet training often began before the child was a year old. With mothers going off to work during the day in the neighboring white community, younger children were often put in the care of older siblings who resented this encroachment on their freedom and therefore ignored their charges as much as possible. In the past, parents "spoke" to their offspring because they did not think an infant was responsible for any of his misdeeds, and also because talking frequently obtained the desired response. This changed to frequent employment of corporal punishment. The social and natural environment, which the Dresslerville Washo in particular faced, remained a difficult one, and the frustrations incurred in becoming a self-supporting member of the adult community did not seem to have greatly changed since the 1930's. An independently arrived at judgment of these circumstances was made by Scotch (1957, 94-5) at approximately the same time as our study:

844
[272] [263] After the child was born, great care was taken to prevent the mother from getting cold. She was given a drink of warm water with "sugar" (šigimba) from the sugar pine. She was then submitted to further pressure by the midwife in order to insure the complete removal of the afterbirth. Some say that she sat up with knees under her chin the first night after the infant was born to effect the final draining.

846
[262] [515] The woman could not eat anything except pinenut soup and was not washed until the umbilical cord (?i?ip) fell from the child, about four days later. The woman remained in bed about nine or 10 days and had an older woman as an attendant during this period. There were often several women in attendance, but the person designated as midwife handled the baby and tied the cord.

For a month (for a young mother, two months) after the child was born the mother abstained from eating meat, fat, or salt. "A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack)" (Lowie, 1939, [834] 305). The parents abstained from sexual intercourse for up to six to 12 months after a birth. At the end of her confinement the mother bathed, painted herself, and gave away her old clothes.

844
[412] The umbilical cord was cut off about 4 in. from the child's abdomen with a stone knife or a sharp cane blade. It was then tied with a string or sinew an inch from the abdomen. After this the baby was washed and the cord [752] bound to the abdomen with a strip of deerskin. Two medicinal roots were applied to the cord. A greasy salve (dó·4a?)[1] was put on next to the abdomen [824] and cottonwood tree bark (tšša? ?i·k) was placed on top of the cord before it was bound down. The cord and medicines were kept moist with water.

● 854
[853] Some say that the baby was not nursed by the mother for two days, but others seem to think there was no delay or that it was given warm water to [757] suck from the end of a rabbit's foot. A baby powder was made from the ashes of the bark of the cottonwood tree. The baby was wrapped in woodchuck or [824] rabbit skins. A grass or bark pad was put under the infant and changed when necessary.

844
After the child had been washed the afterbirth was disposed of. The piece of cord that had been cut off was coiled clockwise, placed back in the amniotic sack on top of the placenta, and the whole carefully wrapped in grass or bark and buried in warm ashes with the cord up. This was done in [842] order that the mother would have more children. Should she not want any more children, the placenta was turned over and buried so the cord was on [754] the bottom and was thus counter-clockwise. The midwife took care that no one watched where she buried the placenta for, if it were destroyed, illness would come to the mother.

[1] From Indian Balsam Leptotaenia dissecta Nutt., according to Juanita Schubert and Personal Communication.

846
527
[431] [603] [852] A feast terminated the period (one or two months) during which the mother was not permitted to eat meat. Gifts were given away and it was particularly important for the grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. The mother at this feast ate meat again and a little ritual was performed for the baby.

854
302 The baby was often rubbed with soft sagebrush, which after use was thrown eastward. If it was a girl her forehead and cheeks were painted with red ocher. If it was a boy his nose and chin were painted with a white pigment (dïbek).

352
854 The first cradle was used on the day of birth and a new cradle was used after each bath during the mother's confinement. These temporary cradles are quite different from the permanent cradles in having an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood in front or crossbars on the back.[5] The temporary cradles are not used today and are rarely seen.

The baby was placed in its first permanent basketry cradle at the end of the mother's confinement, and new larger cradles were used as the child grew. Up to five cradles may have been used before the child began to walk.
[751] The hood or sunshade (mat'yó·dop) of the cradle had pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed."
[531] Hank Pete said that the baby's umbilical cord was tied to the front of the hood for this purpose. The hood still carries a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for a girl.

854 A sagebrush bark pad was placed in the cradle and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbitskin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

843 If a miscarriage occurred the fetus was disposed of in the same manner as the placenta and umbilical cord and the same beliefs attended this act.
[754] One woman was careless enough to allow her mother-in-law, who was angry with her, to see the disposal of the fetus. It was believed that the mother-in-law had either destroyed it or turned it over and buried it in another place, because this woman never had another child and was in poor health after the miscarriage.

845
847 A stillborn baby was buried in warmed ground and the baby basket was placed in the crotch of a tree, or merely thrown away. Abortion was effected by applying pressure to the abdomen. The men are said to have objected to this.

5 A Susie Dick made one of these cradles for Grace Dangberg.

Washo NT20
Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

	To	Kl	Kt	Kn	To	Yo	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Ki	AK
CORDAGE (twisted)														
1181. Material: milkweed	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1182. Nat (mam)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1183. Dogbane or Apocynum (wihavi)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1184. Sinew	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
*1184a. Artemisia (sagebrush)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185. Buckskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1185a. Yucca	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	*	+
*1186. String: 2 ply	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1187. 3 ply	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
1188. Clockwise twist	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1189. Counterclockwise twist	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
*1190. Hat of ply rope: 2	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
1190a. 3	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
1191. Braided rope of 3 strands	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1192. Cordage maker: male	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1192a. Female	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	–	+
1193. Rope of withes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1194. String rolled on thigh	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
*1196. POTTERY	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BURDENS														
1228. Pack strap, skin, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1229. Pack strap, fiber, used by both sexes	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230. Twisted rope: 2-ply	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1230a. 3-ply	–	–	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	–	+	–	–
1231. Braided, 3-strand	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
1232. Pack strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1233. On top of basketry hat (kotomaya)	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1234. On top of bark head pad	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1235. Pack strap across shoulder, chest	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1236. Hand held under strap	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1237. Carrying mats (hopinokwa wana)	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1238. Piece of rabbit mat	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1239. Hammock shaped, on back	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+
1240. Bag (naro nokwa): deerskin	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1240a. Sagebrush	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
1241. Both sexes use	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1242. Conical basket (kurua)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
CRADLES (tse kihopa)														
*1245. Simple temporary basketry cradle	+	+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
1246. Elaborate permanent basketry cradle	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1247. Oval outline	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1248. Rectangular outline	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1249. Rod rim	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1250. Twined horizontal rods	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1251. Twined vertical rods	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1252. Horizontal reinforcing rod	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1253. Vertical reinforcing rod	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
1256. All buckskin covered	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1257. Hood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1258. Twined basketry	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
1259. Pendants attached	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
*1260. Hood design indicates child's sex	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	*	+
1261. Boy: diagonal lines, parallel	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+

[p. 389]

NWA 854

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Ya	Kl	Kd	Kn	Yo	To	Pa	Wa	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
	1262. Girl: zigzag line	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1263. Girl: diamond chain	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1264. Lashing for securing infant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1265. Laced buckskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1266. Blanket: twined sage-bark	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
NWA	1267. Rabbitskin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1268. Ground-hog skin	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1269. Carrying: cradle strap across breast	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
[943]	1270. Strap across forehead	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

MUTILATIONS

NWA	1271. Ear lobe bored	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1272. 1 hole	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
304	1274a. With porcupine quill	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1275. With bone awl	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	–	–	–	–
	1276. With wooden awl (taviaigu)	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1277. When child	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1278. When youth	+	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1279. All males	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1280. Most males	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–
	1281. Some males	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1282. All females	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
	1284. Some females	+	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
NWA	1285. Man's ear ornament	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1286a. Anything	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
301	1286. Bead on string	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1287. Glass beads	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1288. Shell pendant	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1289. Stone pendant	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	–	–	–
	1290. Wooden stick	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1291. Bone tube	–	+	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	+
	1292. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1294. Flint	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–
	1295. Woman's ear ornament	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
NWA	1296. Bone tube	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1297. Shell pendant	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1299. Bone rings	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
304	1300. Bead on string	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1301. Nasal septum bored	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
	1302. Males	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
NWA	1303. Females	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1304. Man's bone nose pin	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	–	+	+	+
	1305. Woman's bone nose pin	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
[301]	1306. Tattoo (mawagi)	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1306a. Done with: rabbit bone	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	–
	1307. Cactus needle	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1307a. Porcupine quill	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–
	1308. Pigment: wood charcoal	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1310. Gray colored	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	1311. Done when: child	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	–	+
	1312. Youth or maiden	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
	1313. Any time	–	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
	1314. Done on: face	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
	1315. Arms	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1316. Legs	+	+	–	–	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
	1317. Body	+	+	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+
NWA	1319. Head-shape correction	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
	1320. Done with hands at birth	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–
[844]	1321. Nose correction at birth	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

[p. 390]

N 283 [172] string (twine) had a left or counterclockwise twist (Loud, 73).

1190. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 73): only .6 per cent of rope made by clockwise twist.

Pottery

N 328

1195. The account in Leonard concerning pottery at Humboldt Sink must be disregarded because there is nothing in the story which would locate the pottery at Humboldt except an editor's note. All logic and internal evidence point toward Mono Lake as the area where Leonard saw pottery in use. Steward, 1932, 269, admits Leonard's reference to pottery in a note: "the pottery described here and that seen by Leonard at Humboldt Lake may ultimately connect that on the Columbia river with the Southwest." (See note 338.)

N [114]

CRADLES

N 354 482

1245a. The first cradle used is a simple, twined basket, which is replaced when soiled, usually about once a week, until the child is about a month old when it is bound in the elaborate, rigid carrying cradle (Kelly, 132, pl. 28).

W [354 482]

1246. Wa, Pa: Cradle as in Owens Valley (Steward, pl. 9). This is different from most Northern Paiute cradles; see excellent examples in Kelly, pls. 30, 31.

1259. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1260. Paviotso: "Cradle baskets have adjustable hoods on which appear in color phallic designs proclaiming the sex of the child" (Curtis, 71). Wd: Both BJ and SC, my two principal informants of Wada, were blind, which might explain why they denied that hood designs revealed sex of child. The cradles now have the different designs, and my women interpreters said they had heard it was an ancient custom. Ki: BA, blind informant, did not know hood designs were distinct for babies of different sex. Informants with good vision said it was a Paiute practice since "the world was made."

1266. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

W [304 756]

MUTILATIONS

1301. Wa: Shaman only. (See note 1334.)

N 304

1306. Owens Valley: -, yet Owens Valley Indian said Walker River and Yerington Paiute tattooed (Steward, 275). Kt: Tattooing not known to old-time Indians (GN). To: LP thought it was old custom of Toe, but knew no details. BS was certain the old Toe did not tattoo.

W [304]

1307a. Ki: + (Kelly, 116).

1308. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

1319. Pa: Child forced to lie in one position "until head set." No violent movement for some weeks after birth.

[p. 435(A)]

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

Considering the first alternative,[3] there was little evidence for any decrease in the frustrating experiences encountered by a Washo; indeed, if anything, the trend was in the other direction. At the time shamans and fear of witchcraft were predominant, the experiences of childhood, as reported by Siskin, seemed to offer little restraint in the more obvious aspects of socialization. The weaning process was a gradual one that took place between the ages of one and two, and toilet training began only after the child was walking and could understand the instructions of his parents. Until that time infants were confined to cradleboards, or what the Washo call "baby baskets," though they were taken out if restive at night and were freed for short periods during the day. Following weaning, the children were treated gently and given the most tender part of the game animals until about nine years of age (Siskin, 1941, 19-20).

Washo children were taught four principal lessons of behavior: to respect their elders, to avoid fighting among themselves, to play quietly, and to refrain from boasting, lying or stealing. The approved technique for enforcing these educational tenets was "to tell them to behave and talk kindly to them." Nevertheless parents still sometimes threatened to have a delinquent carried off by a wild beast or to have his eyes picked out by an owl if he did not behave (Siskin, 1941, 20). Whipping was infrequent, as Lowie (1939, 305) had also noticed: "The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them."

For the most part, the recollections of my elderly informants were in agreement with this description of traditional child training, and they stressed the permissive upbringing given children in the past. Young boys and girls were never allowed to cry, but were attended to immediately; punishment was usually verbal rather than corporal. One man did say that if a boy continued to act very badly after he had been reprimanded, he would be thrown into ice cold water. If this did not work, then a sharply pointed stick might be thrust through his ear lobe to punish him and drive out the badness, though such an act may have been more of a threat than an actual practice. The weaning process was also thought to have been trying at times, for if a child would not give up the breast within two years, usually the time allotted before having another pregnancy, red pepper was placed on the nipple or a lizard was offered instead of the breast to frighten the child.

Notwithstanding these more severe restraints, the permissive early training period of the Washo at the times they were visited by Lowie and Siskin appeared to be comparable to the Hopi. Frustrations did not begin until later

[3] [i.e., that the decrease in Indian doctors may have coincided with decreasing frustrations in other areas of Washo life.--Analyst]

NWA 855

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

	Yo	K1	K2	Ko	Yo	To	Pa	Ma	At	Ha	Tg	Wa	Ks	Ot
Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a. Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	-
2296. Thrown toward west	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a. Toward north	-	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-
2297. Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2300. Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2300a. Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-
2301. Teeth buried under green bush	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
GIRL'S PUBERTY														
2304. First Menstruation (muhadancmani)	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2305. Observance for each girl alone	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2306. Confinement	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2307. 5 days	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2307a. 30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2308. In family house	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309. In special house	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2310. Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2313. Girl attended	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2314. By mother	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2315. By any female relative	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2316. By any woman	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2317. Attendant combs girl's hair	+	+	+	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2318. Girl instructed about conduct	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2319. Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	+
2319a. "Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2320. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2321. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322. Cold water forbidden	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323. Talking forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2324. Laughing forbidden	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2325. Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
2327. Scratching self with fingers forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2326. Combing hair forbidden	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2329. Girl must arise early	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330. Run daily	-	-	-	+	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2330a. Run once in special ceremony	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2331. Carry firewood	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2332. Work hard	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2334. Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2335. Use scratching stick, 5 days	+	-	-	+	-	-	-	+	+	-	-	-	-	+
2335a. "Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2336. Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2336a. Use special cup	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337. Avoid hunters	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2337a. Avoid gamblers	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2338. Avoid sick	+	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2339. Avoid all people	+	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2340. Bathe daily	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2341a. Every 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	-
2342. At end of confinement girl bathes	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2343. Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344. Girl painted red	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2345. Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346. Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-
2347. New clothes	-	-	-	+	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2348. Delousing by mother	+	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2349. Delousing by attendant	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2350. Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

NWA 881 784

NWA 881 [302]

[p. 410]

[P.395, A]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

771 Few, if any, Washo activities do not contain an element which we can describe as religious, supernatural, or magical. This element is most commonly revealed by specifically ritualized behavior carried on while a regular course of action is being taken by a Washo. The following sections will deal with this ritualized behavior and the rationale for it offered by the Washo.

CONCEPTION AND CONTRACEPTION

842 Apparently the Washo have no specific ritual to encourage conception. They are extremely fond of children and desire as many as possible. No Washo has [847] ever heard of, or will admit having heard of, infanti- [848] cide among the Washo, although they have heard of the practice among other Indians. The birth of an illegitimate child, despite the attitude of whites, is greeted with as much joy as that of a legitimate child.

842 However, it is believed that conception can be pre-
789 vented by manipulation of the afterbirth. When the afterbirth is expelled it is wrapped in a piece of deer hide or cloth and buried. It is always placed right side up if a woman desires to continue bearing children. If she wishes not to have children it is buried upside down. If at a later time she wishes to become preg- [178] nant, she will turn the earth where the upside-down afterbirth was buried. Informants say that not many people do this any more, mainly because younger women go to the hospital to have their babies, but that many people know how and some may still do it.

842 Certain Indians are reported to be able to prevent
754 the birth of children without the knowledge of the woman concerned. This requires the cooperation of a woman who has just had a child and who will give the magician the afterbirth. It is then buried or hidden upside down and the woman concerned will not become pregnant. The method of transferring the influence of the afterbirth from the real mother to the victim was not explained, and in fact the practice was revealed with a good deal of reluctance.

BIRTH
(2178-2293)

844 Informants report that the baby was not touched, either by the mother or her attendants, until the afterbirth was expelled. The birth and recuperation were [845] carried out in a pit filled with warm ashes. A slow birth was blamed on the belief that the mother had [843] slept too much or been lazy during her pregnancy.

The mother was not allowed to eat salt until the [263] baby's umbilicus dropped off, usually in two or three days. The umbilicus was dried and hung on the right [856] side of the cradleboard to insure that the baby would be right-handed.

846 The baby's hair was cut about thirty days after its birth. Until that time the mother was not permitted to [262] eat meat or to leave her bed of ashes. However, one [302] of my informants who had borne eight children claimed never to have spent more than two weeks in her lying- [178] in bed. She did insist that "in the old days" women adhered to the traditional thirty-day period.

[P. 376, A]

881 [271] [262] [263] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the same as meat."

[124] [262] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] [202] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One informant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

[778] The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

[178] In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] [824] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[782] [431] [178] [515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

[302] The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 178 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a puberty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

[574] In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

Sagebrush bark was used for several things in addition to the sock and leggings. Rolled and sewed loose it served as a mattress. It was plaited into a mat and was also used as a diaper, baby pad, and women's napkin.

Snowshoes (shumelli) were made round with a slight tail of manzanita or other wood with buckskin, deer sinew, or bark for webbing. A piece of wood about 5 feet long was bent round when it was green, the ends tied and cut or burned, and was put between two flat rocks to dry. The final diameter of the loop was from 14 to 18 inches. Usually a buckskin strip three or four inches wide was twisted until it was about an inch wide and this was then plaited vertically and horizontally across the circle of wood forming an open network. The foot was lashed to the middle of the netting and a pole several feet long was used to aid in support while walking.

A willow basketry cradle (bikus) was made in triangular outline with a heavy willow across the top and along the edges and twined vertical rods. A horizontal reinforcing rod ran across the back, 12 inches from the top of a large cradle, where the hood and the carrying strap attached. The hood or sun shade (ma?yodop) was twined with pendants of shell or beads suspended from the front "to prevent the child from becoming cross-eyed." The ma?yodop carrys a design of parallel diagonal lines for a boy and a continuous zigzag or diamond chain design for girls. A temporary baby basket was also made for a newborn child with an oval back, woven sides at the head end, and no hood.

A sagebrush bark pad was put down and the infant, wrapped in a small rabbit skin robe, was placed over this and lashed to the cradle with buckskin. A buckskin strap was attached to the back of the cradle and passed over the forehead of the woman who carried it.

Cradles were made in a variety of sizes and a child was put in a larger cradle when it outgrew the one it was using at the time. A child may have as many as five cradles. One large cradle from the Genoa Museum measured 11" wide at the top, 3 1/2" at the bottom, and 32" long. It had 11 weft and 38 warp elements at the center. Plate V, D illustrates a basketry cradle.

Headwear consisted of a knotted hair net (megodih¢p) of twine worn only by the men, headbands (ih¢pbey¢gul) of deer skin or a fur piece, and feathers (tsisuapo). There was considerable individual variation in hair dressing and there was no one style for men or for women. The front and at times the sides were cut to form bangs. It was worn long, past the shoulders, possibly parted in the middle. It was also made into one or two braids, the braid held by sagebrush strands. If one braid, it fell behind and if two they usually fell in front over the shoulders. Another way was to tie the hair in a knot at the back of the head.

881 (777) (224) and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

(535) (574) On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-(787) relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would 881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance (856) were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when (824) climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

881 (526) After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 535 (778) After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed (533) signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

764
768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the [783] ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

●857 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
888 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
754 witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their
[778] babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

861
775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

224
778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

would foretell a greater integration of Washo society by eliminating one of the sources of manifest hostility among its members.

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1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

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A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [178] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifi- [783] cations the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be- witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give [778] food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

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> "...the frustrations of daily life are a constant source of stress and conflict among the Washo. In addition, there is another factor which could be called 'powerlessness'.... By powerlessness is meant an inability to shape one's own destiny. Through a combination of contemporary circumstances, the bulk of the Washo find themselves unable to remain as they are and yet no available channel for change seems to exist."

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In accordance with the frustration-aggression hypothesis, the expected result of this growing restraint would be an increase in witchcraft beliefs and fear of shamans. Yet, as we have already mentioned, the number of shamans steadily declined until there was only one left in a small settlement near Dresslerville.

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The decreasing threat of witchcraft was clearly reflected in the education of the children. They were no longer taught to be afraid of older people because they might be harmful shamans, and illness and death were attributed to natural causes, such as tuberculosis. The pattern of parents forcing their children to stay near home for fear they would be made ill by "strangers," who might be "bad" shamans, had also broken down. In talking with about 15 children between the ages of four and 12, all except one girl believed the shaman was someone who had cured or could probably cure them if they were sick. The exception recalled that her parents had once threatened to call an Indian doctor to punish her if she did not behave. Adults believed this change in educating the young was mainly a consequence of eliminating those shamans thought to be responsible for witchcraft; if "bad" Indian doctors were no longer a threat, there was no reason to be afraid of them. In addition, the formal education of the boys and girls in integrated schools and attention to mass communication media -- particularly the movies -- must be considered as possible influences that undermined beliefs of the children in witchcraft.

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

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"Individual Peyotists accuse one another of causing sickness or death under guidance of malicious spirits, or of secretly making use of Peyotist ritual, song, and medicine as a screen for acquiring personal advantage in 'the old way.' . . . Deaths of members or too-frequent failure to cure result in suspicion and the eventual rejection of a leader."

Again, Peyote singers carried on a rivalry with one another which "seems to be one means by which hostility is expressed among Peyotists" (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 625).

Peyotism, however, had failed to take hold, in Dresslerville at least, by the time of our field study. The members of this community did not appear to have had sufficient time to work out effective means for redirecting their aggressions in a socially acceptable manner.

Instead the aggression was internalized, the very thing that canalization is believed able to avoid.[2] This internalization was evident in certain self-destructive activities, though in each case the evidence was questionable and may be accepted only with qualification. Such evidence includes the high incidence of heavy drinking, though a comparative measure with the 1930's was lacking; the increasing harshness of the socialization process, though "taking it out" on one's children as an indication of internalized aggression is open to question; and a decreasing interest in tribal affairs, which could be interpreted as a lack of concern by the Washo about themselves and their future. The fact that many young men had left the community may also be an indication of internal conflicts that they were unable to resolve in any satisfactory manner. Suicide, of course, would have been a clear measure of such a conclusion, but, again, records were not available for comparison between the 1930's and the time of our study.

We can thus tentatively conclude, given the nature of our evidence, that Nadel's suggestion, that witchcraft beliefs impede the integration of a society and add to the stress of social life, does not appear to hold true for the Washo case.

In this paper, the cultural changes that took place among the Washo over a 15-year period were used to support the contention that witchcraft beliefs may fulfill a positive function in displacing aggressions. Support for this conclusion was drawn from the consequences of the elimination of "bad" shamans. We also attempted to demonstrate how education may be considered as an intervening variable between frustrations and the socially acceptable means for releasing aggressions. The significance of cultural transmission from one generation to the next has always been implicit in any

[2] [footnote appears on p. 66 -- Analyst]

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Given this situation of an increase in frustrations during childhood and an elimination of the means by which aggression was expressed in the past, the question of what had happened to the aggressive impulses of the Washo arose. How had education acted as a connecting link between increasing frustrations and the socially acceptable methods for canalizing aggressions now that witchcraft had left the scene? As far as we were able to ascertain, the connection was not being made. The Peyote Cult, which helped to dispose of the shamans, might have served as a satisfactory replacement for the expression of aggressions. For example, Merriam and d'Azevedo (1957, 617) provide several illustrations of Peyote members expressing hostility in ways reminiscent of the days when witchcraft beliefs were rampant:

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ɛwɛ'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ɛwɛ'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

[P. 379, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[178] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the
[648] white man stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative—a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.
584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big
[791] times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[581] married couples to be good to each other and not fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use. 423 621 596

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification. 428

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands. 423 [768] [422] [425] [648]

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles. 428 423 178

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex. 462

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized. [868] [887] [463]

881 302

At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed. [868] [777]

881 Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses. [778] [262]

881 The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the 778

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

II. SOCIAL LIFE

GOVERNMENT—PROPERTY

Settlements were minute: Jack recalled none with as many as ten huts; usually there were from two to four. As a child he lived with his parents and maternal grandparents; the neighbors, about thirty feet away, were not kin.

Though Bill spoke of Captain Jim as chief (te.upe"yu) of all the Washo, this was probably a recent development. Bill could not say whether Jim had inherited the office from his father. When the "captain" went to Washington, D.C., he took with him as assistant Dick Bender, who had been to the Indian School in Carson and spoke fair English. It is not clear that Jim and Dick were related, but both were p'alaa"ci (see below).

The chief had nothing to do with fighting enemies or adjusting quarrels within the tribe; his sole function was to arrange dances and other gatherings, where he would exhort the Washo to be good (Dave, Bill). Jack's notion of a typical speech follows:[1]

> Behave well, do not fight, play! If you lose, do not get angry. Play ball; some win, others lose. Play the basket game. Shoot rabbits, eat them. Make soup and eat it. After a while, shoot deer. Shoot grouse, sage hen, mountain quail, ground hogs, ground squirrels, meadow squirrels, small squirrels, mice. Go and hunt antelope and mountain sheep. Spear fish!

Daisy Bender and Big Susie gave this version of one of Captain Jim's speeches:[2]

> Dance! Interlocking your fingers, dance! Husbands, interlock fingers, now with interlocking fingers dance! Dance! Then dance with your wives. Behave properly! Don't fight. Dance with your wives, make your wives sleep well.

Special headmen led in hunting jack rabbits, deer, and antelope, respectively. The antelope headman dreamed the right to office; the two others were purely secular leaders, the rabbit chief, according to Dave, being chosen by the people.

Property rights were maintained for clumps of pine-nut trees, patches being marked off by lines of rocks. Bill's patch was west of Double Spring, he and his brother, Charlie Buell, having inherited from their father. Bill's mother claimed clumps west of Mountain House, some falling to my informant's share. Sally, his sister, might properly have claimed part, but did not do so. Brothers never quarreled over pine-nut privileges; and if they had plenty, they would allow a married sister to pick from their tract. On the other hand, trespass by a stranger was resented, the owner rebuking him with such words as, "Don't pick pine nuts here! They are not yours, but mine." This might even lead to fighting. Mrs. Hardy, the postmistress of Coleville (in 1926), told me that the Indians meticulously respected one another's claims. Dave's father and paternal uncle owned four patches, of which Dave inherited one. A thief's pole was sometimes broken up by the rightful owner of a patch.

[1] Recorded in Washo. [2] Recorded in Washo.

[P. 369, A]

CURING AND SHAMANISM

(2469-2541)

756 [192] The Washo word da?man?li? has a wide range of meanings which include almost all people with supernatural powers, including curers of several orders. The terms which they use when discussing the subject in English are somewhat more precise and will be used in this paper.

The Washo make a distinction between curers (2594-96) and Indian doctors. The latter, as will be shown, are true shamans whereas the former are somewhat less powerful. Curers appear to be women who have certain powers revealed to them in dreams. Such persons are usually members of what the Washo describe as a "doctor family." An informant described the activities of such a curer:

> "My mother was a curer. She just smoke and talk. You would meet her on the way to town mebbe and say 'I don't feel good' and she'd just sit down and smoke and talk [pray?] a little and then mebbe tell you what was wrong and what you should do.
>
> [755] "Along about the first war I got sick and couldn't make no water at all. My mother smoked and then spread ashes all over my belly and talked some and after that I passed a lot of blood and got better."[1]

Far more important than the curers, however, were the Indian doctors. Such men were never exclusive specialists and were apparently expected to share in the work of hunting and fishing with less gifted men. [177] With the introduction of money by the whites, shamans [436] appear to have approached something like specialization, charging fees of up to twenty dollars a session for their services.

Until the middle 1930's there were a number of shamans among the Washo (Stewart 1944). However, with the introduction of the peyote cult, which among the Washo is concerned with curing, the shaman was superseded. Today only a single Washo practices shamanistic curing. Interestingly enough this man, now 756 seventy-five, was an informant of Lowie's in the 1920's, 115 and at that time Lowie described him as a sophisti- [871] cated young Washo, somewhat mystic and with shamanistic ambitions (Lowie 1939).

This man, Henry Rupert, spent ten years in the Indian school at the Stewart Agency and after graduation worked for a number of years in a printing plant in Reno. When questioned about the old days he was a fair informant, seldom offering more information than was asked for and clearly enjoying the business of making a white man work for every scrap of information. He was also given to dropping subtle hints and waiting with stolid indifference to see if I had been alert. He did not deny his shamanistic practices but was less than willing to discuss them in detail.

[534] His equipment, he admitted (but refused to show me), [237] consisted of a butterfly-cocoon rattle, an eagle-bone whistle, and a feather headband. "I don't really do nothing but help nature," he said. When I replied that only some people know how to help nature he was

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[1] Regular Indian doctors were forbidden to treat members of their own families, a prohibition which appears not to have extended to a non-shamanistic curer.

[P. 396, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-308).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, [177] in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 369-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

western Nevada (Thompson and West 1881, 67). Overgrazing depleted Washo food in grass seeds and permanently effected the ecological balance in this period. 175 648

1861 - Warren Wasson, U. S. Indian Agent at Carson Valley Agency, in reports to Governor Nye of Nevada Territory in July and August wrote "within the limits of this Agency...the Washoes number 550...have no property of any kind...they have no schools...They have learned that the great chief or captain at Washington, through the lesser captain here, must feed them or help to do so at least. There is great justice in this request. The streams in which they formerly fished are now all spoiled for that purpose by the operating of the miners and the washing of the ores and metals. They are indeed most all diverted from their original courses, or dammed so frequently that the fish have disappeared from them. Lake Bigler, lying in the country of the Washoes, and from which they formerly obtained large quantities of the best kind of fish, is now taken possession of by the whites, and has become a watering place, to which large numbers from this Territory and California resort, and from which this poor tribe are virtually excluded. The hills and plains over which roamed plenty of game are now occupied by the Whites, and the game has fled, like the Indians from their presence" (Ingalls 1913, 35). [161] [171]

U. S. Congress approved Nevada Territory under pressure of the slavery question and the wealth of Comstock mining. 175

1862 - "By 1862 Burke and Company were using a half-mile seine to take tons of Tahoe trout daily from the waters of Boundary Bay" (Scott 1957, 443).

1863 - Silver Mountain (first known as Koenigsberg) was a mining boom town in the 1860's with a population of 3,000. (California Interstate Telephone Co. 1959, 3).

1864 - Statehood proclaimed for Nevada, 36th state.

1868 - First transcontinental railroad, Central Pacific, completed through Nevada. With the coming of the railroad new towns sprang up as centers for ranches and farms.

A Washo shot by a homesteader for setting a fish trap on a creek leading into Lake Tahoe (Scott 1957, 64). [648]

1870 - 11,500 acres of land under cultivation on the East Fork of the Carson River.

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The Washo lacked well tailored clothing necessary for extensive winter travel. Their techniques of production were geared to small scale household [291] use so that tradeable surpluses were rarely acquired. The Washo were organized into small scale groupings with few specilizations of labor. They [433] lacked adequate storage techniques for fish and game so that surpluses in [621] these foods were not preserved. Also inter-tribal frictions and hatreds often [463] prevented safe travel outside of Washo territory. There are indications that [251] once the Whites established an effective government over Washo and surrounding territory, trade and marriage between Indians from different tribes [628] increased significantly. The Carson Indian Boarding School, established [648] in 1890, became an important factor in developing intertribal cooperation by providing a situation in which individuals from several tribes could meet and [871] become friends.

438

Certain kinds of goods were particularly heavy in the trade traffic of aboriginal Great Basin and California. Davis (1961, 12-4) gives an idea of what these items were in California. In order of importance they were marine shells and beads, salt, basketry, hides and pelts, bows, acorns, fish, pinenuts, obsidian, pigments, miscellaneous vegetal foods, rabbit skin blankets, arrows, and a number of less important items.

In one table Davis (ibid., pp. 12-4) lists 83 traded items. The Washo used 53 of these items. Except for five items made of marine shells and "Caucasian goods", all 53 of the items used by the Washo were gathered or made by the Washo.

Pacific coast beads and pendants were used for personal adornment, but [301] they were unimportant in face of the competition with local shell, plant, [439] bone, and stone materials.

It is probable that all of the 53 items in the list by Davis were occasionally [439] received by Washo from non-Washo through trade. Even items that were abundant within Washo territory such as pinenuts, fish, basketry, and rabbit skin blankets may have been received by trade in special instances. Lists of things traded are of little value unless they reflect volume.

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The goods most exported to the Miwok and Maidu were salt, pinenuts, obsidian, skins, and several Washo manufactures such as rabbit skin blankets and basketry. In return the Washo received principally acorns, soaproot for combs and brushes, a variety of medicinal plants, and occasionally manufactures such as baskets and yew bows. Few acorns were received by the Washo through trade unless the local crop was poor. All the other plants traded were received primarily through gathering and not trade.

Both Davis (1961) and Sample (1950), in their summaries of California trade, repeated a view held by Barrett and Gifford (1933, 193, 221). It is [114]

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171 the consequence of such restrictions is to create aggressive tendencies that must be canalized in some culturally approved manner so that psychological and intrasocietal conflicts are minimized.

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154 Nadel takes issue with the latter point. He argues that it is a false
171 assumption "that witchcraft beliefs 'canalize' hostility or 'deflect' hostile
121 impulses into socially relatively harmless channels" (1952, 28). Presenting
114 evidence from four societies in Africa, he points out that belief in sorcerers is "conspicuously related to specific anxieties," (1952, 28) and therefore it only accentuates concrete hostilities. Though Kluckhohn, for one, would probably not have denied the "costs" of witchcraft, he did feel these were frequently stated without recognizing the potential euphoric effects of beliefs in witchcraft for the social system as a whole (1944, 67-8).

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174 The Washo provided an opportunity for an exploration of this differ-
154 ence in opinion. Since the Washo belief in the prevalence of witches changed
[178] drastically over a period of approximately 15 years, we were able to ask the question of whether the elimination of witches as objects of aggression would help solidify the society, as Nadel suggested, or would create a need for new opportunities for releasing aggressions.

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871 In addition to addressing ourselves to the function of witchcraft in
754 Washo society, we were also concerned with education, the intervening vari-
154 able between frustration and the acceptable objects of aggression. Of course, members of a society do not usually consciously employ the educational process for this purpose, and the presence of sorcerers rather than some other kind of scapegoat can only be accounted for by particular historical developments in Washo culture, but the transmission of knowledge about certain phenomena will obviously affect the possibility of their being manipulated as objects of aggression.

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756 The Washo were a fairly typical Great Basin group, according to Edgar Siskin, who visited them in the late 1930's, except for their fear of and belief in the power of shamans, which he thought achieved "an unsurpassed eminence in the Washo" (1941, 125). Lowie, after briefly visiting the Washo in 1927, observed that a correlation of shamanistic power with evil magic was prevalent in their world-view, and he relates several instances in which shamans
[683] were supposed to have been responsible for deaths. When this would happen four or five men would finally agree to murder the shaman. One of Lowie's informants believed one of the shamans, or Indian doctors, as the Washo call them, to have been "mad." "He tries to poison us all, it seems to us. That's the way he used to do in the old days. A Washo doctor always tried to injure his own people in the old days" (Lowie, 1939, 320).

TABLE I:

Mean Blood Pressures, by Age and Sex,
for Washo Indians

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Age	Males	N	Females	N
25 and below	124/79	(5)	119/78	(13)
26 - 45	137/90	(19)	122/78	(20)
46 - 65	133/89	(13)	146/88	(13)
66 and above	157/91	(8)	158/90	(9)
TOTAL	138/91	(45)	132/82	(55)

Nine variables were selected for analysis in terms of their relation to the presence or absence of hypertension. Six of the nine were associated with hypertension at, or better than, the 10% level of significance: 147 158 121

1. Age. Increasing age was associated with an increase in the percentage of elevated blood pressures.

2. Sex. Males have a higher percentage of elevated pressures than do females.

3. Obesity. Using standardized criteria the sample was divided into three groups: normal, overweight and obese. There was a significant increase in the percentage of elevated pressures from the normal to the overweight to the obese groups.

4. Education. The sample was divided into three groups: those who attended schools in the white community, those who attended boarding schools for Indians, and those who had not attended formal schools. The percentage of elevated pressures was highest in the first group and lowest in the last, the differences being statistically significant. No significant statistical association was found between blood pressure and amount of education. [871]

5. Alcoholism. Data were collected on 40 of the males as to whether they were observed by the authors to be frequently drinking or drunk, and whether or not certain key members of the community considered them to be "heavy drinkers." For purposes of analysis they were divided into two groups: [273]

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158 The stress hypothesis gains additional support from the relationship of selected variables to hypertension. The six variables found to be significantly related to hypertension represent a mixed bag. Age, sex and obesity are biological variables for the most part, whereas religion, education and alcoholism are social. This is not surprising if one accepts the current view of hypertension as a multi-causal disease. Additionally, the kinds of associations found do not necessarily imply causation. A great deal more epidemiological research must be carried out before we can begin to understand the etiology of hypertension.

With regard to the specific variables studied, the relationships between sex, age, obesity and elevated blood pressure merely support similar findings in the great bulk of studies reported for other societies. The other three variables, however, are of greater interest, particularly as regards the stress hypothesis.

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158 It has been indicated that attendance at white schools is positively as-
● 871 sociated with hypertension, in contrast to attendance at Indian boarding
648 schools, or no formal education at all. It can be argued that attending a white school is a stressful experience for a Washo and, extending the argument, that this stress later reflects itself in increasing blood pressure. Why is such schooling thought to be stressful? In the first place, several of those who have undergone this experience seem to feel it was. Several Washo have expressed bitterness, if not hostility, regarding the treatment they felt they received not only from the teachers of these schools but from the parents of fellow white students as well. It is of some incidental interest that in general these feelings did not extend to the white students themselves but only to their parents. This subjective evaluation of their educational experience seems warranted in the light of the objective situation. According to one white high school principal, Washo students, particularly in the past, did poorly in their studies in contrast to the white students. Furthermore, the principal corroborated the prejudiced feelings of white parents who, in his experience, had objected to the Washo's being allowed to attend the school in the first place, and have since objected to any sort of extracurricular activity that would allow the Washo to associate socially with white children. Interviews with members of the white communities of Minden and Gardnerville, the two white communities closest to Dresslerville, clearly indicate that for the most part these people do not have a high regard for the Washo and do not appreciate their attendance at the same schools. These indications seem to constitute a good case for the stressful nature of the educational experience.

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158 Alcoholic behavior can be interpreted as stressful on two counts:
273 first as a reflection of underlying psychological stresses and anxieties, and second as generating further stress in the form of reaction from white and

231 Generally, news accounts suggest that most Washo were still
[489] pedestrian. Modern informants in their fifties confirm this, and recall acorn gathering, hunting, and pinenut trips made on foot. Older white informants recall that the Indians had "a few" horses in their boyhood, which was in the 1880's.

177 222 492 Washo informants report that part of their recompense for assisting in harvests was the transportation to the pinenut groves furnished by the ranchers. This shortened the time consumed in traveling, and allowed the Washo to pick more nuts because the return trip was also made in wagons furnished by the whites.

175 177 492 764 Another newspaper account of the late 19th century reports that the Washo of the Genoa colony borrowed a team and wagon in order to transport the body of a well known Indian woman to the Indian cemetery.

177 423 [233] Of other livestock there is no report. Cattle were probably killed and eaten when opportunity or income made it possible, but no one, white or Washo, can recall any attempt at animal husbandry. One suspects that any such attempt would have been quickly discouraged by white ranchers. There was no long frontier period during which land ownership was ambiguous in Nevada. Less than 20 years after the first settlement Nevada was admitted as a state, and, soon after, stock laws that encouraged fencing and other clarification of land holdings were instituted. Timber and water rights were extremely profitable almost from the beginning of white settlement and were, therefore, quickly secured by law and protected. Some of the Washo early established claims under squatters' rights or homestead laws and secured legally protected lands for themselves. However, most such claims were made in areas considered as winter camps with reference to wood, water, [313] [464] and shelter rather than grazing. In later times such claims proved to be valuable for timber, and many Washo became profitably involved in the lumbering business in positions varying from lumberjack to timber cruiser, buyer or hauler, laborer in lumber mills, and in one instance the owner of 177 a lumber mill. In the 1890's many Washo became owners of teams of horses 222 and wagons, which they used in their subsistence rounds. The acorn gather- 492 ing trip to Big Trees in Calaveras County was made by several families at a time. The traditional en route camping spots were often bypassed in favor of locations with grass for grazing the teams. Similar trips were made to Placerville to pick acorns. In both instances, these trips became possible 177 only after the whites had constructed roads over the mountains. Their in- 241 volvement in the agricultural processes of white men had taught most Washo 971 men the basic techniques of driving teams hitched to mowers, hay rakes, or [492] wagons by the 1890's. Farm skills were taught at the Stewart Indian School, which for a number of years served only local Indians. However, most men

However, most men who attended Stewart express resentment at being worked on the school farm, although they evidence pride over their attendance and resent bitterly that the school now serves Indians of many tribes. 177 241 871 [86]

In the past and today, local white folklore holds that Washo are inexpert horsemen and cannot learn to be cowboys. I can neither confirm nor deny this opinion, because I failed to see a single Washo on horseback during my visit. One man, biologically if not culturally a Washo, owns a string of pack and riding horses which he rents to hunters for whom he serves as guide. However, this occupation appears to be one of the reasons other Washo feel he has "gone on the white man's road." 492 [422] [427] [178]

One significant but short-lived effect of the introduction of the horse was that it permitted rabbit hunters to kill more rabbits than in pre-horse days. Rabbit drives were usually conducted by men using bows and guns, the net having been abandoned very soon after white contact. Each man carried his kill on a belt that could hold up to 17 rabbits. A hunter with a horse could have his wife, son, or younger brother ride or lead a horse behind him to carry the kill. In this way, a good shot could take as many as 40 rabbits a day. However, the very nature of this utilization discouraged the wider institutionalization of the horse. Following the hunter required no equestrian skill and, in fact, was a secondary role to be abandoned as soon as the rider, if he was a boy, was old enough or could afford a weapon of his own. 177 224 492

Older informants recall that some Washo were hired as riders to accompany cattle herds to the railhead or into high range. It is significant that they mention specifically that only this temporary type of herding job was available and make it clear that no Washo became a year-round cowboy. 464 492

It appears clear from statements of informants that Washo quickly adopted the automobile and abandoned wagons and teams. As Cook points out, the automobile gave back to the pedestrian Indian a mobility he had lost during the interval between the appearance of the whites and the development of the automobile (Cook, 1941, 84). I feel that this change took place because the Washo had never made the adjustments necessary to maintain horses or other livestock efficiently, and therefore welcomed the automobile, which ceased to make demands on its owner's time and attention as soon as he turned off the ignition and got out. Moreover the appearance of the railroad within a few years after the arrival of the whites obviated the need for the horse for long-distance travel. Early day railroad "public relations" policy permitted Indians throughout the West to ride without charge. In return, the Indians often warned railroaders of broken track, washouts, and other obstructions. 177 489 492 493 177 489

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

hunting, killed a deer, squirrel, or what not, and, delivering the following speech (Bill), gave his wife to eat:

> This time we are going to eat. This woman for a long time has not eaten meat. I am going to feed her. You, Washo, here you will cook it. Anything I find I'll feed the woman. All of you, you will cook. Cook, you will bring it here, then we'll all eat.

The husband shared his wife's fast only for the first two or three days after the birth, being subsequently free to eat anything. The mother did not drink any cold water after the delivery lest "it should kill her quickly."

According to Dave, no man was allowed near the woman in confinement. The navel cord was cut with a wooden knife as sharp as a razor. After the delivery the mother drank a sugar-pine potion "to make the blood come out." The father had to stay away; after the child's birth he bathed in a creek lest the baby die. He also gave some man a buckskin, which helped keep disease away from the infant. The mother stayed at home for about ten days; her month's meat fast was "in order not to raise up the blood again." A woman who had given birth to four children no longer observed this taboo (Jack).

People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying, "That man does more work than others" (because he is double).

Barrett[1] reports that cradles were decorated differently in accordance with the infant's sex. This agrees with Paviotso data, but was not confirmed by Bill for the Washo.

After four or five months, an infant was put into a bigger and stronger cradle (Dave).

NAMES

Children were not named until old enough to talk. A child's funny saying led to a corresponding name, retained in later life. Jack was thus called A'abi, which has no meaning. Boys and girls bore the same kind of name. This custom of name giving has been abandoned altogether.

EDUCATION

The Washo did not strike naughty children, but merely talked to them. A father would make a little bow and arrows for his son and teach him to shoot squirrels. Stories were told only at night, when a boy might ask an old man to tell him a story, the elder answering, "Lie down, I'll talk to you." At last the child would fall asleep.

ADOPTION

A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant. A man who took a fancy to a little boy sometimes desired to have him for a son and married the mother.

PUBERTY

The most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, t'ewe'we. It was the only one witnessed by Bill. He said it was still common in Carson Valley, but had been discontinued in Antelope Valley for lack of girls. T'ewe'we and

[1] *Op. cit.*, 21.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

galɔ'e he treated as synonymous terms, but the latter is almost certainly distinct in origin, though fused in recent practice. According to Jack, the t'ɛwɛ'we is truly Washo, the galɔ'e originally Paviotso.

A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life; if she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well.

After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick (ba'du tso'hu, from tso'hu, stick; ba'du, a species of bush) about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life. After the ceremony, her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock;[1] and when she is somewhat older, her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning.[2] An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents (hiyemai'yeki) takes place in the girl's honor; various relatives, dancing in the center of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk.

Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was compared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless: "he''wine, ho'wi'ne; he'wi'ne, ho'wi'na; he''wine, ho'wi'na." In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs, but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step, with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers. If a young man asks the adolescent to dance the t'ɛwɛ'we with him and she consents, they get married.

According to Dave, subsequent menses were not observed at all. Jack declared that a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses; but the third time, the meat taboo, which all informants agree holds for one month after the first menses, is no longer obligatory.

After the dance, the girl goes out to swim early in the morning (Jack), or

[1] According to Bill, not the father but a boy hired for the purpose carried the stick up and left it leaning against a tree. It was to make the girl strong.

[2] Bill recollected dances that had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-nights ceremony was normal.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

is washed all over (Bill). According to Bill, the presents given away in her honor include nice clothing, handkerchiefs, and the like.

The following account by Lillian Eichler[1] tallies with the reports of my informants:

> The dance or ceremony is called "the girl's dance," and the girl who is the central figure eats nothing for a period of four days. On the fourth night, the dance is held, beginning at eight o'clock in the evening and continuing until the sunrise of the following morning. The Indians join hands in a circle and move by short dance steps sideways around the ring, humming a sort of chant without words or meaning. The girl, accompanied by some older woman, evidently a chaperon, carries a long staff to support her because of her weakness through loss of food during her fast, weaves in and out of the dance, and joins in the steps.
>
> As the dance proceeds late into the night, the family of the girl give money and other possessions to the dancers to keep them moving and to induce others to join in the dance, the greatest number of dancers signifying the popularity of the family. Shortly after midnight, a big feast is given by the girl's relatives, all present participating.
>
> The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken inside of her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is concealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage.

My own observations follow:

Having heard that there was to be a dance near the schoolhouse in Gardnerville on May 31, 1926, I went there about 9 P.M. The performance took place outside one of the Indian shacks, in front of which a very small fire was kept up, the only other source of illumination being a lantern hung from this hut. At first, relatively few men were seen, women being far more conspicuous—some huddled on the ground in front of the dwellings or alongside of them, others standing in front of the main hut.

After a while, four or five women began to sing on one side of the fire. Facing the singers were two adolescent girls, both holding sticks, one of which was about seven feet in height. The girls would jump two steps to the left, resume their first position, then again jump to the left. It suddenly flashed upon me that this must be the t'ɛwe'we, which was corroborated by an English-speaking Indian. The girl holding the big pole, he said, had just fasted for four days; in Indian belief this stick was somehow bound up with her good luck; and two other girls ought to dance beside her, one on each side to support her, because she was weak from the fast.

A little later, the performers shifted their ground to a darker site, where they formed a small ring. At first there were only women and girls, some of the latter being very small. The dancers sang what my informant declared to be nonsense syllables. In the beginning, all slowly walked clockwise, facing the center of the circle. Then they began to leap in the same direction, the feet being generally parallel, quite close together, and not raised more than a few inches from the ground.

For a fairly long time the men did not join, though more and more of them

[1] The Customs of Mankind, 172 f.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

appeared at the site. Then several small boys were taken into the ring, some of the girls having several times called out in English, "Join in!" I was struck with the amount of English spoken by Indians in conversing with one another, not only by those of school age, but even by young men of possibly twenty-five to thirty years.

Suddenly, several men entered the ring, which henceforth was apparently enlarged after every intermission. The men were all together in one half of the circle. In the darkness I could not make out precisely how the dancers were holding one another. It seemed that between the first man and the last woman in the ring a slight gap was left so that they never held each other. During these dances the girl with the pole held it aloft—not as in the first dance witnessed—so that it rose something like ten feet above the ground. The step remained uniform—a slow clockwise walk breaking into a lively movement as the dancers warmed up. The women continued to leap; the men rarely jumped, at least did not do it so regularly, rather substituting two quick leftward steps.

At one stage of the performance, a woman appeared within the circle, holding up both hands and approaching the ring of dancers, some of whom seemed to snatch what she was holding in her hands. At one time I also noticed the girl with the pole dancing inside the circle with her companion.

All the dancers were dressed in trade clothes. There was no musical instrument. The dance was to last all through the night, with an intermission for a feast. Not perceiving any new features, I left before midnight.

MARRIAGE

About a year or two after her puberty dance a girl would get married. One account makes the suitor ask her father's permission with an offer of buckskin, shell beads, and other gifts. If the parents liked him, they called him to marry their daughter. According to Bill, the families of the prospective bridegroom and bride exchanged gifts, the boy's father bringing dried venison to the household of the bride, whose mother gave mush in return. The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu"wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. The informant, at first noncommittal about his preference, added: "Catching himself is the wrong way, it looks to me. The parents' giving grub to each other is a pretty good way."

Normally, the young couple settled with the bride's family, the bridegroom killing game for his parents-in-law, who wanted to keep their daughter and therefore had the husband stay with them, too. This arrangement lasted during the old people's lifetime. When they died, their house was burnt and the young couple moved. Bill described residence as matrilocal *or* patrilocal, but some of his own statements indicate a preference for the former. Jack's reminiscences support this view. When small, he lived with his parents, his maternal grandparents, and some of his mother's brothers. Oddly enough, he said

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

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A WASHO GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMONY

by WILLENA D. CARTWRIGHT, Denver

881 [121] [115] [361] [131] This paper describes a Washo girl's puberty dance as told to me by Mrs. Fred R. Brengle of Denver, Colorado. Mrs. Brengle, who referred to the puberty ceremony she witnessed as the 'fire dance,' is a white woman, and was at the time of the ceremony a teacher in Minden, Nevada, a small Washo community of about twenty-four houses, approximately four miles south-west of Gardnerville, which is twenty miles south of Carson City, Nevada. She was a teacher in Minden from the fall of 1929 until the spring of the following year. The dance will be reported just as it was told to me, with relationships, comparisons, and conclusions reserved until the end.

[221] The dance which she witnessed took place either in December or in January. This was the dance given at the time of the girl's second menstrual period—the dance for her first period had already been given. Mrs. Brengle told me that if the menstrual period came while the people were away from their village, as they are in the fall, when the Washo people go into the woods to gather pine-nuts, the dance was given there or wherever else they might be.

[785] The girl whose dance she saw was 11- or 12-year-old Teena, one of her pupils at the school. One day, at noon, a friend of Teena's came to Mrs. Brengle to request that she not make Teena eat, because Teena must fast before her dance. Teena did fast for four days, during which time she partook only of sagebrush tea or other plant teas. She did, however, attend school each of the fast days. During these four days the men of the group visited neighbouring communities in order to gather together a crowd for the dance. The people of Minden frequently went to other villages to attend dances. Mrs. Brengle reported that [574] it was always a matter of speculation for the people of the community as to which of the young girls would be the next to have the puberty dance.

881 252 The women, in the time before the dance, worked together to prepare the food. They made pine-nut soup, acorn bread, pies, cakes, and they boiled dried rabbits, bought and boiled beef, and cooked potatoes. The pine-nut soup was made in the following manner. [415] The nuts were put into a winnowing basket with applewood or other wood charcoal and [412] roasted. The nuts were then cracked, shelled, and ground into fine flour, using an outcropping of rock and a stone as mortar and pestle. This fine flour was then mixed with cold water—this constitutes pine-nut soup. My informant told me that pine-nuts are eaten in three ways [846] —roasted, as soup, or raw. After the birth of a child pine-nuts are eaten by the nursing mother to produce milk.

[262] In order to make acorn bread, the acorns the people had gathered in nearby California in October were hulled and the hulls saved. For two or three days before the dance the women [222] ground the inside meat, putting the flour in winnowing baskets smaller than those used for pine-nuts. Through a special technique of shaking they separated the flour so that the fine flour in the basket was away from them and the coarser towards them. The coarse would then be ground again. The hulls which had been saved were used to form a drain. These hulls were piled in the shape of a basin about four feet in diameter. This was covered with cheese-cloth. The flour was pouted on the cloth to the thickness of about one inch, and then

covered with evergreen branches (evergreen with flat needles—fir, perhaps). Water was poured through the branches and the flour in order to flavour the flour before it was cooked in water. After the cooking a large clothes boiler, wash-tub, or bucket was filled approximately three-fifths full of cold water. The cooked mush was then dipped out with a china cup and held a moment in order to shape the cakes, then put into the cold water, where it was held a moment more before it was turned out of the cup into the cold-water bath. The acorn bread cakes were left in the water and taken out only when they were to be eaten. They were not allowed to freeze in the winter time.

At sundown near the end of the fourth day a flagpole was put up in an open space and a small fire built near the pole. Teena and another girl, unknown to Mrs. Brengle, appeared in the opening. The girl with Teena was from another village, and, not knowing her, Mrs. Brengle was unable to tell whether or not she was a relative, but she was certain the girl was merely present to assist Teena and not having the puberty dance as was Teena. Teena was wearing her first long dress. It was new and had been purchased from a store. The girls were dressed alike.

Teena's parents had cut two tamarack poles about eight to ten feet high. These poles were crossed at the tops and tied together. Teena and her companion each held one of the poles so the free ends were on the ground and the tied ends over their heads. One girl held her pole with the left hand and the other with the right. The girls stood shoulder-to-shoulder and danced for half an hour back and forth in a space about six feet long. The poles were held so that when they were moving one way, one pole was upright while the other leaned at an angle, and when they moved the other way, the other pole leaned. The dance, at this point, consisted merely of this back-and-forth side-step. Teena's mother stood behind Teena and another woman behind her companion. Directly behind them stood two other blanket-wrapped women. During this half-hour dance the women chanted.

The attitude of the group that had gathered for the dance near sundown was one of quiet and reverence. Mrs. Brengle believed that they were asking for a blessing on Teena, her future, her husband-to-be, and children-to-be.

At the end of the half-hour everyone became gay. A big circle was formed around the flagpole, with the people dancing shoulder-to-shoulder, to the accompaniment of hand drums, and always facing the pole. They danced with a counter-clockwise side-step. The girls, Teena and her co-dancer, entered the circle of dancers. The men during the evening came and went, dancing and drinking liquor. Some of the people danced all night, while others, Teena and her companion included, dropped out to sit or sleep. Mrs. Brengle joined in the dancing for a time. At midnight they stopped the dancing and went to Teena's home to eat the food prepared by the women for the occasion, for they had not eaten before the ceremony. After this the dancing continued for the rest of the night. Mrs. Brengle did not stay after midnight.

The following information concerning the rest of the dance was told to her by the girls of her class. Towards morning many of the participants lay down to nap, while others continued dancing. At sunrise Teena's parents took her into her private room in the house and stripped her of all clothing except for brassière and breechcloth. Her father painted her body with red paint 'brought down from the mountains.' He then came out of the side of the house and threw her dress to the gathered girls of the village. Mrs. Brengle believed that it was thought by the participants that the girl who caught the dress would be the next to have a dance. At this point the gifts were thrown into the gathered audience—everything from a

[text continues on p. 140--Analyst]

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COMPARATIVE TABLE OF GIRL'S PUBERTY CEREMO

Traits*
present
absent

	North-East California H. E. Driver 6; 2, 1941	*North-West California* H. E. Driver 1; 6, 1939 (tribes not listed separately)		*South Sierra Nevada* H. E. Driver 1; 2, 1937 (tribes not listed separately)	
				Yokuts, Mono	Ute, Kern River, Panamint Owens Valley, Paiute
		some	some	some	some
Public Recognition	+	+	–	+	–
In dwelling	+	+	–		
Outdoors	+	+	–	+	–
Night		+	–	+	–
For all girls		+	–	+	–
Certain girls only					
For one girl at time		+	–	+	–
Rite conducted by chief				+	–
Duration					
1 day or less number of days		1 to 10		+	–
Singing	+				
Singers paid or given gifts	+				
Singing, no dancing		+	–		–
Feast for all	+	+	–	+	–
Dancing		+	–	+	–
Group dancing	+	+	–		
Men dance	+				
Women dance	+				
Each sex separately	+				
Both sexes together	+	+	–	+	–
Dancers in circle	+	+	–	+	–
Dancers abreast in line	+	+	–		
Girl dances	+	+	–	+	–
1 or 2 persons support girl	+	+	–		
Hood rattle	+				
Split-stick rattle	+	+	–		
Cocoon rattle				+	–
Gourd rattle				+	–
Girl ceremonially washed		+	–	+	–
Girl ceremonially painted		+	–	+	–
Girl ceremonially tattooed				+	–
3 days in roasting pit					
Trench at girl's rite					
Sexual license	+				

[533]
[535]
[534]

*Trait list is taken from the Culture Element Distribution lists of the University of California Anthropological P

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony* 1/1

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IES—CALIFORNIA TRIBES, WASHO, PAIUTE, SHOSHONE

Central Sierra B. W. Aginsky 8: 4, 1943 (tribes not listed separately) Mono, Yokuts, Miwok		*Central California Coast* J. P. Harrington 7: 1, 1942 (tribes not listed separately)	*South California* Philip Drucker 1: 1, 1937 (tribes not listed separately. All trait not listed)		*North-East California* E. W. Voegelin 7: 2, 1942 (tribes not listed separately. All traits not listed)		*Washo* This paper	*Washo* O. C. Stewart 4: 3, 1941 (see text this paper also)
some	some		some	some	some	some		
+	–	+	+	–	+	+	+	+
+	–	+	+	–	+	–	+	
+	–		+	–	+	–	+	+
+	–		+	–	+	–		
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+	–		1–30		1–30			
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+	–		+	–	+	–	+	+
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		+	1–30					
		+						

...rwth. All publications are also from this series, with the exception of the single Washo list, which is from this paper.

1/1 [The legend for this table will be found on previous page, cat. 116, p. 138 -- Analyst]

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

stick of gum to pieces of yard goods and a loaf of bread. If the family were well-to-do, they bought the gifts themselves. (Teena's family bought $75.00 worth of gifts.) If the family were poor, others would help them buy gifts. After this Teena ran to the nearest water and bathed the paint from her body. The nearest water was the Carson River, about three-quarters of a mile away. She went into the water wearing only the brassière and breechcloth, though it was the middle of winter and cold.

The territory of the Washo Indians lies almost entirely on the eastern slope of the Sierra Nevada mountains, and extends out into the semi-arid eastern foothills, partly in the State of California and partly in Nevada. Lake Tahoe, which is on the borderline between the two States, is the centre of the area.

S. A. Barrett[1] states that the Washo Indians form either an aberrant Hokan group or a distinct linguistic family with cultural relationships to the California tribes Maidu and Miwok to the west, and the Great Basin Shoshonean tribes Paiute and Shoshone to the east. The relationship to the California area tribes appears in the use of the conical slab-dwelling and semi-subterranean ceremonial house; in the boulder mortar, cobblestone pestle, and soap-root meal brush; and in the use of acorn as a food. The relationship is also evident in the prominence of certain types of fine, coiled basketry and in a considerable number of geometric patterns bearing descriptive names. The similarities to the tribes of the Great Basin region to the east are shown by identical foods and in the similar methods employed in securing these foods, especially in that certain nets are used in fishing and rabbit-hunting and that similar methods are employed in handling the *pinon* nut and other vegetable foods. The twined basketry resembles very closely that of the Great Basin cultures, and certain stone implements are also very similar. Barrett also says that the Washo are more closely allied to the Great Basin area than to the California area. He does not mention the puberty ceremony in his publication.

A. L. Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance for girls was practised, perhaps in a Shoshonean guise, since neither the valley Maidu, the hill Miwok, nor the Yokuts give this dance in developed form.

Robert H. Lowie[3] reports that the most important dance was the girls' puberty ceremony, and he says it was still common in the Carson Valley. According to one of his informants, named Jack, 'A girl menstruating for the first time always informs her mother. She is laid on the warm ashes put into a pit, but is allowed to sleep inside the hut. She fasts for four days, but drinks an infusion of sugar-pine leaves. Men must not touch her clothes, or approach her before the puberty dance, lest deer and antelope run away. The fast makes her live longer and keeps her from getting hungry in later life. If she ate, she would die young and would neither grow properly nor get along well. After the four-day period, the father goes around summoning people, who gather for the dance. Weak from fasting, the girl supports herself with a stick . . . about seven feet high, which is planted into the ground. Its wood is light, and the adolescent's mother has painted it red all over. This pole will aid the girl in later life.

'After the ceremony her father takes it far up into the hills, where he plants it in a hole in a rock; and when she is somewhat older her legs will not weaken in climbing a mountain. Henceforth the stick is not touched. Men and women both dance, always at night, and on the fourth night until morning. An attendant dances with the adolescent to support her because of her weakness. A giving away of presents . . . takes place in the girl's honour; various relatives, dancing in the centre of the space, give away money, people being free to come for five or ten cents from the hands of the mother or other kinsfolk. Fires are kept up outside the ring of dancers, who form a closed circle, singing at the same time. The song leader was com-

CARTWRIGHT: *Washo Puberty Ceremony*

pared to a fiddler at a white people's dance. The words of the song are meaningless. . . . In starting to dance, all sing this song, the leader also dancing. After a while another man leads the singing. There are different songs but no instrumental music. Only young men and women performed, the older people merely looking on from the outside. Sometimes women stood next to each other in the ring. There is no dance chief and no feast. The movement consists of a short step clockwise (to the left), the left foot being slightly raised and stressing the step with the right foot dragged after. The dancers interlocked fingers.

According to this informant, a girl again dances for four nights after her second menses, but according to another informant subsequent menses were not observed at all. Still another informant recollected that dances had lasted only one or two nights, but agreed that a four-night ceremony was normal. The first informant said that after the dance the girl goes out to swim early in the morning or is washed all over. Lowie also reports a ceremony he himself witnessed and a ceremony reported by Lillian Eichler in *The Customs of Mankind*, both of which, with slight variations, are similar to the one told him by his informant. These, then, with some slight variations, are very similar to the one reported to me by Mrs. Brengle as witnessed by her in 1929–30.

In spite of the fact that Kroeber[2] states that the puberty dance as given by the Washo was perhaps related to the Shoshonean to the east, Harold E. Driver[4] shows on maps 11, 12, and 13 no public recognition of menstrual periods by the Shoshonean people to the east. Omer C. Stewart[3] mentions first period observances, but no specific puberty dance for the Paiute. He does, however, mention a special dance held at the first and second menses for the Washo, which he uses as a comparative group. He says everyone dances all night the last day of flow. At dawn the girl is bathed by her mother, who pours water over her head. Previous to this she has run twice to the mountain and made fires. During the four-day confinement the girl eats nothing. Julian H. Steward[6] reports no specific puberty dance for the Nevada Shoshone.

When we look west to the neighbouring California tribes, we find that while the Maidu and Miwok have no dance in developed form as stated by Kroeber,[2] they do hold a ceremony to mark the puberty of a girl. The ritual among the northern valley Maidu consisted only of five nights of singing; there was no dance. Men and women participated in the singing, which lasted all night. At the conclusion of the singing period a feast was given, and the parents were required to give away anything they were asked for. Among the hill Maidu a dance accompanied the singing. In the mountains both men and women danced, and the ceremony lasted ten days and was repeated in full a month later. Specific details are omitted for lack of space.

Among the Miwok the ceremony is less developed. Kroeber[2] states that there are four men dancers, painted with red streaks down the face, but wearing no feathers or costumes, who give a short performance on and about the drum in the assembly house. It evidently was part of larger ceremonies that had other purposes. Originally, however, it was made for the girl, and probably done over her as she lay for four days in a trench dug in the floor of her home.

Table 1 shows clearly the close relationships by traits to the puberty ceremonies of other California tribes.

Therefore, from these facts it would seem that the Washo puberty dance is related to that of the California tribes, and in this respect we have a relationship to the west.

Since this is an important ceremony in the tribe and because the Washo have the many

[See category IIb, pp. 138 - 139 - Analyst] 141

3: Cartwright U-4 (no date) 1955 NT20 Washo NT20

881 171 similar traits already noted, it might indicate that the Washo were in the past a California tribe, coming from that area at some early time, settling close to the Great Basin tribes, and taking over from them many of their culture traits, particularly those relating to the procurement of food.

NOTES

113 [1] Barrett, S. A. *The Washo Indians*, Bulletin of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee, Vol. 2, No. 1 (1917), pp. 1–52.

[2] Kroeber, A. L. *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, D.C., Government Printing Office, 1925. Bureau of American Ethnology Bulletin 78.

[3] Lowie, Robert H. *Ethnographic Notes on the Washo*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, Vol. 36, No. 5, Berkeley, 1939.

[4] Driver, Harold E. *Culture Element Distributions, XVI. Girls' Puberty Rites in Western North America*, University of California Anthropological Records, Berkeley, 6, No. 2, 1941, pp. 21–90.

[5] Stewart, Omer C. *Culture Element Distributions. XIV. Northern Paiute*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 3, 1941, pp. 361–446.

[6] Steward, Julian H. *Culture Element Distributions. XIII. Nevada Shoshone*, University of California Anthropological Records (Berkeley), 4, No. 2, 1941, pp. 209–359.

[P. 375, B]

RITUAL ACTIVITIES

843
[845]

A pregnant woman was not permitted to eat eggs with double yolks, or double fruit, lest she have twins. No special action was taken if twins were born, however.

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During her confinement a woman was not supposed to rub the sweat from her face. She might dab the sweat off, but to rub it would cause her to be wrinkled in her old age. One informant assured me that this was the truth and pointed to her own relatively unwrinkled face as proof.

852

When a child loses a milk tooth, it is taken up and thrown into the brush. At that time an admonition is shouted to "some little animal with sharp teeth," that it should exchange the milk tooth for a good permanent one (2295a-2301)

PUBERTY: GIRLS
(2305-2352)

881
[178]

Aside from the "big times" which will be described later, the girls' puberty dance was the most important ceremonial gathering among the Washo. This custom has survived with tenacity and it is still considered a matter of real concern if for some reason a girl does not have "her dance."

Although much of the activity at a girls' dance is clearly social throughout the occasion, there is a series of ritual actions which must be carried out. The following account is an idealized version of the "old way." Other accounts will describe variations which have developed in the past years.

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[178]

Certain statements which I make will appear to be at variance with Stewart's Culture Element Distribution Lists. However, I am inclined to think that the absence of traits in the memory of my own informants represents a pattern of change rather than inaccuracies on the part of earlier investigators. With minor exceptions, differences between statements made today and Stewart's lists take the form of traits marked present in the lists which are unknown to my own informants. Moreover, most of these differences are to be found in the hair-combing and scratching complex and suggest that the taboos on hair combing were abandoned some time between the childhood of his informants, who were in their seventies in 1936, and that of my own informants, who are in their seventies today (1959).

[302]
[784]
[182]

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881
[177]

The parents of my informants must not have known or not enforced combing taboos, while the parents of Stewart's informants must have considered them proper and so instructed their children. We can speculate, on this basis, that the taboo on hair combing and scratching was abandoned by the Washo some time in the first half of the century. Whether this can be credited to the influence of the white man or to a continuing pattern of change is a matter for further investigation.

881
[115]

The account of the entire puberty complex which follows was given to me by a seventy-five-year-old Washo woman who is generally consulted whenever a family plans to hold the girls' dance.

"When a girl is about ten she is told what is going to happen to her. When her first period comes [she is not specially confined] people tell her to be

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[271] active and not to be lazy. She drinks only warm water. In the old days anything that she gathered anyone could come along and take. She couldn't eat [262] meat or salt but Washo don't think eggs are the [263] same as meat."

[124] (This last statement was in response to direct questions and does not reflect special Washo traits. [262] In fact, all food appears to have been forbidden for four days.)

[574] The family of the girl immediately prepares as much food as possible to feed the guests. One inform- [202] ant remembers in his youth that a family of a girl eligible for a dance would light a large fire part way up on Job's Peak to announce the event.

The dance itself is carried out at night. Singing [778] and hand-clapping accompany the dancing, which may go on all night. During the dance the girl carries a wand about six or seven feet long. The wand is made of a very light wood, often elderberry, and painted red with a native pigment.

In the past, groups camped about Dresslerville staged their dances at the base of a prominent hill [178] nearby. During the night the girl was required to run to the top of the hill and light four fires; this practice has been discontinued for many years, however, apparently as a result of white accusations that the Indians started range fires and also to avoid attracting curious whites.

About dawn one of the girl's male relatives ran forward and snatched the stick from her. He then ran with it into the hills and hid it in an upright position in some out-of-the-way place.

[856] The elderberry wand is a device used to insure [824] the girl's continued agility and lightness of foot. As long as the hidden stick remains unbroken the girl will remain straight and agile.

[824] After the stick was taken away, an older female relative took a small amount of ash on a whisk of sage, and dusted the nude girl on the head, arms, [782] and legs. This ritual was accompanied by an informal prayer that the girl not suffer pains in her head, arms, or legs. She was told: "I am doing this early in the morning so that you will get up early in the [431] morning and work hard." The whisk was then thrown [178] into the crowd, along with a gift, which today is usually a bit of money. Food or beads were apparently used in the past.

[515] After the dusting, a basketful of water was brought forward and the girl was bathed. The basket was then thrown into the crowd. This was considered a high point of the celebration. After she was bathed, a few [302] dabs of native pigment were placed on her chest and face.

The ceremony above was described as the "real way to do it . . . the way they did it in the old days."

881 The Carson Valley Record Courier reports a pu-
178 berty dance held in the summer of 1919 in which at least some of these activities were observed (although the reporter thought he was attending a betrothal dance). Some two-hundred Indians were in attendance. There were no fires, only lanterns and flashlights. The participants had taken up a collection and purchased watermelon, ice cream, cake, pie, bread, and meat for the [574] feast. The food was served (to the surprise of the reporter) on a long table with plates. About midnight two girls appeared in the center of the dancing circle carrying long wands.

In 1926 Lowie witnessed a girls' dance near Minden

[P. 376, B]

881 178 and was obviously unimpressed. The crowd gathered slowly and gradually began to dance. He makes no mention of either the wand or the ash-dusting ritual, nor does he give us details of the feast. The bath was given from a tin can, and he does not report a basket's being thrown (Lowie 1939, pp. 305-306).

One suspects that dances held today are somewhat more elaborate than those of three or four decades ago, possibly as a response to increasing awareness [535] and pride in the fact of Indianness. Certainly every girl expects to have her dance, just as a debutante expects to have a coming-out party. When death in the family made it inadvisable to hold a dance on a girl's first menstrual period, everyone agreed that it was indeed a shame. The girl went through her four-day fast and a small party was held for her when her [841] second period occurred. One informant insisted that in the "old days" a dance was always held on the occasion of a girl's second period but that this had long since been abandoned (Cartwright, 1952, confirms).

881 178 285 The basket plays an important part in the ceremony and it would be considered improper if there were no basket to be thrown to the crowd. It is best if the basket is well made and can actually hold the ceremonial bath water. If such a basket cannot be obtained, and they are growing rarer as the older basket makers die, the bath is poured from a bucket, but a less fancy basket is still thrown to the crowd. The bath and dusting [177] are now given to the girl while clad in her slip, in deference to white notions of modesty which are [302] strictly observed by the Washo. The painting is carried out only if native pigment is available. The wand is left unpainted unless native pigments are available.

881 178 The ritual of seizing and hiding the wand is carried out perfunctorily. During a recent dance the girl's uncle took the wand but simply carried it to the grandmother's house, intending to take it to the mountains later. However, the stick remained with the grandmother, who was somewhat concerned about it. It was kept in an upright position, and she constantly reminded the man that he should take it. He regularly promised that he would, the next time he came to visit, but just as regularly forgot it. It may well be that as an adult and an important peyote chief, he was reluctant to carry out what he considered an old Indian superstition.

881 177 178 [535] [871] There is no indication now that the girls' puberty dance is dying out among the Washo. It may well be changing in form and developing into more of a party. As the number of persons who know white dances increases, these may replace Indian dances. There is some suggestion of this in other ceremonial activities. And of course the fact that future generations of Washo girls will attend integrated Nevada public schools and associate with white students with different aspirations for approaching adulthood may have important effects on the future of the girls' dance.

881 262 178 574 Pine-nut flour seems to have taken on an important symbolic role in latter-day dances. We see no mention of this food in 1919 or 1926. Today it might be considered proper to delay holding a dance if it was not possible to get enough pine-nut flour to feed the crowd.

PUBERTY: BOYS
(2379-2386, 388-374)

881 The approaching maturity of a boy cannot be measured in dramatic physiological terms, and puberty is considered to occur about when a boy's voice changes.

[P. 399, A]

881 The ritual for boys is less important than that for girls.

881 The emphasis for a boy is on his developing ability as a hunter. Although hunting is far less important
868 today than it was even in the recent past, few Washo
224 go through the winter without depending on rabbit or
[178] deer for meat. The pursuit of the squirrel, ground
[648] squirrel, gopher, and other small game appears to be minimal, but certainly this food is not spurned, if available. One of the common legal conflicts with the white men stems from out-of-season hunting during the winter by Washo men filling out the family larder.

Young boys were encouraged to hunt with bow and arrow as soon as they could. Quite often such training was carried out by an older male relative--a grandfather or an old uncle. Expeditions of old men and young boys after chipmunk and squirrel appear to have been common, freeing able-bodied men for major hunting while the experienced, but less able, older men instructed the boys.

881 However, all the game taken by a boy was taboo to
224 his immediate family. This included young deer and
262 does which he might kill. Such game was given to another family, usually related. The boy was also for-
[226] bidden to eat his own take. The taboo included any fish the boy caught.

When a boy killed a buck deer considered by his father or other male relative to be big enough, he went through a simple ceremony. One informant said that in the old days a boy was required to crawl under the antlers of his kill. His father or older male relative then gave him a bath, and from that time he was considered a man and the taboo on his kill was lifted from himself and his family.

[115] My informant, a mother of four sons now over forty, stated that all her sons had gone through the taboo period and were bathed by their father when they killed their first big buck. Until very recently she received meat from some relatives with a young son who hunted frequently.

[178] Whether or not the young Washo are still observing this taboo and ritual I was unable to determine. However, in certain conservative families it seems probable that at least minimal ritual is observed.

MARRIAGE
(2018-2051)

585 Marriage is entirely a social institution, and no
[771] religious elements appear to have entered into it. Traditionally the ceremony, if there was any at all, consisted of a "chief" (respected man) throwing a blanket over the shoulders of a couple at a dance.

584 Ceremonial gatherings, such as the pine-nut dances
796 and the girls' dances were important in the selection of marriage partners, inasmuch as boys and girls came together at these gatherings to engage in flirtation, affairs, and courtship. Dreamers at the "big times" are reported by informants to have exhorted
[791] married couples to be good to each other and not
[581] fight (see also Lowie 1939, p. 303).

DEATH
(2389-2453)

764 No amount of social dislocation or cultural impact alters the constant fact of death. Each generation faces

[P. 384, A]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

784
302 Although modern informants do not remember taboos
[841] dealing with hair combing and scratching during menstruation, they do recall being warned against combing
[881] their hair at night. "My father used to say that if we did it we'd marry out of the tribe. Mike (her husband) used to tell the same thing to our girls but they didn't
[582] listen and every one of them married out of the tribe."

The dried body of a bat, described as having several different kinds of hair (Lowie 1939, p. 332) was a
825 powerful gambling charm. Professional Indian gamblers,
789 who traveled about the country participating in the hand game, often carried one. Bat power was considered ex-
[525] tremely dangerous if one did not know how to use it. "My daughter found a bat in a field one day, but an old Indian said that if she didn't know how to treat it, it would eat up her children." Women especially were
[832] afraid of bat-talismans and of living bats. The Washo believe that a bat charm is also a powerful love medi-

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 384, B]

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 The Washo have been exposed to Christianity from two main sources. Missionary groups have maintained representatives from time to time at one or another of the Washo colonies. A church dominates the appallingly dreary landscape of Dresslerville. Weather and neglect have caused the building to deteriorate. Permanent missionizing efforts apparently have been abandoned. One church group carries on a summer Bible class for children and sewing classes for women.
[764] Funerals are generally conducted by a Christian minister, but this appears to be a sop to white opinion ra-
[178] ther than the result of any real desire on the part of the Washo to become Christians. At best they seem to have simply incorporated Christian services as another source of power. It is less than surprising that a people whose main religious emphasis seems to
[177] have been on curing or subsistence ritual should have found white doctors useful but white ministers a rather mysterious and superfluous bit of white culture.

[TEXT CONTINUES BOTTOM OF P. 384, B]

[P.384, B]

MISCELLANEOUS RITUAL

825 789 [832] cine and that a woman once touched by such a charm is powerless in the hands of its owner. "You touch a woman with that thing and it hypnotizes her. She follow the guy and die if she don't go with him. I don't believe I ever heard of a Washo use one. We'd be too afraid. But them Paiutes and Shoshones use it."

302 796 ● [881] Except for the painting of a girl during her puberty dance, painting of the face and body had little part in Washo ritualism, although its social significance may have been important (Lowie 1939, p. 304). However, certain other customs of dress and adornment appear to have had religious significance. Eagle feathers and magpie feathers, as well as a bearskin robe, conferred power. A similar notion may explain the use of the

825 789 778 skin of the agile and wise long-tailed weasel as a binding for hair braids.

763 825 The hooting of an owl or singing of birds at night was considered as a warning of danger or an omen of death.

INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY

797 668 182 The other main source of Christian ideas has been the peyote cult, which includes a roughly Christian version of God and Christ visualized as the father and the brother. The cross, pictures of Christ, and references to Jesus play a role in peyote ceremonialism. Other investigators (d'Azevedo and Merriam 1951; Stewart 1944) have noted a shift toward Indian tradition in the Washo peyote cult, with an attending reduction of Christian ideas. The attitude of one Washo woman sums the question up quite well: "I think them peyote people [she was not a peyotist but had encouraged her son to attend a meeting to cure a back injury] believe more what they doing than the white preacher." Her own religion is summed up in her actions. In addition to sending her son to peyote meetings, she had taken her granddaughter to the shaman and is a regular attendant at the church sewing school. She was also the person who waited until the minister left the church to repeat ancient funeral prayers.

[764] [782]

302 [412] [881] [765] [824]

The hair was cut (gumgaowi) with a stone knife (tagil) and washed in plain water. The hair was always cut as the girl's puberty and when in mourning. Facial hair was pulled out with the fingers. A hairbrush (itwega) was made from the stiff dark brown root of the soaproot that was gathered west of the crest of the Sierras. This same brush was used in the seed pounding processes and then called an itgumbeyut.

301 237

Feathers were worn for almost any special occasion, often with a headband (ih¢pbey¢gul). Women wore feathers on the back of their head usually, while men wore them anywhere in the hair or tied on to their elbows or knees. Any large feathers may be worn, but magpie and eagle were favored.

304 301 [756]

The ear lobe was often pierced by men and women with a wooden awl to receive an ear ornament which consisted of a bead or shell pendent on a string or a bone tube. More rarely, the nasal septum would be pierced by men, usually a shaman, to receive a bone pin.

301 [237]

Necklaces (uml¢suk), bracelets (m¢liuy¢k), and other jewelry were made from shell (madap), bone tubes, a red berry (d¢ell¢l¢gi d¢tki), animal claws, seeds, plant stems, rose buds (p¢sum¢li), and cedar knots. Shell beads (makau) or pendants were made from Olivella, Dentalium, Haliotis and local freshwater shellfish.

302 304 [531] [386]

The Washo used face and body paints as well as tattooing. Boys about nine and girls about fourteen or fifteen were often given decorative tattoos (mishu). The designs were the same for both sexes and consisted mainly of dots, lines, or circles. The pigment was a black soot (ts¢chit) mixed with grease. Roy James reported the use of acorn (malung) juice for tattooing. This was applied to the skin and scratched or pricked in with a sharp plant sticker from the buck brush plant (dau wati dama).

The process of pricking the ts¢chit into the skin was called balnasung. The operation would be repeated each day for two or three days. The tatooed spot would swell up a little, but not be particularly painful. Hank Pete's aunt put the letter "A" on his wrist so he would remember her.

302 [751] [177]

Face and body paints of red, yellow, black, and white were used by both men and women for social gatherings, a bad dream, in shamanistic practices or to prevent the skin from darkening during the summer. None was put in the hair. Red was commonly put on women's faces as a rouge, but this may be a rather recent innovation.

302 386 [317]

The red ochre (sawasung) was gathered south of Dayton and south of Markleeville. It was found in a powder form, wetted, rolled into a stick,

Informants indicate that in historic times a scoop-shaped basketry tray (modal) was used instead of the old style temporary cradle.

The father bathed and gave a present to another man after the birth of the child. The father also shared his wife's fast from meat, fats, and salt during her confinement. At the end of the observances the father gave away his old clothes, bathed, painted himself red, went hunting, and gave away his first kill.

At the end of the mother's month of meat taboo a feast (ngawngang ?eluhaya?) was held. Gifts of food, baskets, or other goods were made. It was particularly important for grandparents to be present, the food being passed to them first. At this feast the mother ate meat again and a short ritual was performed for the baby.

The normative pattern for the girl's puberty ceremony involved two dances, four feasts, extensive gift giving, and a complex schedule of fasts and observances for the girl. As with birth practices and menstruation (gumisasum) the girl abstained from meat, fat, or salt. At puberty this taboo lasted two months. On the occasion of her first and second menstruation the girl would fast from all food for a four day period. These four day periods would culminate in four fires being built up the side of a hill, a large feast, an all night dance (te?we?we?) and a washing ceremony for the girl at dawn. After her washing ceremony, the girl would be given a slight taste of several foods along with bits of sagebrush. This would be chewed and expectorated. Then she would have a full breakfast. About twenty days after each of her first two menstruations, small feasts were held for close relatives of the girl.

During the ceremonial period the girl worked hard for her mother and often helped neighboring women. During the feast the father or uncle "talked" for the girl's health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. "A giving away of presents (hiyemaiyeki) takes place in the girl's honor" (Lowie 1939, 306). If the household was poor, or if a recent death had occurred in the kinship group, the feasts and dances were not held. In this case the girl would merely fast and have the essential washing ceremony.

A ceremony for boys at puberty was sometimes carried out. Prior to this ceremony any game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family.

The ceremony was initiated by a boy's shooting of a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned and butchered, the tips of the

horns were placed on the ground leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns. If the horns were large so that he was successful in crawling under them, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. Then he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and good health by one of his parents, probably his father in aboriginal times. The animal the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away.

Gift and ceremonial exchange became a delicate and subtle social art in courtship and marriage relations. Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of fourteen or fifteen were shy toward age-mates of the opposite sex so they were rather urged into a courtship that would last for about a year by their parents. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they would take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between their children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift.

If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and no engagement was established. An intermediate position between engagement and no engagement could be established by accepting the gift and not returning one. Lowie (1939, 308) wrote "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu''wa'a. This exchange continued for several months."

If the parents were already good friends the marriage of the children may have been planned for years. Another way was to work through the children by having them meet in one way or another and having them send gifts to the other's parents.

The marriage came after about a year of courtship when the parents agreed to let their children actually reside together. One informant mentioned the custom of having the two dance side by side at a puberty ceremony dance (te?we?we?) or a purely social dance (seshishi) and putting a single rabbit skin blanket over the shoulders of both of them.

According to the author's informants, the newly married couple never moved out and established a residence apart from their relatives. They moved into

the house of either of their parents. When the couple had a few children of their own they might then set up a household separate from their parents.

Although not as important as the destruction of the goods of the deceased, gifts were given by the mourners to the deceased. There is an indication in the notes of Dangberg (n.d., 6) that the gifts were laid upon the corpse and buried with it. The gifts were offered to the spirit of the deceased to make it content to stay away.

Feasts

The feast was characterized by the distribution of an abundance of food and the announcement that anyone who comes will be fed. There was often dancing, games, and gambling at these events. Sponsorship was of three kinds: kinship group, task group, and communal.

The kinship-group sponsored feasts were connected with births and puberty ceremonies. The feast following a birth was a small affair and only close friends and relatives attended. The puberty ceremony feasts were attended by a large number of people. They were publicized by four fires built up the side of a hill the night of the feast. With only three days of notice, from the onset of the girl's menstruation to the evening of the feast, the gathering and preparation of foods had to be done quickly by the girl's family and relatives. Today this, more than any other event, unites kinsmen into a hard working, well organized, social group. These feasts involved gift and ceremonial exchange.

A second type of feast was sponsored by a task group. A particularly successful hunting, fishing, or gathering trip was often followed by a feast. These feasts involved task group sharing.

A third type of feast was sponsored communally. Feasts that preceded the fall pinenut harvesting (tagum gumsabay?) were of this type. At these times fish and large game would be prepared communally and distributed according to the size of the family. These feasts involved familial sharing and are analogous to the "potluck diner" in our own culture.

Ceremonial Disposal

Ceremonial disposal includes a number of diverse practices among the Washo. The Washo threw a pinch of pinenut meal on the ground before each meal as a ritual propitiation of nature. They offered some food with prayers to nature at the spring and fall dances and when the first samples of each kind of plant food was gathered. These were essentially first-fruit rites.

[P.352,A]

In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

dance gave a reason for its omission, such as her attendance at a government boarding-school. In general, the ceremony is scrupulously observed. The modern ceremony is a modified version of the old one. The girl no longer climbs a mountain; she climbs a small hill. An automobile is waiting for her when she returns; she wears her slip when she is being bathed instead of being naked as was formerly the custom; she abstains from meat for only two weeks instead of a month; the second dance is usually omitted. Yet the essentials of the ceremony are maintained; and this is in the face of the teasing to which the Indian girl is exposed from her white schoolmates, for the public puberty ceremony makes her a conspicuous social object at the time of her first menses.

Marriages were celebrated with a minimum of ceremony. The most desirable Washo marriage was one arranged by the parents of the bride and groom. Such a marriage was preceded by an exchange of presents. To refuse a present was to reject the prospective bride or groom. Following the exchange of gifts, the new couple began to live together without further ceremony (Curtis, 1926, p. 97; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). The exchange of presents was optional, and occasionally a boy and girl would live together without the benefit of parental arrangements (Barrett, 1917, p. 9; Lowie, 1939, p. 308). Perhaps arranged marriages were never very frequent or else the custom began to die out very early, for in my interviews I found only two arranged marriages out of a total of forty-eight. Today, most people marry in the "tribal" manner, that is, they just begin to live together. Even those few who have purchased marriage licenses usually neglect to go to a justice of peace to complete the ceremony officially.

Curtis (1926, p. 97) says that the dead were formerly cremated. Lowie (1939, p. 310) and Barrett (1917, p. 9) confirm this but add that, by the time they studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Following cremation, the Washo collected the bones of the dead person and placed them in a creek. The clothes and personal property of the deceased person were burned or hidden and the house he used was abandoned. The old men and women cut their hair and mourned for three months (Lowie, 1939, p. 310).

Modern funerals retain many Indian practices. Chief among them are the customs intended to make sure that the ghost of the dead person does not return to trouble the living. Before the body is lowered into the grave, an old man steps forward and makes a speech instructing the ghost to stay away. All of the dead person's property that can be buried is interred with him. Personal property must be destroyed, for this is the "road" by which the ghost of the dead can return and trouble the living.

RELIGION AND CURING

The shaman was the principal religious figure. He possessed supernatural power (wegeléyu) which he received in dreams and which he learned to control during an apprenticeship of several years under an experienced shaman. A shaman could use his power either to cure sickness or to kill. Supernatural power could come from the deer, rattlesnake, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature which lived in streams, springs, and lakes), bear, and eagle. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu.

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A month after the birth the ceremony the Washo call in English the "baby feast" was held. In Washo the ceremony is called gumgáwi? or gumgá?au and means haircut. The mother bathed herself and the baby and both had their hair cut. Hank Pete says that another woman bathed the mother by washing her with sagebrush leaves dipped in water. The woman stroked the mother from her head down the front of her body to her toes and from the top of her head across her shoulders and down her arms. The hair cut from the baby's head was wrapped in buckskin and tied to the hood of his first cradle basket. Until the haircut the baby was kept in a winnowing basket, but afterwards he was kept on a series of cradle baskets. Next, a female relative of the mother took a winnowing basket (modal) and placed in it small handfuls of all kinds of food. A bow and arrow or an eagle feather or anything else could be placed on the basket with the food. The mother took a bit of each food, chewed it with sagebrush and spit it out. Then the contents of the basket were given away, chiefly to old people. After this ceremony the mother could again eat meat, grease and salt, and the husband and wife could have sexual intercourse.

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According to our informants, the modern Washo observe a birth ceremony although many of the customs surrounding birth have been abandoned. The men especially seem to have given up their traditional practices; as a result, the ceremony when the umbilical cord falls off is no longer observed. The women still observe the food taboos, unless they have been forced to eat meat at the government hospital. If the food restrictions have been followed, the women undergo the ceremony of chewing food with sagebrush and spitting it out at the end of the period of restriction. Bathing, hair cutting and the distribution of presents have also been retained. The latter practice seems more important in the modern ceremony than it was in the aboriginal one. The modern baby feast follows the birth by two weeks rather than a month.

Girl's Puberty Dance

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The girl's puberty dance (ʔe?wé we?) was celebrated at her first menses. From the time a girl first menstruated, she did not eat for four days although she might take warm water or tea made from boiling sagebrush or sugar pine leaves in water. The fast made her live longer and kept her from getting hungry later in life; if she ate she would not grow properly and would die young (Lowie, 1939, 306). During the four days of her fast, said the Washo, the girl was "shaping her life." She should work hard so as not to be lazy in the future. The girl tried to stay awake at night, kept busy with household tasks, and gathered berries and nuts. Anyone could take what she had gathered. Stewart (1941, 410) says she used a scratching stick for a month

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[777] and did not comb her hair. Lowie (1939, 306) says she lay on warm ashes
[224] contained in a pit. The girl was not secluded, but men could not touch her clothes or approach her before the puberty dance, for this would cause them bad luck in hunting.

[535] On the fourth night of the menses, the girl's parents invited their
[574] friends and relatives to a dance to be given for the girl. The mother or another female relative, such as a grandmother or a great aunt, was the sponsor of the dance. The girl opened the ceremony by climbing to the top of a
[787] mountain accompanied by a relative or friend who was a girl and a male non-relative. The girl carried live coals and a long light pole painted red. With the coals the girl lit four fires on top of the mountain. If the smoke from the fires rose straight into the air, it was thought a good omen and the girl would
881 live a long life. If the smoke hugged the ground, the omen was bad. The char-
778 acteristics of the pole the girl carried and its fate after the puberty dance
[856] were thought to have an effect upon the girl. The lightness of the pole made the girl lively. After the dance the girl's father carried the pole high into the mountains and placed it where it would remain upright and not be destroyed by fire. This placing of the pole helped the girl's legs remain strong when
[824] climbing mountains in later life. Both Holbrook and Curtis (1926, 96) say the girl's pole was of elder and Cartwright (1955, 137) says it was of tamarack.

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[526] After the girl had finished lighting the four fires, she raced the non-relative back to the foot of the mountain. If she stumbled and showed signs of losing, her relative snatched the pole from her hands and won the race for her. The girl had to win, either herself or by proxy, because if she did not, everything she had built for her future during her four days of fasting would be lost.

881 After the race the dancing began. The girl planted her pole in the
535 ground and danced near it. The dance was a sort of shuffling step, the left
[778] foot being slightly raised and moved and the right foot dragged along. An attendant danced with the girl. The attendant was a young female relative who was provided with a pole similar to the girl's except that it was unpainted. The attendant also planted her pole in the ground and the two girls danced between them. The duty of the attendant was to support the girl if she showed
[533] signs of weakness. The girl's sponsor stood behind the girl as she danced; the attendant's mother stood behind the attendant. Men and women sang songs composed of meaningless words during the dancing. After a time other women joined in the dance and formed a circle. Then the men joined the dance clustering together in one part of the circle (Lowie, 1939, 308). The dancing continued until dawn.

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At sunrise the girl was brought before the crowd and stripped to her apron. She stood in a large basket. The girl's sponsor painted her with ashes using sagebrush for a brush. One streak was made on the face from the middle of the hairline vertically downward to the chin. Other streaks were from the shoulders down each arm and from the shoulders down the front of the body and down each leg. As the woman painted the girl, she talked to her and gave her good advice: "Be lively; don't be lazy; don't eat meat, fat, or salt during your menses; wash your face gently at this time or you'll have wrinkles." After the painting with ashes, the woman poured a basket of water over the girl and threw the empty basket into the crowd where the women scrambled for it because it was considered lucky. The basket upon which the girl had been standing was also thrown into the crowd. The girl was then taken inside and her face and shoulders were painted red; then she dressed. [868] [777]

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Following the dancing, the men took the girl's pole high into the mountains and hid it. No harm should come to it, for the pole represented the girl. If someone found and broke it, the girl would be bent over for life. After the men had taken away the pole, the girl broke her fast. She was given a little pinenut and meat mixed with sagebrush which she chewed and then spit out. The girl was still forbidden meat, fish, grease and salt for the rest of the month, but she could now eat anything else. A feast for all the participants and spectators concluded the ceremony. When restrictions on meat, grease, fish and salt were finally lifted, the girl again went through the ceremony of chewing food and spitting it out, and she also had her hair cut and was given a bath. According to our informants, the entire ceremony was repeated on the occasion of the girl's second menses.

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The girl's puberty dance is held today and shows no signs of disappearing. In the course of our field work, we collected brief life histories of a page or less from 38 females from 10 to 80 years of age. These showed that almost all the women for whom we have information had their puberty dance. Table 1 summarizes the occurrence of the girl's puberty dance by age among our 38 informants. Four of the five females who had no dance gave a reason for its omission. One girl had not yet reached puberty. One of the women in the 40-49 age group had no dance because her father had died just before her menses and the family felt too unhappy to give a dance. The other woman in the 40-49 age group said her mother was a Paiute and therefore was not interested in giving her a dance. However, the daughters of this woman were given dances with their father's elder sister acting as sponsor. The woman in the 70-79 age group had no dance because her mother was dead and she had been in boarding school at the time of her first menses. The woman in the 20-29 age group who had no dance gave no reason but remarked that she had observed the prohibitions against eating meat, fat and salt. Particularly indicative of the vitality of the puberty dance is the fact that all the girls in the

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10 to 19 age group who had attained the menarche had been given a dance. In addition, several mothers with girls between the ages of 11 and 13 told us they planned to give their daughters a dance when they came of age.

Table 1

Occurrence of Girl's Puberty Dance among
38 Washo Women by Age

Age Group	Number	Given Dance	No Dance	No Information
10-19	9	8	1	
20-29	7	3	1	3
30-39	3	2		1
40-49	8	4	2	2
50-59	4	3		1
60-69	2	2		
70-79	3	1	1	1
80-89	2			2
TOTAL	38	23	5	10

The modern girl's puberty dance closely resembles the aboriginal rite. All of the basic elements have been retained: the beliefs that the girl is shaping her future life and that she is supernaturally potent and must not touch men; the four days of fasting; the constant activity; the prohibition on eating meat, grease or salt; the climbing of the mountain and the building of the fires; the symbolism of the pole; the ceremonial race; the dance; the painting; the bathing; the giving away of baskets; and the feasting.

The changes appear relatively minor. The girl no longer climbs a mountain to build the fires but rather a small hill barren of trees. The Washo say that this is because of the danger of starting a forest fire on the heavily wooded mountains. After the race to the bottom of the hill, the girl is met by a relative in an automobile and is driven to the dancing area. Sometimes food is served at midnight as well as at the conclusion of the dancing at dawn; and some of the people drink alcoholic beverages during the dancing. The girl is bathed in her slip or in her brassiere and panties rather than in the aboriginal apron. Rabbit and deer meat are served if available, but hamburger is substituted if they are not. The prohibition against meat, grease and salt is maintained for only two weeks instead of a month. The scratching stick and the prohibitions against the girl's combing her hair and eating fish seem to have been abandoned. Cartwright (1955, 140) states that the painting ceremony ends with the girl's running to the nearest river and washing the paint from her body.

In the modern ceremony, more emphasis seems to be placed upon the giving of gifts than in the aboriginal one. Other presents in addition to baskets are thrown into the crowd after the dance. Cartwright reports that $75.00 worth of gifts was given away at a puberty dance held for a girl's second menses in either 1929 or 1930. The Washo are not well-to-do and the expense of the puberty ceremony may be one of the reasons the second dance is rarely held. Only a few of the 28 women who had dances reported being given a second dance.

The survival of the dance is probably partly due to the associations the women have attached to it. The older women look back upon the occasion with fondness, and many of these women have sponsored dances for their daughters and granddaughters. The younger women do not always regard the dance as a pleasant occasion. One girl of 18 said she didn't want her dance. "The boys wouldn't talk to the girl before the dance, and I couldn't dance with the boys or touch them." Another young girl said that she was embarrassed "because in the morning at sunrise, I was bathed before everyone wearing only a slip and panties." The girl added, however, that her family invited many friends and relatives and while she was embarrassed at the bathing, she enjoyed having a large party given for her. Another young girl mentioned the big party at her dance. A woman of 27 didn't like the dance because of the bathing in her underslip.

The taboos are a feature of the dance that do not appeal to the young women. One girl did not keep the taboos during her first menses and said, with reference to her dance, "They call it a dance for the girl. I had it in Dresslerville in the summer. I didn't care for it, but every girl goes through it. They make you go without eating except for tea and water. Then at the

881 178 dance they mix food with sagebrush and you spit it out. You wear a slip and they dump water on you early in the morning." Her mother talked to her about the dance and said they have it because the Indians always had it.

In summary, the women under 30 mentioned the embarrassment of bathing and the taboos as unpleasant; but they enjoyed the prestige of a big party. Another unpleasant feature mentioned by Holbrook was the teasing the girls undergo at school, for their fasting and the preparations for the dance announce their condition to all. However, the youngsters themselves made no mention of this. The women 30 and over referred to the dance as a pleasant occurrence in their lives and as an event that was expected in the life of every girl. It seems likely that a woman's memories of the dance become more pleasant as she grows older. Since it is the older women who sponsor the puberty dance, its survival seems assured for the immediate future.

Ceremonies at Death

764 Funeral rites were not elaborate. The dead were formerly cremated, according to Curtis, Barrett and Lowie. When Lowie and Barrett studied the Washo, burial had replaced cremation. Stewart's informants reported only burial. Hank Pete volunteered the information that the dead were never cremated, but we believe this indicates only that the early settlers and missionaries had frowned so severely on cremation that the Washo had abandoned it and were reluctant to talk about it. At the funeral an old person of either sex stepped forward and made a speech instructing the ghost of the dead to stay away and not bother the living. The relatives cried and wailed continually and were joined in this lamenting by other spectators. Holbrook considers the amount of crying in Washo funerals uite noteworthy, apparently in contrast to white funerals. Lowie (1939, 310) says that the corpse was cremated on a 765 pile of sagebrush with the mourners crying and dancing around the fire. The bones were picked up and put in a creek. The mourners cried continually for three months and did not wash their faces for a year. One of Lowie's informants said there was no hair cutting and another said that old people cut their hair as close as possible. Stewart reports that the mourners didn't wash, abstained from gambling, cut their hair, and didn't remarry for one year. 764 The period of mourning terminated with a bath. Lowie says that the house of [768] the deceased was abandoned, some of his property hidden, and some burned with him. Curtis (1926, 97) says the deceased was cremated by burning his house.

764 The modern Washo bury their dead. The mourners cry and wail as 178 formerly, and an old person still makes a funeral speech. The personal [768] property of the deceased is buried with him and his house is abandoned. The

Analysis

178 One factor common to those ceremonies on the verge of disappearance
755 and lacking in the ones likely to survive is the need of a specialist. A shaman
758 is necessary for the curing ceremony. A shaman achieves his position through
a supernatural experience and a period of training under an established shaman
[177] (Freed and Freed, 1963). His role is probably the most specialized among the Washo. The shaman's curing rite has survived into the 1950's in relatively unchanged form despite the presence of two competing methods of curing illness: modern western medicine and the Peyote Cult. Yet the rite appears headed for sudden disappearance because the shaman himself is disappearing.

178 The leader of the pinenut dance was a specialist who achieved his posi-
527 tion through personality traits and force of character which commanded re-
791 spect. The last leader of the pinenut dance died years ago and the recent re-
[262] vival of the dance was a very attenuated version of the aboriginal ceremony. Pinenuts are no longer a staple food for the Washo. Many people earn their livings entirely by wage work and buy all their food. Yet some people still go to the hills for the pinenut season, and the attempted revival of the dance indicates an interest in it. But the dance is gone, and a prominent factor in its disappearance seems to be that no leader of the aboriginal type is alive to organize the ceremony.

178 The surviving ceremonies, on the other hand, require no specialists.
881 The girl's puberty dance has not changed greatly from aboriginal times, and the changes are generally modifications of traditional practices. Any woman can sponsor a dance. Thus the ceremony is not threatened with sudden dis-
[177] appearance as is the shaman's curing rite. A factor that may have an effect upon the persistence of the girl's puberty dance is that no ceremonies of
177 American culture are in competition with it. However, the effects of compet-
178 ing cultural patterns are not clear. No competition exists for the pinenut dance, yet it has effectively disappeared. Competing ceremonies are present for birth and death ceremonies, yet these are still practiced. The shaman's curing rite has two competing ceremonies, but it remains relatively unaffected pending the death of the remaining shaman.[3]

178 The ceremonies at birth and death require no specialists. The cere-
monies at birth have perhaps changed more than either the girl's puberty dance or death ceremonies, but they are still observed. The greatest changes have been the complete abandonment of the traditional male observances. The old person who makes a speech at the funeral can be anyone, male or female. He does not organize the funeral; his role is ended in a few minutes and requires no special personality characteristics.

[3] [Footnote appears on p. 39 -- Analyst]

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There is considerable variation with respect to beliefs about twins. Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "People liked twins and sometimes laughed at one of them, saying 'That man does more work than others' (because he is double)." Susie Dick reported that Sadie had twins and one was buried alive. [847] Manta said that one of a pair of twins always died, and that when she buried one of her twins the other one had died in sympathy. Another informant said [777] that one of a pair of twins died at birth in Waco Valley, and that it was generally bad luck to have twins.

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If the mother would not tell who the father of a newborn child was, the child may have been allowed to die. A few informants deny this, but some say that if the mother desired to keep the child she was always free to do so.

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Lowie (1939, 305) wrote that "A barren woman sometimes adopted her cousin's child and kept it for good. If a woman died in childbirth, her mother took care of the infant.".

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Certain positions of sexual intercourse were considered better for producing boys and certain for girls. Also a game of string figures like "cat's cradle" was played by women to determine the sex of an offspring.

Girl's Puberty

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When a young girl between 12 and 14 years of age first began to menstruate (gumisásum) she told her mother. This started a several week period of ritual observances that would officially see her through the change from a girl to a marriageable woman. This ritual prepared her for her life as a woman, generally, and for proper behavior during menstruation in particular.

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Any menstruation involved certain proscriptions, just as did all excretion. One should bury body wastes of all kinds. One should not spit in the fire or burn finger nails. When the hair is cut off it should be thrown in a stream, or buried with a wrapping of sagebrush bark deep in the mud. But burning was prohibited. It would be a terrible thing to burn a baby's feces, for example.

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Whenever menstruation occurs the woman is forbidden salt, meat, fish, or fat of any kind. The flow lasts longer for those who eat meat. She should not scratch herself. When her menstruation is over she should wash in cold water, but to drink or bathe in cold water during menstruation would cause sickness. Eating ice cream today by menstruating women is sometimes explained as the cause of sicknesses.

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Prior to the girl's first menstruation she is instructed on her proper behavior. She is taken to many ceremonies for other girls and she knows what she has to do. The rules and ritual observances are as follows:

[785] 1. She must fast for four days. She may drink only warm water with
[272] "sugar" from the sugar pine in it. Some say this sugar has a mild laxative
[263] effect. The actual period of extreme fasting is around three and one-half days.

[262] 2. She must fast from all meat, fish, fats and salt until four days after her next menstrual period starts. The meat taboo is reported to have gone on for two or even three months.

3. She must run daily for the next four days and she must work for others by carrying firewood or helping her mother.

4. She must sleep only briefly each night, get up early in the morning, and never lie down during the day.

5. During the four days of fast she must remain standing so that the blood will run down. She will have a staff for this purpose.

[778] 6. If she lets the staff fall she will die soon. If the staff breaks she
[761] will break her leg or her back.
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[783] 7. She is unclean and must therefore avoid hunters, fishers, men going to gather rabbits, and all of their equipment. She must also avoid gamblers and the sick.

[302] 8. She must not comb her own hair or scratch herself with her fingers for a month. If she does, her hair will soon turn grey.

9. At the end of the four days there will be a ceremony in which she will dance, be painted with red ocher, be bathed, have a ritual repast, and then a feast for breaking fast.

881 10. There will be four feasts in her honor -- the first on the fourth day
574 after the beginning of her menstruation. The second feast is about 15 days later. The third is on the fourth day after the beginning of her second menstruation. [178] The fourth feast is about 15 days later. Today, with the addition of breakfasts after the dancing connected with the first and third feasts, there are six feasts.

[302] 11. She will have her hair trimmed at the second and fourth feasts (third and sixth today).

For the first two days only the immediate family and relatives were concerned. It was up to them to provide the food for the feast and gifts for guests. A close relative could eat at the feasts, but would never take one of the gifts. The close relatives played the leading roles in the ceremony.

The girl's mother, older sister, or some other woman would comb her hair, assist the girl to stand up, and keep her from making mistakes. This assistant (desú·) was not necessarily the same woman for the whole four days.

Her father or uncle "talked" for her health, announced the customs of the ceremony, and told about all the fine food that had been brought for the feast. Her mother, grandmother, and some other old and respected woman bathed and prayed for her during the ceremony.

The staff (bā·du? čûnu?) that the girl carried was made from a strong straight piece of elderberry wood about 7 ft. long. The bark was peeled off and the staff was painted with red ocher in bands or all over. The staff was prepared by the girl's assistant on the first day of her menstruation. When the staff was completed the assistant would speak to it saying "My stick don't fall down. Help this girl." It was important that the staff never fall to the ground for it was symbolic of the girl -- straight, erect and strong.

During the woman's dance (?uwí·yn) a present of buckskin, feathers, or moccasins was tied to the staff. This present was taken off by one of the woman dancers. The staff also served as a scratching stick.

On the morning after the dance and the girl's bath, the staff was taken by the girl's father and hidden somewhere on a mountain side. The father placed or tied the staff upright next to a young living tree. It was preferably placed on the north side of a tree where the sun would not strike it and bend it. Some say that a brother or sister may take the staff to the mountain side and that the staff may be leaned against a rock, placed in a hole dug in the ground, or placed in a natural crevice in the rocks. After it had been hidden it was left untouched. It was believed to aid the girl through her life, giving her legs the strength and lightness to climb the mountains.

One of the girl's tasks was to gather wood for the fires of her ceremony. Her assistant, brothers, sisters, or friends were permitted to help her. Some of this wood was placed ready for a fire where the dance would be. The rest was placed in four piles up the side of a nearby hill to the top.

881 On the evening of the third day of fasting the girl ran up the hill with a firebrand and lit the four piles of firewood. Some say that her brother, [202] sister, or other relative did it if the girl was too weak. The fires were a sym- [574] bol to all who saw them that a girl's dance was to be held and everyone was invited. If the girl became ill, if there was a death in the girl's family, or if the family was too poor for a feast, there would be no fires and no dance. But the girl would still fast and go through the essential washing ceremony.

881 By nightfall of the third day a fire was built near a level dancing area.
535 The ceremony started with the chanting and swaying of about six to 12 women
[778] in a tight group of three or four rows. These women stood about 10 ft. from the fire and faced the fire eastward. Between these women and the fire were placed the girl's staff and another similar but unpainted staff. The ends of these staffs were buried partly in the ground about 6 ft. apart. The girl and her assistant stood between the staffs and faced the group of women, each with her outer hand on a staff and with their inner arms interlocked.

881 The women's chants were both learned and improvised. The texts had
533 no meaning. The chanting was led by one woman while the others picked up
535 the syllables and melodic line. At a ceremony observed on July 19, 1961, the melodic line varied, but the rhythm stayed about the same with a meter of about 90 beats a minute. The swaying of the women was at half of the meter of the singing. These are four of the several chants used: ʔówlʸyáʷkiʔi, ʔimlíʷhóʷʔiya, nélonáne, and héyaya.

881 The girl (age 13) and her assistant (an old woman and, later, a woman
535 of 25) danced about 20 "sets" with short pauses between. A "set" consisted of six or seven short jumps to the left and six or seven jumps back to the right repeated from three to five times. The women started a new chant with each set. A set took about 30 seconds and the rest interval was about 15 seconds. The girls danced about 14 minutes. The dance by the girls in front of the swaying and chanting women is called the melehéheʔ -- "to jump up and down in one place repeatedly" (Jacobsen, personal communication). It is believed to make the menstrual blood flow. If the menstruator is too sick or too weak to dance, her role in the dance may be taken over by another woman.

As soon as the woman's dance ended, the general dance for everyone (le?wéʔwe?, "to crawl enclosing repeatedly") began on a large dance ground to one side of the fire. This was started by some older people who interlocked [178] fingers and formed a circle while facing toward the center of the circle. The men and women danced separately, each forming an arc of the same circle. [562] Today the separation of the sexes is only partially in effect and couples often dance side by side.

An older man led the chants and the dancing. The dance proceeded in a clockwise motion with the dancers moving to their left around the circle. The dance leader started a chant, others joined in, then the dancers stepped off with their left feet and dragged their right feet up to their left. When everybody got in rhythm, the step changed to a short sliding jump or hop with both feet moving a few inches to the left each jump. This step was similar to that of the two girls dancing before the chanting women.

Over a period of one hour the meter of this dance varied between about 60 and 120 beats a minute, slowly becoming faster as the set progressed, until it ended in a rest. A chant lasted from three to five seconds and was repeated every one and one-half minutes. The rest interval between the periods of chanting ranged from 20 to 45 seconds with an average of about 30 seconds. There was surprisingly little variation in the length of the rest or the length of the chanting. The chant leader initiated the chant and the step, and it took from five to ten seconds for the dance circle to pick up the step. Several dancers did not chant, and the chant leader changed several times during the night, although one man led for over half the time and was considered the best leader.

Today nickels, dimes and quarters are given away by the girl, who is held up by her attendant in the center of the dancing circle. The two hop back and forth toward the moving circle. The girl holds the money between her thumb and forefinger and extends her hand. The dancers that are close attempt to snatch the money out of her fingers, but as a joke she may pull the money down out of the person's grasp with her thumb. As she jumps she gives a high bilabial chirp. This role is often taken over by two older female relatives, since the girl is too weak to do much dancing. In the past, shell, beads, or feathers were used for this purpose.

Another custom that occurred was for the buckskin skirt, poncho, moccasins, or any and all of the girl's clothes to be taken off and kept as gifts by the women guests. She was not allowed to wear them after the washing ceremony anyway and she would receive a new outfit of clothes. Today she may tie a handkerchief or scarf on her dress for someone to take off. Also today she may wear an extra dress or two over her regular clothes, which are taken off as gifts by the older women.

Today as well as in the past the circle dance (le ʔwē ʔwe ʔ) continued until the morning washing ceremony, except for a period during the feast around midnight. The feast of pinenut soup, acorn biscuits, and cooked seed mush, roots, fish and game was placed in the baskets of the guests by the relatives. The lavishness of the feast depended largely on the time of year or whether some relative had been able to shoot a deer. In the fall there was plenty to

881
[579] eat and the variety was greater. In late winter perhaps pinenut soup was all
[462] that would be available.

[535] The dancing lasted until just before sunrise. Then, before the sun actually showed over the horizon, the washing ceremony (gumyíšu, "washing one another") began. During the ceremony the girl continued to face the rising sun. The girl was naked, except perhaps for her short buckskin apron.

881
302 The woman who conducted the ceremony marked the girl with red ocher
782 on the face, arms, body and legs. As she painted she gave a short prayer appropriate to each part of the body. When she marked the head she would say "Do not have headaches"; for the arms she said "Have strength"; for the body "Have no cramps"; and for the legs "Be light on your feet and walk long."
[183] To be "light on your feet" and to be able to walk far until one was very old was the finest attribute a woman could have.

881
[515] After the painting and prayers, the woman who conducted the ceremony used a fine watertight basket to pour cold water over the whole body of the
[415] girl. As soon as the water had been poured out, the basket was handed to the
[431] girl, who threw it out over the heads of the viewers standing to the east of her. The basket was kept as a gift by the person who caught it.

[302] Some say that instead of red paint one could use some sagebrush dipped in ashes to mark the girl. Jane Atwater (1854) wrote that the basket was circled four times above the head of the girl. Lillian Eichler (see Lowie, 1939, 307) stated that "The ceremony closes at sunrise, when the girl is taken in-
[824] side her tepee and attired in bunches of sagebrush, in which money is con-
[431] cealed. She appears later before the assembled dancers outside and throws the money to them amid a wild scramble. A can of water is then dashed over her head, concluding the ceremony, after which she is ready to receive a proposal of marriage."

177
178 In aboriginal times after the washing ceremony was over the remain-
821 ing people would gamble or play other games. In the 1920's or earlier, gam-
525 bling and games were replaced by a purely social dance (selíli, "to drag the
624 feet repeatedly") that the Washo claim to be the Northern Paiute "round dance."
535

881 All of the prepared food left over from the feast was passed out to the
574 guests to take home with them. During the games and final food distribution the girl was given a ritual and then a real breakfast. Then about 15 to 20 days
[431] later a small feast was held for the girl and her close relatives. At the next onset of the girl's menstruation all of the elements mentioned so far for the puberty ceremony were repeated: the fasting, four fires, the dances (ʔuwí·ya, melehéhe? and (ɬtwá?we?), the feasting, the washing ceremony, the gift

giving, and the ritual and real breakfasts for the girl. This was again followed by a small feast for the close relatives about 15 days later. At the final feast the girl ate meat again and was eligible to marry. All informants agree that she was never actually married for some time after -- usually more than one year.

The girl's puberty ceremony today is clearly the most important social event among the Washo. However, many aspects of this custom have changed and many new elements have entered. The four fires are not made today "because of the fire hazard." In the summer the dance ground is usually sprayed with water to keep the dust down. Baskets are only rarely made and given out, and any steel bucket or pan is used to pour the water on the girl. The girl wears a slip when she is washed and the red paint is no longer applied to her, although the woman conducting the ceremony goes through the prayer sequence, brushing the girl with a cloth or sagebrush.

Except for the brief rituals involving the girl, the puberty ceremony today is much like a big family reunion and dance anywhere in modern rural America. Many people help to bring the food. They arrive in cars and trucks and are dressed in western American clothes. The dress of the older women is somewhat unique with their particular style of long full skirt, large shawl, and silk scarf worn over the head. This style of dress was apparently adopted from the local ranch women of the late 1800's and has changed little since.

Everyone speaks English most of the time. There is a lot of joking and talk among friends. A few young men may bring some wine or beer and pass it around to their friends. One or two may become intoxicated as the evening wears on, and, by dawn, "when they can see who they are hitting," may begin fighting. Most of the people disapprove of heavy drinking and fighting. For the most part the whole affair is run the way the middle-aged and old women want it to go.

A girl's puberty ceremony was held at the Dresslerville community Hall the evening and morning of July 19 and 20, 1961. A large stack of wood had been placed north of the Community Hall, a fire was built north of the woodpile, chairs were placed around the fire, and a dance ground about 60 ft. in dia. was wetted down with a hose north of the fire and chairs. The 27 cars and trucks present were parked along the road and part of the way around the dance ground.

People started coming to the hall at 8:30 p.m. to bring food and talk with their friends. The woman's dance began at 9:45. The poles used by the two girls, who danced in front of the swaying women, were just held in the hands of the girl and her assistant and were not placed in the ground. Several

178 Several
574 women started the circle dance (ʔeʔwéʔweʔ) at 10:20 and soon several men
881 joined in. One man took over the lead in singing. The leader was changed
[535] five times during the dance. Dinner was served to about 135 people inside
[177] the Community Hall from 12:50 to 2:15 a. m. With the exception of acorn
[262] biscuits, all the food was typically American, with beef stew, beans, bread and butter, salad, cake or pie, and punch or coffee, served in paper plates and cups and eaten with wooden picnic forks.

178 The girl -- in a white slip and barefoot -- was washed at 5:00 a. m.
881 A cloth was brushed over her with the prayer and then a gallon bucket of
[431] water was poured over her. She threw bunches of sagebrush twigs tied with a thin piece of cloth, in which coins had been wrapped, to the crowd to the east of her. She also threw several small rolls of cotton dress goods. She then went inside to dry off and put on a dress.

Inside the hall the girl finished her ceremony at 6:00 a. m. by putting small bits of cake, bread, vegetable salad, acorn biscuit, and sagebrush leaves in her mouth, chewing and expectorating them. After that she ate a full breakfast, except that meat was still taboo. The author's informants claim they have always practiced the ritual breakfast. The literature makes no mention of it, however.

[574] The dancers had decreased steadily from 42 at 10:30 p. m. to eight by
[535] 5:30 a. m. There had been an hour break in the dancing between 1:20 and 2:20 a. m. in connection with the feasting. For the few that stayed, a breakfast was held and the food that remained from the feast was given away between 6:00 and 7:00 a. m.

The girl's next puberty ceremony was held on September 3 and 4, 1961, 46 days after the first. The author suspects that the Labor Day weekend had more to do with the scheduling of this second dance and feast than the girl's menstrual period.

Boy's First Deer

881
224 The observance of a boy's first kill of a deer has never been important as a social ritual among the Washo. Most of the literature does not mention it, nor has it been practiced for over 20 years. But, like the other crisis rites, the boy's first male-deer ceremony was important economically.
[178]

Prior to this ceremony any fish or game that the boy killed was given to others outside his family. When he passed this ceremony he could then eat his own kill and share it with his family; he was then considered a man and could have a wife and family of his own.

The ceremony was initiated by his shooting a large male deer or antelope. After the animal had been skinned, the tips of the horns were placed on the ground, leaving a space between the ground and the arc of the horns. The boy then attempted to crawl under the horns moving toward the eyes and nose of the deer. If the horns of the animal he shot were large enough for him to crawl under, he would have good luck as a hunter. If he knocked the horns over his luck would be bad. He would then have trouble in following the track of the deer.

Following this act he was given a bath and a prayer for good hunting and health by either his father or mother. The animal that the boy had killed was not eaten by the boy or his family, but was given away. My informants said that not all boys went through this ceremony, and that in some instances it was the father that actually shot the buck.

Marriage

Almost all marriages among young people were arranged by the parents. The young adults of 14 or 15 were shy toward those of the same age and opposite sex so they were rather pushed into a courtship that would last for about a year. This courtship could be initiated in several ways.

After the parents had looked the prospects over, they might take a gift to the parents of the young person they had chosen as a spouse for their child. The gift was usually food. There would be polite conversation, usually about matters unrelated to the young people concerned. Then if the gift was accepted, by the recipient parents' taking it in their hands and using it or placing it with their other things within the house, a form of engagement was established between the children. This would be followed by a reciprocal gift, usually at the same visit. If the gift was left untouched, it would be taken back by the would-be givers and there was no engagement.

The fall festival (gumsabáy?) just prior to pinenut picking was a time when many engagements and marriages were contracted. For young people, the engagement usually lasted a year and was often contracted at one festival and the marriage finalized at the festival of the next year. During the year of engagement the courtship was watched carefully by the parents so that it

Washo NT20
Achomawi N55

NWA 855

ANTHROPOLOGICAL RECORDS

		Tr	Ai	Ar	Ka	Yo	Yo	Pa	Ma	At	Ba	Yu	Wa	Ki	Ar
	Loss of Milk Teeth														
2296a.	Milk teeth thrown any direction	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o
2296.	Thrown toward west	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2296a.	Toward north	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	-	-	-
2297.	Thrown over shoulder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
2300.	Thrown under green bush	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o
2300a.	Child jumps over bush	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2301.	Teeth buried under green bush	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	GIRL'S PUBERTY														
	2302a. First Menstruation (minchaxmani)	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2305.	Observance for each girl alone	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2306.	Confinement	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o
2307.	5 days	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
2307a.	30 days ("month")	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	-	-
2308.	In family house	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2309.	In special house	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	-	o
2310.	Behind home	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	-	o
2313.	Girl attended	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2314.	By mother	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2315.	By any female relative	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2316.	By any woman	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2317.	Attendant combs girl's hair	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2318.	Girl instructed about conduct	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2319.	Girl forbidden meat or grease 5 days	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
2319a.	"Month" or "4 weeks"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	-
2320.	Fish forbidden	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2321.	Salt forbidden	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-
2322.	Cold water forbidden	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2323.	Talking forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2324.	Laughing forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2325.	Being visited forbidden	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2327.	Scratching self with fingers forbidden	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2328.	Combing hair forbidden	o	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
2329.	Girl must arise early	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2330.	Run daily	-	-	-	o	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2330a.	Run once in special ceremony	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	-	-	o
2331.	Carry firewood	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2332.	Work hard	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2334.	Wear basket hat outside	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2335.	Use scratching stick, 5 days	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2335a.	"Month"	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	-
2336.	Use drinking tube	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2336a.	Use special cup	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2337.	Avoid hunters	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2337a.	Avoid gamblers	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2339.	Avoid sick	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2339.	Avoid all people	o	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340.	Bathe daily	-	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2340a.	Every 5 days	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	o	o	o	o	o
2342.	At end of confinement girl bathes	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	o
2343.	Hair cut	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2344.	Girl painted red	o	o	o	o	o	o	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	o
2345.	Clothes destroyed	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2346.	Clothes kept for future menses	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2347.	New clothes	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2348.	Unbraiding by mother	o	-	-	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2349.	Unbraiding by attendant	o	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2350.	Girl wears sage leggings	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

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Washo NT20

Achomawi NS5

CULTURE ELEM. DISTRIB.: XIV—STEWART: NORTHERN PAIUTE

NWA 881

NWA 841

NWA 881

NWA 764

NWA [767]

	Ts	Kl	Kt	Kn	To	Yo	Pe	Mo	At	Sa	Tg	Wd	Kl	Al
2361. Scratching stick of wood	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
2362. Single	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	–	–	+	+	+
MENSTRUATION (emmadrevai)														
2364. Seclusion	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2365. 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2366. Until flow stops	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2367. Special house	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2368. Attendant: grandmother	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2369. Women forbidden meat 5 days	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2369a. 4 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2371. Fish forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2372. Fat forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2373. Salt forbidden	+	+	+	–	–	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2375. Cooking forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2376. Intercourse forbidden	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2377. Scratching self forbidden	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2378. Women must: use scratching stick 5 days	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+
2379. Bathe	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2380. Avoid sick	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2381. Avoid dances	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382. Avoid hunters	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2382a. Avoid gamblers	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	+	+	–
2383. Husband forbidden to hunt	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2384. Fishing forbidden	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2385. Gambling forbidden	+	–	–	+	–	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2386. Sweat bath forbidden	+	–	–	+	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2387. Husband must build new fire in home	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2388. Husband must hunt	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
BOY'S PUBERTY (See also 369-374.)														
2389. Confinement 6 days	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Head scratcher used	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2391. Lecture by father	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2392. At boy's 1st kill: covered with the viscera	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2393. Father talks for hunting luck	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
2394. Mother washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2394a. Father washes boy	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	–	–	–	–	–	–
2395. Boy's kill taboo to him	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2396. Boy's kill taboo to parents	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
DEATH CUSTOMS														
2389. Corpse removed from house at death	–	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+
2390. Removed from house next day	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2391. Corpse prepared: painted	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2392. Face washed	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393. Wrapped in blanket	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	+	+	+	+	+	+
2393a. Wrapped in own horse's skin	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	–	–	–	–	–	+	+
2394. Adorned	+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395. Trunks of dead covered	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2395a. Belief: rain soon after a death to cover tracks	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	+	+	+	+	–	–
2396. "Undertaker" a relative	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2397. Any man	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2398. Purified by sweating	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[p.411]

shamans; however, pipe, tobacco and cocoon rattle are used by all shamans. 756
Rupert uses Indian tobacco, a handkerchief, a bone, a bone whistle, a cocoon rattle, a little bag and an eagle feather. He rolls the tobacco into cigarettes, [178]
but in pre-white times, the shaman used a tubular stone pipe. The eagle feather represents Rupert's eagle wegeléyu and the bone his Hindu wegeléyu. [755]
Curing takes place indoors after sunset and usually lasts four nights, although the ceremony can be shortened to two nights.

Rupert begins by washing the patient's face and arms with cold water. 755
Everyone attending the ceremony must wash his face. The patient lies down 756
with his feet to the east. Rupert then smokes some white man's tobacco because of the Hindu. He ties the handkerchief around his head with the bone inside. He prays, talks, smokes Indian tobacco, blows smoke on the patient and walks about. He blows his whistle and passes a bag over the patient. Rupert claims that he can catch the disease in his whistle, and that when he does so, the whistle doesn't make much noise. Rupert makes an offering of pinenut meal by scattering it over the patient and toward the door. He sings his wegeléyu songs, accompanying himself with the rattle. Alternately he smokes, sings and prays, calling upon the Hindu, water, eagle and little boy to help. If Paiutes are present, they sometimes sing with the shaman, but, says Rupert, the Washo are a little afraid and do not sing. The first three nights the ceremony lasts until about midnight; then refreshments are served. [262]
During the curing the shaman and the patient abstain from meat and salt. On [263]
the fourth night the ceremony lasts all night and everyone must stay awake; [515]
after the ceremony all spectators must take a bath.

At some point in the ceremony the shaman has a vision and can foretell whether or not the cure will be successful. According to Rupert, if the cure is to be successful, the eagle will join him in singing and he will see clear water and green vegetation. If the eagle fails to join the singing and Rupert sees a dry and quiet scene, the patient will not recover. If the shaman sees water that is not clear, the patient will recover only partially. Rupert does not like to predict the outcome of the cure because he says that the eagle sometimes fools him and makes him lie to the patient's relatives.

Some variation in the curing ceremonies seems to depend on the cause of the disease. Stewart, Lowie and our informants mention the sucking out of the disease object as a part of the curing ceremony. The shaman displays the object and then disposes of it by throwing it away, throwing it in a fire, or by swallowing it. This occurred either when a person became sick from mistreating Indian food or was a victim of sorcery. In the latter case the shaman might not himself be able to cure the patient, but would see the face of the sorcerer in a vision. Then the patient's relatives could kill the sorcerer [83]
or force him to cure the patient; either procedure would result in his recovery.

841 [P.382, A]
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[227] "I'm giving you a bath to wash away the bad luck." (2354-2378).

[784] A further restriction placed on menstruating women
[262] was that they must not eat meat during their periods. To do so meant bad hunting for the man who killed the game.

262 The meat from the neck of a deer and the intesti-
224 nal organs were forbidden to vigorous young people. If a man ate neck meat his aim would be bad (360-368). Neck meat was reserved for children and the old. In actuality it would seem that only the children and the almost decrepit ate such meat. One of my informants who is seventy-five, thus certainly qualifying for old age, has never tasted either neck meat or internal organs. To do so apparently would be an admission of loss of vigour which no Washo oldster wishes to make. Menstruating women today will eat meat purchased from a butcher but refrain from eating venison or other game taken by someone they know, for fear of spoiling his luck. Menstrual taboos also hold today in regard to touching firearms or fishing poles, although at least some Washo women own fishing poles, and in the early part of this century a woman who lives at Carson City was reputed to be a great hunter. In times past, certain women are reported to have made excellent bows but not to have used them.

224 Stewart reports dances to bring deer which none of
535 my informants remembered. However, even in his time
[789] the dances were said to be "mainly for pleasure," which
[178] suggests the sacred nature of such dances has gradual-
[796] ly faded out of the consciousness of most modern Washo, particularly as deer hunting has become entirely an individual enterprise and is no longer central to Washo subsistance.

GATHERING

222 As stated earlier, there appears to have been much
527 less ritual involved in gathering activities, perhaps be-
[789] cause there was much less chance of failure than in
[535] hunting. However, Stewart reports that sometimes dances were held to make seeds grow (2619-2621). Such gatherings appear to be remembered, if at all, by living Washo only as social occasions.

The fall pine-nut dance was clearly part of the ritu-
[262] al of the pine-nut harvest (2617, 2622). The pine nut
[178] was central to Washo winter survival, and its production was a matter of extreme concern. Even today the pine-nut harvest becomes a paramount interest among all the Washo during the last part of the summer. Speculations as to its size, wishes for rain, and survey trips into the pine-nut hills become common, and according to one informant: "If we have a couple of bad years somebody will say, 'We ought to have a pine-nut dance,' and then we'll have one."

222 The following account of the pine-nut dances of the
527 past was given to me by a man, now almost blind, of
[115] between seventy-five and eighty. His father claimed to be chief of the Washo through an affinal relationship to the famous Captain Jim, and my informant maintains the claim, stoutly denied by all other Washo except his relatives and admitted by them only when they are forced to depend on his hospitality. The account is one of a well-regulated four-day ceremony of the first fruit. However, it will become apparent as other information is presented that it is a highly idealized version. It is valuable, however, because it includes a number of sacred elements of obvious importance.

1: Lowie E-5 (1926) 1939 NT20 Washo NT20

526 tried to impale it, thereby scoring 1. The winning score was 7, counted with sticks. In the second form, the hoop was held in the hand, the outstretched fingers in the center. "The opponent endeavors to catch between his fingers the small dart thrown by his opponent." In a variant, an actual arrow was thrown, the opponent being often hurt in the hand.

Shinny goals were 200 feet apart, and the ball was a buckskin strap contested for with 4-foot rods ("tsekai'yak"), evidently connected with the name of the game itself (tsikayaka, Hudson).[2] According to my informants, the players sided by patrilineal groups but did not paint themselves. The ball (pɛts'i'lsi) was a rope made from buckskin or from the inner bark of sagebrush, 2 feet long and 1½ inches thick, and was thrown with a forward movement, players picking up the ball and throwing it into the air. They knocked one another down, fell on one another, and tripped up opponents with their sticks. Goals were marked with brush. According to Bill, there were 8 women
[525] on each side; Mrs. Hardy had seen only 4 when watching a game. The game was played all day in the spring. Wagers included baskets of various kinds, and buckskins.

524 In the hand game, too, the division into patrilineal groups held, according to one informant (cf. p. 304). There were generally 6 men and 5 counters on each side. Sometimes only women played the game (Dave). The hand with the plain bone (tetyɛ'ɛmi) was guessed, the bound bone (tatai'da) being handled only for confusing the opponents. Two in the group handled bones and sang, assistants slapping sticks; guessers viewed them, and one of them waved his hand to indicate the position of the plain bone. If he succeeded, he took the bones; if he guessed both opponents' hands, he got counters as well—2 counters if both plain bones were guessed; for 1 bone guessed, 1 counter. If
[525] both were missed, the guessers forfeited 2 counters. The transfer of bones to another player is called gebɛhu'cul.[3]

● [817] According to my informants, old men, 6 to 8 on each side, played at tso'tsoyi, pa'la.a"ci being pitted against the ta'ɣlɛld and each betting heavily. Four sticks, one pair longer than the other, were covered with a basket, the concealer singing a song. The guessers were to indicate that the two big ones were in the middle, the guesser putting out his right index finger, with the palm of his hand down. As soon as the guessers caught all the sticks, they scored a point. It was then their turn to hide them. Ten points won the game. This evidently corresponds to Hudson's "dtsudtsu" or "tsutsu," in which an inverted winnowing basket was held with the left hand while nine small sticks, 2½ inches long, were held in the right and a number of them hidden.[4] The opponent had to guess whether the number was odd or even. Hudson mentions this pastime under the head of both "stick" and "hidden ball" games. In the latter category he calls it "it-dtsu-dtsu" and describes it as follows: A set consists of 2 "female" sticks, 10 inches long and bound with buckskin to prevent noise

[2] *Ibid.*, 664.
[3] *Ibid.*, 222 f. The account given above is mainly derived from this source.
[4] *Ibid.*, 265, 335.

342 blanket or a skin. An entrance passageway about four feet long was usually attached to the house.

Stewart (1941) reported the presence of a gabled house 10 feet high, 12 feet wide, and 15 feet long with two upright poles, a ridgepole, and a covering of some combination of brush, bark, twined bark mat, pine sod, and earth. The doorway of this was flush with the side wall. It also had a [354] fireplace inside with a pit and a smoke hole in the roof. Stewart also mentions a tripod foundation house and a cone-shaped house (with a basketry door and encircled with stones). None of my informants mentioned a house with a ridge pole, although they were familiar with the elliptical bark slab house described by Barrett (1917, 10-11).

The main house frame was made by interlocking the upper limbs or forks of three or four poles about 18 feet long so that they intersected at about 12 to 15 feet. The slope of the poles was such that the triangle formed by two poles at the point of their intersection and the ground would be roughly an equilateral triangle. With equal sides (and equal angles), the diameter of the house floor was the same as the length of the poles from where they touch the ground to where they intersect. This gave a very stable frame for the house. The poles were buried in the ground and tied at the top with willows.

A number of long willow or pine poles were leaned around on this frame. Geographical location determined the materials used in the final covering. The frame poles may have been carried for a long distance, the covering was always of local materials such as cedar bark, bundles of tules or grass, or cedar [824] boughs. The first layer was tied on to the circle of poles with green willows manzanita, cattails, or strips of deer hide. The covering was placed first around the bottom and then higher. A shingle or thatched effect was attached to shed the rain. A hole about a foot square was left open at the top for the smoke to leave. The second layer of covering was the same as the first or was some combination of pinesod, branches, and brush.

When the outside was complete, they cleaned up the inside, shoved the protruding limbs back or broke them off, and made a shallow fireplace [354] (diyu itgums¢w¢), possibly with a ring of rocks. A ladder (bakmanga) of [417] a tree with big limbs to climb on was leaned against the house to build a windbreak for the smoke hole (dauyatsim buutsui).

372 The fire (di?yu) was made by rotating a wooden rod in the hands while pressing down on another piece of wood. Soft bark was used for tinder. Once a fire was started it was kept going with a firestick (ulu ushi). The ashes (tsapo) were carried out in a basket. Firewood was piled up outside [313] with a few sticks brought in to maintain the fire during the night. The job of [887] gathering firewood (maak b¢h¢sing) and especially maintaining the fire usually fell to the old people. In good weather a fire was kept and cooking was sometimes done outside.

Pinenut pickinggrounds and eagle aeries were owned for exclusive use purposes by kinship groups. It appears that these traditional forms of private ownership developed as an institutionalization of the personalization of property and rights obtained through use.

Inheritance is a transfer of ownership from a deceased person to a living person or persons. It is based on a pre-existing relationship between the deceased and his successors, is personal, and usually traditional (Hoebel 1958, 458). Generally in primitive societies inheritance of chattel goods follows the sexual division because the distinction between men and women's goods is so complete. Also land tenure is generally communal with some kinship and residence group modification.

Among the Washo the complete destruction of a person's goods at his death precludes inheritance of chattel property. Real estate is essentially communal and for the tribe, inalienable. Hank Pete said that when "Captain Jim" (Gumalanga) received two sacks of flour for the land around the present town of Genoa, Nevada from John Reese in 1851 he had no concept of alienating the land. John Reese thought he had bought land while Captain Jim thought he had merely received a gift in exchange for providing the strangers temporary use of lands.

Though modification of the communal nature of real estate came in the case of pinenut groves and eagle aeries, this modification is not subject to inheritance in the full sense. It is more a heritage by virtue of birth, rather than inheritance by virtue of death. There was, for example, no transfer of ownership of eagle nests when a person died; individuals, however, referred to their relationship with the deceased in order to reaffirm their rights to the baby eagles.

Division and Specialization of Labor

Division of labor within the household called for the women to do the general gathering of seeds, nuts, roots, berries, and insects. The women cooked, made baskets, and tended the children. The men hunted, carried water, gathered firewood, prepared the skins, and made most of the clothing, fiber cords, rabbit skin blankets, rabbit nets, and hunting and fishing gear. Men and women both gathered pinenuts, fished, and worked in the construction of houses. This division of duties was not rigid so that each sex knew and participated in activities of the other sex.

Division of labor by age was related to ability and the development of skills. Soon after a child began to walk he was given small tasks to do and ability and responsibility was expected to increase gradually with age. By puberty the individual was a full contributor to the household. With old age the more sedentary crafts such as basketry and net making were emphasized.

1756 The word also denotes the implements used in curing.
[192] A curing ceremony usually lasted four nights although it was sometimes reduced to two. The rites
755 were the same each night. For the first three nights,
756 the shaman would stop around midnight; on the final night he continued until dawn. The shaman's techniques consisted largely of smoking, singing the songs he had received from his wegeléyu, praying, and finally sucking out the cause of the disease. This might be an insect, a pine nut, a small piece of bone, or some
756 other small object. The shaman's paraphernalia included a rattle, a straight stone pipe, and, for at least one shaman, a bone whistle.

Two shamans were active among the Washo as recently as a few years ago. Today, only one remains
178 alive, and he is an old man. When he dies, shamanism
668 will disappear. Modern Washo medicine is a mixture
756 of shamanism, white medicine, and curing through peyote meetings. Any or all remedies may be tried by a particular patient. The older people are reluctant to go to the government doctor, for they have a fear of being placed in the hospital. They tend to patronize the shaman and the peyote cult in preference to the white doctor. The peyotists, though sincere believers, also recognize the powers of the shaman and the white doctor and readily patronize either of them.
[178] The younger people, however, prefer modern medicine; and it is steadily displacing the other two methods of curing.

POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND LEADERS

361 Washo political organization was extremely simple. Settlements were minute; Lowie's informants said that they usually had only two to four huts (1939, p. 303).
622 Each settlement was politically independent. Washo
[114] informants report the presence of tribal chiefs, but Lowie thinks that this was probably a recent development (1939, p. 303). The chief's sole function was to arrange dances and to make speeches exhorting the
624 Washo to be good and to behave properly. Special
[224] headmen led the communal antelope, deer, and rabbit
[787] hunts. The antelope chief received his power in dreams; the other two hunting chiefs were secular officers.

The political organization of the modern Washo is
178 more complex. They have adopted a written constitu-
623 tion and they elect a tribal council. Yet this new com-
642 plexity is largely nominal, for the council exercises little real power and each family does pretty much as it pleases. The chief responsibilities of the council are to manage the small amount of tribal property and to maintain the water supply in Dresslerville, Nevada. Though these are relatively simple matters,
[578] the council handles them quite ineptly. Factional fights and personal antagonisms block any really effective
[887] council action. The older people, who run the council, seem incapable of dealing with the important problems which face the modern Washo; and the younger people appear to take little interest in council affairs. In short, the Washo have not yet developed an effective political organization.

WARFARE

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211 Warfare seems to have been waged under the leader-
622 ship of any renowned fighter. The leader collected his
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object was to kick the ball from man to man down the line and through the goal. The first team to kick its ball through the goal won the game. Stewart (1941, 395-6) says the Washo did not have the ball race.

The foot races of both the men and women began with a challenge. One moiety challenged the other by individual members running to the center of the camp circle, depositing bets which were tied onto sticks, and retiring. People then dashed from the other moiety, which was camped on the other side of the camp circle, and called the bets in the same way. All of the betting was man to man. The identities of the runners were kept secret until the race began because shamans might have attempted some sorcery against a contestant. The race was to a halfway point and return and usually took several hours. Runners adorned themselves for the race: Indians of the East moiety painted white marks on their bodies and wore an eagle feather; those of the West moiety painted red marks (Freed, 1960, 361). The winner of the race was bathed by a female relative, and the basket was thrown into the crowd just as at the girl's puberty dance. Also, anyone from the losing side could come and take the clothes the winner had been wearing.

Archery contests began with a challenge. The targets were two round sticks about 4 ft. high set at opposite ends of the course. Four men competed, two on a side. At each end of the course stood a member of each team. These two men shot three arrows apiece at the opposite goal. A hit scored four points; an arrow placed nearer the goal than any of the opponents' arrows counted one point. Eight or 10 points won the game.

The hand game was played by men and women. The game was played with four bones, two of which had black wrappings around them, and 10 tally sticks. The tally sticks were divided five to a side. Two men from one side hid a bone in each of their hands. A person from the other side who had the reputation of being a good gambler tried to guess the location of the bones marked with the black wrappings. The side hiding the bones scored a point if the man guessed incorrectly. Only the team in possession of the bones could score points. The game ended when one side had captured all of the tally sticks. The side with the bones sang, and the men hiding the bones sometimes played tricks such as putting both bones in the same hand to confuse and rattle the guesser.

A similar game was played by old men. They used four long sticks, two of which were wrapped as in the hand game. The sticks were hidden behind a winnowing basket, and eight tally sticks were used. The mechanics of guessing and scoring were the same as in the hand game. Stewart (1941) says the Washo did not have the hand game, but notes the presence of the game played with the winnowing basket.

N 436 177 489 W [439] insisted that bead money was very old among Paiute. Kl: Shell beads obtained from California to use as money even before white man arrived. Wa: - (Smith, notes).

Tobacco and Smoking

N 276 1895. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319): Field Museum has specimen from Smith Valley. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 52). Wa: Stone for pipes obtained in mountains near Topaz.

W [135] 1902. Ki: + (Kelly, 139): Kelly was told by some informants that the elbow pipe was aboriginal, others denied it. She shows an elbow pipe on her plate 32,b.

N [177 178] 1905. The monitor pipe was known to be a recent introduction.

1906a. Lovelock Cave: Loud (pl. 52,a).

W [276 756 887] 1910. Wa: Only "doctors" and a few old men smoked much in old days.

1914. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 319).

1915. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1916. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 320).

N [782] 1926. Tg: "One old Paiute from Steen Mountain offered smoke to spirits" (DS). He was Tötsikwökwa, or Tsi Rida Jim, a relative to Lee and Old Winnemucca.

N [756 782] 1926a. To, Tö: Shaman did not make offering of smoke to spirits. He did, however, hold the pipe toward the east and the sun would light it.

Tobacco

N 249 824 Paviotso: + (Lowie, 215): called pu'iBa^{mp}.

1931a. Al: Skunk fat also rubbed on tobacco.

1933. Ki: + (Kelly, 181): said manzanita, Arctostaphylos nevadensis Gray, was mixed with Nicotiana.

N 534

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

Rattles

1944. Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

1950. Pa: It was used only by Mono Indians when they came to Walker Lake to dance. Wa: + (Smith, notes).

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N [772 756] 1953. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, pl. 14, p. 44).

1960. "The Paviotso rattle was employed only by shamans, and consisted of the two ears of a deer sewn together" (Curtis, 71). Owens Valley: + (Steward, 278).

N [178] 1965. Lovelock Cave: + (Loud, 44).

N [281] 1970, 1971. Hoofs are first tied in line along a buckskin string; the string is wound about the end of a short stick to form a bunch.

1973. Owens Valley: - (Steward, 278): his informants thought "musical rasp" used at Pyramid Lake.

N [178 756] K: + (Lowie, 304): notched stick on skin resonator used in antelope dance. Sa: Notched rasp was introduced to Sawa with the Bear dance about 20 years ago. Previous to that time the antelope shaman was only one to use it.

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involved in production was partially lost in distribution because of the communal pooling for use purposes of food, clothing, and shelter. That pooling was not complete is evidenced in the fact that all products made by a deceased person were destroyed. Also clothing and implements were personal belongings and individually owned to a considerable degree.

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The older people were the major authority figures as long as they were economically influential. With skill and experience they led their households and communities in every phase of life. However, older people who became an extreme burden on the household because of blindness or other disabilities were deserted and left to die. There are indications that this desertion was met with resignation on the part of the old person and with grief by the family, but was deemed inevitable. A corollary to this was the belief that persons acquired often dangerous supernatural powers with age (cf., Freed and Freed n.d.). Thus, well intentioned gifts from grandparents to grandchildren may be inadvertently harmful.

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Generally everyone ate at the same time with the major meal often in the late afternoon. Producing men ate the most and producing women came next. Non-producing old people and children were resented for their supposedly great appetites and in practice probably ate much less than the others. Old people and children were often given the boiling stones and stirring sticks to lick off the cooked meal. Dangberg (n.d., 30) indicates that children were often fed rabbit brains, which adults did not prefer. Mothers prechewed solid foods for infants.

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Familial sharing was extended beyond the household primarily through hospitality to visitors. In times of hunger whole households without food might move in with relatives or even unrelated neighbors. In this case private property such as cooking utensils were not pooled, but the food was shared. The two groups living together would cook separately. The guests would be expected to gather wood, bring in water, go hunting, and make what contribution they could.

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There were starvation (bisha basha) times, particularly in the late winter, when the household would hide its food, even from relatives. Hank Pete said he heard of starving people who would tear apart their rabbit skin robes to chew the fat off the hides and divide a chipmunk between a whole family. It is said that people could go for ten to fifteen days without eating. Women would give their portions to the men and children because it was believed the women could go longer without eating. A different inventory of foods was used that would never be eaten in ordinary times.

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In spite of the moderate number of hold-overs from the old economic system, the economic base of modern Washo life has changed considerably since the 1850's. Today, the Washo live primarily through wage work on surrounding ranches and in the towns. The men are mainly unskilled laborers, although a few have trades and earn a good living. One man has grown wealthy in the lumber business. Women work as domestic servants, as dishwashers in restaurants, or in laundries. But women do not work unless they must, and they spend most of their time at home caring for their families. Most of the aboriginal survivals are in the female sphere of activity, for women can add considerably to the family income by preparing pine-nut and acorn flour and by weaving baskets for sale. The older people have pensions or receive social security payments and are economically independent of their children. Washo material culture is entirely American except for the items mentioned above and a few others. They now live in permanent settlements resembling small, American towns. The largest of these, Dresslerville, Nevada, has a population of 195. This is far larger than the number of individuals who lived together in prewhite settlements.

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CEREMONIES OF THE LIFE CYCLE

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A number of practices were formerly associated with childbirth. The mother ate no meat or salt for a month after the birth; the father observed the same taboos until the baby's umbilical cord fell off; and until the loss of the cord, husband and wife were forbidden sexual intercourse. Ceremonies involving the distribution of gifts marked the return of the father and mother to normal life, the former when the infant lost its umbilical cord and the latter a month after the birth.

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Most of the customs surrounding birth are no longer observed. Some women still observe the food taboos; but if they have their babies in the government hospital, they generally eat meat when it is served. Often the doctors and nurses insist upon it. The men have given up all their previous observances. The custom of distributing presents following the birth of a baby is still maintained. It usually takes place two weeks after the birth and seems to be a merging of two aboriginal ceremonies: the one at the time of the detachment of the umbilical cord, and the second, when the mother is freed of all restrictions a month after the birth. The modern ceremony is called the "baby feast."

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The girl's puberty rite or "dance," as the Washo call it, was the most elaborate of all the ceremonies of the life cycle. It lasted four days, and the Washo say that during this period the girl was "shaping her life." The principal features of the ceremony were: (1) the girl fasted four days and abstained from meat and fish for one month; (2) she worked very hard so as not to be lazy in later life; (3) on the fourth night, the girl climbed a mountain where she lit four fires; (4) she then raced a nonrelative back to the foot of the mountain, care being taken that she always won the race; (5) the girl danced until dawn on the fourth night of the ceremony and was then bathed. The entire ceremony was repeated when the girl had her second menses.

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The puberty ceremony for girls is still held. In my interviewing, I have found very few women who had not had a "dance." Each woman who had not had a

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undisturbed Washo culture. Some of the descriptions in this paper refer to recent happenings; these are presented as generally illustrative of aboriginal Washo culture because they are so regarded by our informants.

I

Supernatural power can come from the deer, rattlesnake, water, "water-baby" (a small, white, manlike creature that lives in streams, springs and lakes), bear and eagle. One informant (Hank Pete) also mentioned the weasel, a black spider, lizard, magpie, storm and any kind of snake. Another informant (Henry Rupert) mentioned blood. Rattlesnake, water-baby and eagle are considered particularly powerful. Power is cumulative: several relatively weak powers can be combined to overcome a power stronger than any of them alone. The Washo call both the sources of power and the power itself wegeléyu, and the term also denotes the implements used by a shaman in the curing ceremony.

When listing the sources of supernatural power, the Washo think in terms of the kinds of power that can be controlled by shamans. All of the sources of supernatural power listed above can bestow the ability to control their powers. However, power is not confined to these sources; it is probably a feature of many of the plants and animals the Washo depended upon for food. This opinion is based on the reported consequences for breaking the rules regarding the handling of native food. The person who breaks the rules becomes ill, apparently because of the power inherent in the offended food. For example, mistreatment of the pinenuts at the time of the annual pinenut dance can result in illness caused by the intrusion of a pinenut into the person.

Supernatural power becomes attached to particular men and women. The individual has no control over this. As the Washo say, "The wegeléyu picks the man." Power can neither be bought, inherited, nor acquired from another person, but comes unsolicited in dreams. When this happens, a person either learns to use the power and becomes a shaman or else he hires a shaman to rid him of the power, for to have power and no knowledge of its control results in illness. While wegeléyu comes to only a few, it seems that all people have a kind of low intensity power which is not wegeléyu. This kind of power increases in strength with age so that old people are treated with caution. Wegeléyu, however, does not increase in strength with age, but older people are thought to be more likely to acquire wegeléyu than younger ones.

Some of the powers confer special abilities. A man with deer (or fawn) wegeléyu can control the weather. Henry Rupert, the only living Washo

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756 few puffs the weaker shaman would start to choke and would fall unconscious, perhaps with blood running from his nose. After a time the stronger shaman would call the weaker one's name and revive him; or, if this failed, the stronger one would sing the weaker shaman's wegelóyu song and shake his rattle over him. If, after three repetitions of the song, the weaker shaman was still unconscious, the stronger would blow water from his mouth onto the other's forehead. This apparently was always effective. Although Pete did not explicitly say so, the mechanism involved in this kind of shamanistic contest may involve the loss and return of the soul. The unconscious state and the bleeding nose are similar to the symptoms of the boy in the Welukúshkush story; the two curing ceremonies have a common element in the calling of the unconscious person's name. Paralysis or unconsciousness and a bleeding nose are reported by Lowie in cases that probably involve soul loss (1939, 322-3).

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756 Contests among shamans were held regularly and not always as part
789 of the war pattern. Possibly they were a means by which shamans publicized their powers. Rupert reports that shamans were able to walk on hot coals and climb steep cliffs where there were no handholds. Rupert says a friend of his
[754] saw a shaman dance in fire and then vanish. According to Rupert, shamans
[755] also competed by magically shooting objects into one another. If a shaman failed to remove an object shot into him by another, it was understood that he was the weaker of the two. The stronger shaman would then remove the object, for contests among shamans were never a killing matter.

626 Both the threat of sorcery and the fear of an accusation of sorcery
757 were important patterns of social control among the Washo. These patterns usually operated among nonrelatives. Anyone could hire a sorcerer to cast a spell on an enemy; therefore, an individual would try to avoid trouble with others, even with those who were not particularly formidable, for anyone
626 could enlist aid. The activities of sorcerers were held in check because sor-
683 cerers were sometimes killed by angry relatives of the victim. If a sorcerer
757 became particularly troublesome, the Washo might reach a kind of general agreement that he should be killed. According to Pete, even the relatives of the sorcerer might agree that this was necessary. The killing was some-
[758] times by stoning and sometimes by other methods. The people who killed a sorcerer were not in danger from his ghost because ghosts bother only relatives. Rupert says he never heard of the ghost of a murdered man returning to trouble the murderer. Lowie's discussion of the measures taken to control sorcery (1939, 319-20) agrees with the statements of our informants.

754 Witches as well as sorcerers exist among the Washo. A sorcerer has
778 active control over his wegelóyu, whereas a witch is an old person whose generalized power (not wegelóyu) has become fairly strong with age. Sorcerers
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were active workers of malevolence; witches were hapless victims of a condition arising naturally from their age. However, this situation was obscured by the fact that older people were thought to be likely candidates for acquiring wegelóyu. Older people, therefore, were open to charges of sorcery; although innocent, an old person might be on the defensive knowing that he could inadvertently bewitch someone, especially a child or a young person. The belief that older people are more likely to acquire wegelóyu than younger ones is not supported by the testimony of our informants regarding the ages at which known shamans acquired power. Hank Pete's mother acquired her power before marriage, probably before the age of 15; Rupert acquired his as a young man.

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Social control among relatives was based on a fear of ghosts rather than sorcery. Relatives who could not be influenced in any other way could be reached by an attempted suicide. The reason is clear: the dead person could become a ghost; hence he would be in a position to threaten the life of his living relatives. The usual method for an attempted suicide was to eat wild parsnip. The poison acts slowly and gives plenty of time to save the victim. The Washo force an emetic down the person's throat and he vomits up the poison.

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The four examples of attempted suicide recounted by our informants were definite attempts at resolving family problems. In one case, a man had been having difficulty with his wife; she was interested in another man. The husband ate wild parsnip, but was saved. As a result his sons brought pressure on the wife and made her behave. The couple stayed together until the husband died. A second case involved trouble between a brother and sister. The sister had been taking money from the parents, and the brother objected. The girl threatened suicide and the boy said, "Go ahead -- I don't care." The girl took wild parsnip, but not enough to kill her, and she was saved. The parents were very happy to have her revived. After this episode, the son left home. In the third case a man never wanted to work, and his mother and sister didn't like it. He attempted suicide by hanging, but the rope was too long and his feet touched the floor. A relative cut him down. The suicide attempt frightened his mother and sister and they stopped complaining. The fourth case concerned a woman. Our informant didn't know the reason for her attempt to kill herself, but commented, "It's always family trouble."

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Our informants described four cases of successful suicide. Of these, three had no connection with social control. One was that of a helpless old man who lived alone and had no relatives. On a return trip from California where the Washo had been gathering acorns, he asked to be abandoned. Another successful suicide was a woman who had lost a daughter whom she loved very much. She ate wild parsnip and died in three hours. The third case, which is probably apocryphal, concerns a shaman who tried unsuccessfully to

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768 A fourth culture pattern in which ghosts play a part is the disposal of the dead. Two features of funerals are connected with the fear of ghosts. [537] First, all the property of the dead person is destroyed and his house is torn [178] down and the parts scattered. Second, at the time the body is cremated or [783] buried an old man steps forward and makes a long speech in which he tells the ghost of the dead person to stay away and not bother the living. With modifications the Washo observe these customs today. Houses are no longer destroyed after a death for they are too valuable, but they are temporarily abandoned. Before the house is re-occupied it is smoked with sagebrush or juniper. Cremation is not practiced; the modern Washo bury their dead.

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888 Some features of child-rearing patterns are related to supernatural
754 power and the fear of ghosts. The fact that the aged may inadvertently be-
[778] witch people affects their relations with children. Mothers try to keep their babies out of the sight of old people who are unrelated. Pete says that to give food to a child was especially dangerous. Small children lived in the house next to Hank Pete and his wife; these children were Pete's sister's daughter's son's children, but they were not related to Pete's wife. Pete's wife never gave them anything to eat. Even older relatives could be dangerous unintentionally. Pete said they would pray to water not to make their relatives of the third descending generation sick when they gave them something to eat. Bertha Holbrook's daughter who lived with her had several young children. We spent many afternoons in Holbrook's house, but never saw any unrelated children playing with the Holbrook children. Bertha remarked that the Washo don't like to have their children going to other houses to play. She said that if her grandchildren do go to other houses, she likes to go with them to make them behave. Although she never spoke of the fear of old people as a factor in children's visiting patterns, we think that this fear may be the reason children play chiefly with relatives.

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775 Another feature of Washo child rearing is that parents seldom physically punish their children. Hank Pete explains that if a person beat his child a dead relative of the child, through the other parent, might become angry and kill the child. Then the child would become a ghost and kill his parent. Pete told a story of a family fight in which a man treated his son very roughly. The son took sick and a shaman diagnosed the trouble as being caused by the anger of the boy's dead relatives. The boy died; then the man sickened and he too died because the ghost of the child killed him. No other Washo ever volunteered this explanation. However, we once asked Rupert if he had ever handled a case like this. He said he had not, but that he had heard of such cases from older people and he confirmed Pete's explanation.

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778 Hunting is another culture pattern in which supernatural power is involved. Such power is used only in deer and antelope hunting. One use in

One use in

deer hunting involves the purification of an unlucky deer hunter. According to Pete, the shaman prays four days, after which the hunter gives away the first deer he kills. A second use of power in deer hunting is to locate a medicine called mugálu which, when properly used, puts the deer to sleep. Pete says that only shamans dream of this root. They wash and pray before collecting it; afterwards they give pieces of it to friends and relatives. The hunter puts a small piece of the root in a fresh deer track and begins to trail the deer. When he catches up to the deer, he finds it sleeping.

A shaman leads the communal antelope hunt. He sees the antelope in his dreams and talks to them. He sends boys to see if a herd has appeared as seen in his dream. When a herd has been sighted the Washo build a corral of sagebrush with a long chute leading into it. The shaman smokes his pipe and charms the antelope into the enclosure aided by a slow drive on the part of the other Indians. Once the animals are inside the corral the Washo close the entrance and kill the animals (Lowie, 1939, 324-5).

III

This paper has discussed the characteristics of supernatural power and ghosts among the aboriginal Washo. These elements occur in a number of culture patterns and therefore perform an integrating function in that they give Washo culture a degree of logical consistency. The recognition of the fear configuration helps to explain some features of Washo behavior in which the rationale is not readily apparent. The formation of children's play groups, the reported infrequency of physical punishment for children, and the correlation of attempted suicide and troubles within the family are examples. A statement by Hank Pete indicates that fear of old people may have been one factor in determining household composition. In a discussion of household composition during the fishing season at Lake Tahoe, Pete remarked that the fear of old people was a limiting factor in the number of people who would live together in one windbreak. It would be difficult to test this statement today, but a brief survey of the attitudes of younger parents toward having old people in the same household would indicate both the present-day strength of the fear configuration and the possibility that this configuration was a factor in indigenous household patterns.

Among the modern Washo, the fear configuration is almost certainly less prominent than it was in aboriginal times because the elements upon which it was based are disappearing (Merriam and d'Azevedo, 1957, 617). However, this configuration may still be useful in explaining some of the

along the East Carson River." Roy James said that his mother's mother from Markleeville was married to two brothers at the same time. 575

Lowie (1939, 308-10) made several important observations concerning Washo marriage: "The giving of presents to the bride's parents is called kumyu'ga, the return gift umlagu'wa'a. This exchange continued for several months. Sometimes a youth and a girl met at a dance and came to live together without parental arrangements. . . . Bill said a wife used to obey her husband. . . . The kinship terminology classes all cousins as siblings, and marriages of cousins were not considered proper. . . . The sororate was practiced, at least to some degree. . . . A widow would wait six months, a year, or even two years before remarrying, and then sometimes married her husband's brother. . . . Though correct, sororate and levirate were not compulsory; Bill explicitly said that the bereaved person might marry anyone else. . . . There was no mother-in-law taboo." 58 [575] [601] [606]

Most of the Washo marriages that take place today are performed according to modern American customs. There has been considerable pressure from the white community along this line so that land settlement, welfare, and social security payments can be stabilized. The first Washo to apply to the clerk of Douglas County, Nevada, for a marriage license did so in 1919. 177 585

Death

Death (dey'liyi ?) occurred by "disease," accident, starvation, witchcraft, old age, murder, abandonment and suicide, in roughly that order of importance. "Disease" occurred when the body was entered by a foreign spirit or object. If the object had been placed there by a person it was witchcraft and, when discovered, witches were murdered. Old or blind people who could no longer keep up the strenuous treks or who were no longer economically useful became resigned to die and accepted their fate. They would say "This will be my last trip to the pinenuts and then I will stay there and die" or "I will go for acorns and not return." 761 753 732 888

Grace Dangberg (1919, 6) collected the following story from an old white resident of Genoa, D. R. Hawkins. "I found an old blind Indian left in the cold to die. He was left with a cup of water and some pinenuts tied to the pole of a rickety tent so he could find his way back to it. I discovered him and persuaded an Indian to take care of him for pay. He was deserted by this Indian. He was found again by whites who got another Indian to take care of him. Finally the Indians took him to a cliff, shoved him over, and stoned him to death."

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[125] had encountered and display understandable pride at having conquered them. "Them old bucks that live around here . . . they are smarter than people" was a frequent comment. In varying degrees this attitude was evident among other Washo men. Details of hunts or feats of hunting prowess which occurred [732] 40 years ago were recalled again and again. The contempt many of them felt [888] for an aged, usually drunk, and half-blind claimant for tribal "chieftainship" was often explained by a statement like: "He never hunted or nothing . . . so don't believe nothing he tells you about it. He just hung around camp and didn't do nothing."

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825 A number of Washo expressed what might be described as an enmity toward sheep. One might interpret this as an evidence of the common contempt for sheep in contrast to cattle. However, upon exploring this attitude, I began to feel that my informants viewed sheep as competitors who ate valuable food plants and spoiled good gathering areas. There would seem to be little difference between sheep and sheepowners in the Washo mind. If there [262] is any difference it appears that more hostility is directed toward the animals. Cook (1941, 48) reports a distinct aversion to mutton among the Washo.

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241 One might explain the present low frequency of agriculture and husbandry among the Washo as simply a result of the historic and political factors
311 that left them without land of sufficient quality or quantity to permit agricul-
177 ture or husbandry. However, an examination of the course of Washo history since the appearance of whites in this area suggests that other factors play an important role in this situation.

231 Aboriginally the Washo kept dogs and used at least some of them for hunting. However, the number was small because of depredations of predators on litters of puppies. One informant recalls being told of collars made of flint points which were worn by dogs to protect them from mountain lions. In addition to dogs, eagles were trapped and kept for ceremonial purposes. All modern Washo are aware that one old man in early historic times attempted to keep captive fledgling eagles on cradleboards so they could be transported easily and raised to maturity. The experiment seems to have been a failure.

825 D'Azevedo (personal communication) reports that older informants told him of cutting the top boughs from trees in the winter to supply browse for deer herds and thus encourage the animals to remain in the area. Whether this was an aboriginal practice or an inspiration based on white husbandry practices is not clear.

241 Nor was agriculture any further developed than husbandry. Tobacco was not grown, nor was any action taken to encourage the growth of wild